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THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY.



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HISTORY OF
ENGLISH POETRY

FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE CLOSE
OF THE SIXTEENTH
CENTURY.

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WITH A PREFACE BY RICHARD PRICE, AND NOTES VARIORUM.

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SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF
ANGLO-SAXON POETRY.



[The history of English poetry begins in lands where the name of England was not known. Not in our "island home" was our mother tongue in its earliest stage first spoken, but in parts of the Danish land, the Anglish and Saxish provinces, in Friesland, Jutland, and the neighbouring isles, whence the first Teutonic settlers and invaders came, to people our England. They brought with them the legends of their continental homes; and the one weird poem which has come to us from them whole, though much meddled with by later hands, is our national epic. But before we give an account of it, and the rest of our forefathers' poetry, we must say somewhat of the forms of Anglo-Saxon verse, and must note that, for convenience of classification, the continuous changes in our language have been separated into the following stages:

- I. Anglo-Saxon or Old English, with regular inflexions, up to 1100 A. D.
- II. Semi-Saxon or Transition English, in two stages, (1) when the inflexion signs were struggling for superiority, from 1100 to 1500 A. D.;¹ (2) when the final *e* had gained the victory, but the vocabulary was almost wholly Anglo-Saxon, as in *Laſamon*, 1150-1250 A. D.
- III. Early English, 1250-1500 A. D. when the vocabulary received large French importations, and the final *e* gradually became grammatically valueless.
- IV. Middle English, 1500-1620 A. D.—F.]

¹ [See the preface to Dr. Richard Morris's *Old English Homilies*, I. Early English Text Society, 1868; and his sketch of the characteristics of the Transition Period of our language in Section 1 below.]



[Sketch of the History of Anglo-Saxon Poetry.]

BY HENRY SWEET, OF BALIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD.



THE forms and traditions of Anglo-Saxon poetry¹ are those which are common to all the old Germanic nations. The essential elements of Anglo-Saxon versification are accent and alliteration. Each long verse has *four* accented syllables, while the number of unaccented syllables is indifferent, and is divided by the cæfura into two short verses,

bound together by alliteration: *two* accented syllables in the first short line, and *one* in the second, beginning with any vowel or the same consonant. Instead of two there is often only *one* alliterative letter in the first short verse. The alliterative letter of the second short verse must belong to the first of the two accented syllables. Of this metre in its strictest and simplest form the following line of Beowulf is an example:—

rice to rûne | rædes eáhtedon.

¹ The standard work for the study of Anglo-Saxon poetry is the collection of Grein, published under the title of *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie*, in four vols., the first two containing critical texts of all known poems, the third and fourth a complete poetical dictionary. In his *Dichtungen der Angelsachsen* Grein has given a literal translation of nearly all the poems. In the *Bibliothek* will be found a complete list of all previous editions and translations, nearly all of which, it may be added, are entirely superseded by Grein's work. It will therefore be necessary only to mention those works which have appeared since the publication of Grein's *Bibliothek*. These are the edition of the fragments of Waldhere by Professor Stephens and by Grein, as an appendix to his edition of Beowulf and Finnesburg, and Heyne's edition and translation of Beowulf, the former of which has appeared in two editions. A volume of *Metrical Homilies, or Lives of Saints* is preparing for the Early English Text Society, under Mr. Skeat's editorship.

Here are two accents in each short verse, both accented syllables in the first short verse, and the first in the second beginning with the letter *r*. In the line

córmennláfe | æðelan cýnnes

there are only two alliterative letters, *eo* and *æ*, which, being vowels, are allowed to be different.

As remarked above, the number of unaccented syllables is indifferent; the same remark applies, within certain limits, to an excess of accented syllables also. The most important of these limitations is that all additional accents in the second short verse must come *before* the alliterative syllable. Generally speaking, the number of accents in an ordinary long line does not exceed *five*:

mícel mórgenswég | mære þeóden.
fæder on láste | síððan fórb gewát.

Such is the general structure of the great majority of Anglo-Saxon verses. More elaborate modifications are, however, occasionally introduced, generally in solemn, lyrical passages. The most important characteristic of these metres is the regular introduction of unaccented syllables, each accented syllable being followed by one or more unaccented, the last foot but one of the line (containing the alliterative letter) especially being often a dactyl. This kind of verse often resembles the ancient hexameter, when read accentually. The comparison of the two following lines will at once show how much of the character of Anglo-Saxon verse depends on the use of unaccented syllables:

mícel mórgenswég | mære þeóden.
rína to rúne gegangan | hi ða on réste gebróhton.

This kind of verse is also generally characterised by an increased number of accented syllables, generally not less than six, often more:

ðonne hi mætt mid him | mæra gefrémedon.
geofian mid góða gehwílcum | ðeah he his gíngan ne sēnde.
geheáwan ðíne mórðres brýttan | geünne me mínra gefýnta.
fira beárn on ðíffum fæftum clómmum | ongínnað nu ýmb ða fyrde þéncean.

More rarely we meet with an increased number of accented, without unaccented syllables; the effect is peculiar, and quite different from that of the hexameter-like lines quoted above; two lines of the *Wanderer* afford a good example:

hwær cwóm meárg? | hwær cwóm mágo? | hwær cwóm máððumgífa?
hwær cwóm símbra gesetu? | hwær síndon féledreámas?

Different as these metres are, they all belong to the same type, which is represented in the simplest form in the verse of Beowulf first quoted. All the variations reduce themselves to:—

(1.) Insertion of additional feet before the alliterative syllable of the second short line.

(2.) Regular use of unaccented syllables.

(3.) Increase in the number of accents in the first short verse.

So that the only really arbitrary feature is the varying number of accents in the first short verse; although this license, like all others

in Anglo-Saxon poetry, is always regulated by the metrical feeling of the poet, and often depends on the more or less regular use of unaccented syllables. The strictest part of the line is the second short verse: only one alliterative letter is allowed, and its position and that of the inserted syllables are fixed (compare also the remark about the dactylic feet). This tendency to metrical concentration and strictness at the end of the line is common to all metres; it is alike evident in the structure of the classical hexameter and of the modern rhyming metres. The alliteration, though not the essence of the Anglo-Saxon versification, is a necessary element of it, being indissolubly connected with the accentuation. It cannot therefore, like modern rhyme, be omitted or modified at pleasure. There are also traces of rhyme, and one poem, commonly called the *Rhyming Poem*, is composed throughout of very elaborate rhymes.

An essential feature of Anglo-Saxon poetry is the use of poetic words and phrases: words being employed in poetry which do not occur in prose, or prose words and phrases being used in a peculiar sense. There is also a strong tendency to apposition, which in some cases almost amounts to parallelism, as in Hebrew poetry: "dæt ic *sæneffas* geseon mihte, *windige weallas*," so that I could see the sea-headlands, the windy walls; "dæt ðu us gebrohte *brante ceole*, hea hornscipe, ofer hwæles eðel," that thou mightest bring us in a steep vessel, a high-prowed ship, over the whale's country (the sea). In this last example the two adjectives are exactly parallel, and have practically the same meaning. This tendency is strikingly shown in the frequent use of an adjective in apposition to a substantive, instead of attributively: "hæfdon swurd nacod, heard on handa," we held in our hands keen swords unsheathed.

This simplicity and freedom of form, which is characteristic of the earliest poetry of all the Teutonic nations, has led narrow-minded and superficial writers to describe Anglo-Saxon poetry as lines of bad prose, joined together by alliteration; forgetting that the highest artistic excellence is attainable in many ways, and that the metrical laws which suit one language, are totally out of place in another of different structure. A strict and unvarying system of versification, like the Homeric hexameter, in which a battle and a cooking operation are described in the same metre, would have seemed intolerable to a Northern poet: he required one which would adapt itself to every phase of emotion and change of action, which in describing prosaic incidents, such as will occur in every narrative poem of any length, could be let down nearly to the level of ordinary prose, with an effective transition to the more concentrated passages. The leading principle in Anglo-Saxon poetry is to subordinate form to matter. No brilliancy of language or metre is accepted as a substitute for poverty of thought or feeling; purely technical poetry, with a few trifling exceptions, is not known. This tendency is clearly brought out by a comparison of the closely allied poetry of the Scandinavians, as carried to its highest point of development in Norway and Iceland. Here the original metrical system,

essentially the same as the Anglo-Saxon, was at an early period brought to a high degree of perfection. The number of syllables was made invariable, the alliteration was refined and regulated, and rhymes, both initial and final, were introduced, the original alliteration being still preserved. But these technical advantages were counterbalanced by an almost total stagnation of any higher artistic development. Lyric and dramatic poetry, traces of which are found in the earliest poems of Edda, remain undeveloped, and at last poetry degenerates into a purely mechanical art, valued only in proportion to the difficulty of its execution. The Anglo-Saxons, on the other hand, whilst preserving the utmost technical simplicity, developed not only an elaborate epic style, but what is more remarkable, produced lyric and didactic poetry of high merit, and this at a very early period, certainly at least as early as the beginning of the eighth century.

Important characteristics of Anglo-Saxon poetry are conciseness and directness. Everything that retards the action or obscures the main sentiment of the poem is avoided, hence all similes are extremely rare. In the whole poem of *Beowulf* there are scarcely half a dozen of them, and these of the simplest character, such as comparing a ship to a bird. Indeed, such a simple comparison as this is almost equivalent to the more usual "kenning" (as it is called in Icelandic), such as "brimfugol," where, instead of comparing the ship to a bird, the poet simply calls it a sea-bird, preferring the direct assertion to the indirect comparison. Such elaborate comparisons as are found in Homer and his Roman imitator are quite foreign to the spirit of Northern poetry.

A marked feature of Anglo-Saxon poetry is a tendency to melancholy and pathos, which tinges the whole literature: even the song of victory shows it, and joined to the heathen fatalism of the oldest poems, it produces a deep gloom, which would be painful were it not relieved by that high moral idealism which is never wanting in Anglo-Saxon poetry. This tendency was, no doubt, strengthened by the great political calamities of the Anglo-Saxons, their precarious hold upon Britain, their civil and foreign wars, which ultimately brought about their national extinction. Descriptions of nature are not unfrequent in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and form one of its most characteristic features; for descriptions of natural scenery are generally unknown in early literature, and are often rare in many, which are otherwise highly developed. Elaborate descriptions of gardens may be found in Homer and the Italian poets, but hardly any of wild nature. In the lyrical German poetry of the thirteenth century, there is evidence enough of a strong feeling for nature, but there is no distinctness or individuality—nothing but general allusions to the brightness of the flowers and the song of the birds, which soon petrify to mere formulæ. In Anglo-Saxon poetry, on the other hand, such passages as the descriptions of Grendel's abode in *Beowulf* (p. 11 below), have a vividness and individuality which make them not inferior to the most perfect examples of de-

scriptive poetry in modern English literature,—perhaps the highest praise that can be given. This characteristic forms a strong bond of union between the two literatures, so different in many other respects, and it is not impossible that some of the higher qualities of modern English poetry are to be assigned to traditions of the old Anglo-Saxon literature, obscured for a time by those didactic, political, and allegorical tendencies which almost extinguished genuine poetry in the Early English period. The bulk of the poetical literature that has come down to us is considerable, but the pieces are of various degrees of value, and some of them are totally destitute of poetical merit. There can be no doubt that the works we possess do not fairly represent the actual literature. They have not been handed down to us from generation to generation, and preserved in many MSS., as is the case with the literatures of ancient Greece and Rome; where, if a work is lost, we are to a great extent justified in assuming it to have been of inferior merit. We know that for many centuries after the Conquest books written in the old language were considered as waste parchment, and utilized accordingly; and that great havoc was made among the monastic libraries at the Reformation. The consequence is that many of the finest poems are mere fragments, and those that are preserved have escaped total destruction by a series of lucky chances, and, with a few trifling exceptions, are preserved only in single manuscripts.

The chronology and authorship of the poems are in most cases very uncertain. Several of them were certainly composed before the German colonization of Britain, however much they may have been altered and interpolated in later times. It is equally certain that by far the greater number of the other poems were composed in Northumbria. Cædmon we know to have been a Northumbrian, both from the express testimony of Bede, and from the fact of a few lines of his being preserved in the original northern dialect. The name of Cynewulf is introduced into several poems contained in the Exeter and Vercelli MSS., three times in a kind of acrostic in Runic letters, once in a riddle or rather charade on his own name. As all these poems are written in the ordinary West-Saxon dialect, it was at first supposed that Cynewulf was a native of the south of England; but when the Runic inscription of the Ruthwell cross in Dumfriesshire was deciphered, and shown to be a fragment of a poem of Cynewulf's, which is preserved entire in the Vercelli MS., it became at once evident that the poems of Cædmon and Cynewulf in their present shape are copies of Northumbrian originals, altered to suit the southern dialect. How far the analogy holds good for the remaining poems of unascertained authorship is uncertain. As we know that literature was first cultivated in the north, there is an *à priori* probability in the case of all the older poems that they were either composed by Northumbrians, or at least were first written down in Northumbria. Indeed, there are only two poems of any merit to which we can assign with any certainty a southern origin. These are the ode on the battle of Brunan-

burg, and the narrative of the battle of Maldon, which were, no doubt, composed immediately after the events they record. King Alfred's translation of the metres of Boethius is almost entirely destitute of poetical merit.

It is probable that the earliest poetry of the Anglo-Saxons consisted of single strophes, each narrating, or rather alluding to, some exploit of a hero or god, or expressing some single sentiment, generally of a proverbial or gnomic character. Such is the poetry of savage nations. The next stage is to combine these strophes into connected groups. The third is to abandon the strophic arrangement altogether. With regard to the poetical form, it is tolerably certain that in the earliest stage there was no difference between poetry and prose; in fact, poetry was entirely informal—simply a concentrated prose. Of all civilized poetical literatures, the most primitive is that of the ancient Hebrew, which is only distinguished from prose by the symmetry and mutual correspondence of its sentences. This parallelism we have recognized as a frequent, though not essential, ingredient of Anglo-Saxon verse; it is also strongly developed in the earliest Scandinavian poetry. It seems, therefore, not improbable that the Anglo-Saxon poetry in its earliest stage consisted of lines of prose connected only by parallelism. When alliteration had developed itself and become a constant element of the poetic form, the parallelism would gradually fall into disuse, as in Latin literature the regular alliteration of Nævius becomes sporadic in Virgil.

Almost the only example of strophic poetry in Anglo-Saxon is the poem known as *Deor's Complaint*. The poem is obscure, and has been handed down to us in a corrupt and mutilated state, but its strophic character is unmistakeable. The first and last two strophes consist of six lines each, and all six strophes end with the same refrain. All the old Scandinavian epic and mythological songs are strophic; and the connection between the strophes is often so little evident that it is a work of difficulty to arrange them in proper order; in short, the regular epos is hardly developed at all. It is not impossible that *Deor's Complaint* is a solitary remnant of the same stage of Anglo-Saxon poetry; the poem deals exclusively with the historical and mythological traditions common to all the Teutonic nations, and may easily have been composed before the migration to England. It must, however, be borne in mind that the use of a primitive form is quite compatible with a comparatively recent origin of a poem, especially one of a half lyric character, like *Deor's Complaint*. The other epic pieces seem to be quite destitute of strophic arrangement, most of them exhibit the epos in its most advanced and artistic form, although the greater bulk of the epic poetry being preserved only in fragments, it is difficult to determine whether these fragments form part of a regular epos, or are merely epic songs like those of the *Edda*. It is probable that some of them may belong to this latter class, of which we have an undoubted specimen, composed in historical times, the *Battle of Maldon*. Every genuine

national epos presupposes a stage of literature, in which these short historical songs were the only narrative poems existing; for the genuine epic, which is regarded by those for whom it is composed as history, and nothing else, is never invented, but has to draw on the common national stock of historical and mythological tradition. How far the original substructure of separate songs is still visible in the finished epos, depends entirely on the genius of the manipulator, and his command of his materials. If he is destitute of invention and combination, he will leave the separate poems unaltered, except, perhaps, in cases of repetition and very obvious contradiction, and merely cement them together by a few lines of his own. Many of the Eddaic poems are in this stage: they are patchwork, evidently executed long after the true epic spirit had died. Very often the connecting and complementary passages are written in prose, so that the genius of a Lachmann is hardly needed to cut out the interpolation. But if the traditions contained in these songs are handled by a poet, that is to say, a man of invention, combination, and judgment, they are liable to undergo considerable modifications. There will be room for original work in connecting the various incidents and introducing episodes, in removing incongruities and repetitions, and in fusing together two or more different renderings of the same tradition. In short, the use of traditional material does not in the slightest degree preclude originality. This has often been overlooked by critics who have endeavoured to analyse such poems as the *Iliad* or *Nibelungenlied* into their original songs; the result in the case of the *Nibelungenlied* is that the dissector, after employing an elaborate apparatus of brackets, parentheses, and italics, is obliged to confess that the excised passages not only mar by their absence the symmetry of the whole, but are often superior to those which are allowed to remain. We know that Shakespeare founded his *Julius Caesar* on Plutarch, but we do not wish to see his play cut up according to the chapters of North's Plutarch.

The only national epic which has been preserved entire is Beowulf. Its argument is briefly as follows:

The poem opens with a few verses in praise of the Danish kings, especially Scild, the son of Sceaf. His death is related, and his descendants briefly traced down to Hroðgar. Hroðgar, elated with his prosperity and success in war, builds a magnificent hall, which he calls Heorot. In this hall Hroðgar and his retainers live in joy and festivity, until a malignant fiend, called Grendel, jealous of their happiness, carries off by night thirty of Hroðgar's men, and devours them in his moorland retreat. These ravages go on for twelve years. Beowulf, a thane of Hygelac, king of the Goths, hearing of Hroðgar's calamities, sails from Sweden with fourteen warriors to help him. They reach the Danish coast in safety, and, after an animated parley with Hroðgar's coast-guard, who at first takes them for pirates, they are allowed to proceed to the royal hall, where they are well received by Hroðgar. A banquet ensues, during which Beowulf is taunted by the envious Hunferhð about his

swimming-match with Breca, king of the Brondings. Beowulf gives the true account of the contest, and silences Hunferhð. At nightfall the king departs, leaving Beowulf in charge of the hall. Grendel soon breaks in, seizes and devours one of Beowulf's companions, is attacked by Beowulf, and after losing an arm, which is torn off by Beowulf, escapes to the fens. The joy of Hroðgar and the Danes, and their festivities, are described, various episodes are introduced, and Beowulf and his companions receive splendid gifts. The next night Grendel's mother revenges her son by carrying off Æschere, the friend and councillor of Hroðgar, during the absence of Beowulf. Hroðgar appeals to Beowulf for vengeance, and describes the haunts of Grendel and his mother. They all proceed thither; the scenery of the lake, and the monsters that dwell in it are described. Beowulf plunges into the water, and attacks Grendel's mother in her dwelling at the bottom of the lake. He at length overcomes her, and cuts off her head, together with that of Grendel, and brings the heads to Hroðgar. He then takes leave of Hroðgar, sails back to Sweden, and relates his adventures to Hygelac. Here the first half of the poem ends. The second begins with the accession of Beowulf to the throne after the fall of Hygelac and his son Heardred. He rules prosperously for fifty years, till a dragon, brooding over a hidden treasure, begins to ravage the country, and destroys Beowulf's palace with fire. Beowulf sets out in quest of its hiding place with twelve men. Having a presentiment of his approaching end, he pauses and recalls to mind his past life and exploits. He then takes leave of his followers one by one, and advances alone to attack the dragon. Unable from the heat to enter the cavern, he shouts aloud, and the dragon comes forth. The dragon's scaly hide is proof against Beowulf's sword, and he is reduced to great straits, when Wiglaf, one of his followers, advances to help him. Wiglaf's shield is consumed by the dragon's fiery breath, and he is compelled to seek shelter under Beowulf's shield of iron. Beowulf's sword snaps asunder, and he is seized by the dragon. Wiglaf stabs the dragon from underneath, and Beowulf cuts it in two with his dagger. Feeling that his end is near, he bids Wiglaf bring out the treasures from the cavern, that he may see them before he dies. Wiglaf enters the dragon's den, which is described, returns to Beowulf, and receives his last commands. Beowulf dies, and Wiglaf bitterly reproaches his companions for their cowardice. The disastrous consequences of Beowulf's death are then foretold, and the poem ends with his funeral.

It is evident that the poem as we have it, has undergone considerable alterations. In the first place there is a distinctly Christian element, contrasting strongly with the general heathen colouring of the whole. Many of these passages are so incorporated into the poem, that it is impossible to remove them without violent alterations of the text; others again are palpable interpolations. Such are the passages where Grendel is described as a descendant of Cain. Perhaps the strongest instance is one where we have a christian commentary

on a heathen superstition. We are told that the Danes, in order to avert the miseries brought on them by Grendel, began to offer sacrifices to their idols. Then follow some verses beginning: "Such was their custom, the hope of heathens; they thought of hell, but knew not the Lord, the Judge of deeds, &c."

Without these additions and alterations, it is certain that we have in *Beowulf* a poem composed before the Teutonic conquest of Britain. The localities are purely continental: the scenery is laid among the Goths of Sweden and the Danes; in the episodes, the Swedes, Frisians, and other continental tribes appear, while there is no mention of England, or the adjoining countries and nations. It is evident that the poem, as a whole, cannot have been composed directly from the current traditions of the period: the variety of incidents, their artistic treatment, and the episodes introduced, show that the poet had some foundation to work upon, that there must have been short epic songs about the exploits of *Beowulf* current among the people, which he combined into a whole. In the poem as it stands, we can easily distinguish four elements: the prologue, the two chief exploits of *Beowulf* against Grendel, the dragon, and the episodes.

The attempt to eliminate these elements in their original form would be lost labour, as we have no means of determining the degree of alteration they have undergone; an alteration which, however, to judge from the remarkable unity and homogeneity of the whole work, must have been considerable; otherwise we should hardly fail to perceive some traces of the incongruity and abrupt transition which betray a clumsy piece of compilation. The episodes would be less liable to alteration than those passages which form part of the main narrative, and it is highly probable that among them the oldest parts of the poem are to be found. Many of these episodes are extremely obscure, partly from the corrupt and defective state of the text, partly from the elliptical way in which they are told, evidently leaving a good deal to be filled up by the hearer, to whom the traditions on which they are founded were naturally familiar.

The following literal translations will give some idea of the style of *Beowulf*. The first is the description of Grendel's abode; the second is part of Hroðgar's farewell address to *Beowulf*; the third is part of the description of *Beowulf*'s funeral, with which the poem ends:

"They hold a hidden land: where wolves lurk, windy neffes, perilous fen-tracts, where the mountain-stream shrouded in mist pours down the cliffs, deep in earth. Not far from here stands the lake overshadowed with groves of ancient trees, fast by their roots. There a dread fire may be seen every night shining wondrously in the water. The wisest of the sons of men knows not the bottom. When the heath-stalker, the strong-horned stag, hard-pressed by the hounds, coursed from afar, seeks shelter in the wood, he will yield up his life on the shore sooner than plunge in and hide his head. That is an accursed place: the strife of waves rises black to the clouds, when the wind stirs hostile storms, until the air darkens, the heavens shed tears."

12 *A Sample of "Beowulf." Widid the Minstrel.*

"Strange it is to say how mighty God generously dispenses wisdom, riches, and virtue among men: he has power over all! Sometimes he at will allows to wander the thoughts of the mighty race of man: grants him in his country worldly joys, a man-sheltering city to hold, lands and wide empire, so that for his folly he thinks not of his end. He lives in revelry; neither sickness nor age afflict him, gloomy care befalls not his heart, nor does strife assail him from any side with hostile sword, but the whole world follows his will. He knows not misfortune, until pride begins to grow and blossom within him, when the guardian of the soul sleeps. The sleep is too heavy, bound with sorrows, the murderer near at hand, who shoots with cruel bow. Then he is wounded in the heart through the sheltering breast by the bitter shaft. He cannot ward off the strange influence of the accursed spirit. The riches he held so long seem to him now too little, greed hardens his heart, he seeks not fame with gifts of rings (of gold), but forgets and neglects the future, because of the honour which the Lord of glory formerly granted him. Then comes the end: the worn-out body falls, doomed to death. Another succeeds, who distributes the hoarded gold without stint, heeds not the former owner. Shun this baleful vice, dear Beowulf, best of men! Choose what is better, eternal wisdom! Cherish not pride, illustrious champion! Now is the flower of thy might for a time: soon will sickness or sword part thee from thy strength, or fire's embrace, or the sea's flood, or sword's gripe, or flight of spear, or sad old age assail thee, and veil in darkness the glance of thine eyes. Soon, prince, will death overpower thee!"

"Then the men of the Goths wrought a mound on the hill, high and broad, easily seen from afar by all wave-farers, and built in ten days the warrior's beacon: they raised a wall round his ashes, as honourably as the wisest men could devise it. They placed in the mound rings and gems, all the treasures, of which hostile men had spoiled the hoard. They let the earth hold the treasure, the heritage of earls, where it still remains, as useless to men as it was before. Then round the mound rode a troop of nobles, twelve in all; they wished to mourn the king with fitting words: they praised his courage and deeds of valour, as is right for a man to praise his dear lord with words, and love him in his heart, when his soul has departed from his body. So the Goths mourned their lord's fall, his hearth-companions said that he was the mildest and most humane of world-kings, the gentlest to his people, and most eager for glory."

Most of the other national epic pieces are mere fragments. Two of them, *Widid* and *Finnesburg*, are of special importance, on account of their intimate connection with *Beowulf*. The greater part of the first of these poems is taken up by a long list of kings and nations, which *Widid*, a minstrel of noble Myrking family, professes to have visited. The only passages of the poem which have any poetical worth are those in which the wandering life of the minstrel is described with considerable picturesqueness and power; the main interest of the poem is historical and geographical. An allusion of

the poet in the introductory verses to a visit he had made to Eormeric, king of the Goths, who died A. D. 375, has been assumed as a criterion for determining the age of the poem, but there seems reason to doubt whether Widsid himself ever existed at all. The name Widsid, literally the "wide wanderer," is suspicious, and a comparison with many names of Odin of like significance in the Scandinavian mythology, makes it probable that Widsid is a purely mythological person, probably Odin himself. This does not diminish the value of the lists of kings and nations put into his mouth, many of which are found also in Beowulf. There can be no doubt, from the want of any mention of England and the intimate knowledge displayed of the continental tribes, that this poem was composed before the conquest of Britain. The subject of the other poem is the attack on Fin's palace in Friesland, which is also alluded to in Beowulf. The poem is a mere fragment. Two inconsiderable fragments of the epic of Walthere have also been preserved.

Lastly, there remains one poem, which although not strictly epic in form, yet has a certain connection with the poems treated of above, being founded on the common traditions of the north. This is the piece called *Deor's Complaint*, mentioned above as remarkable for its strophic form. It is indeed almost lyric in its character. Deor, the court-poet of the Heodenings, complains that he is supplanted by his rival Heorrenda, but consoles himself by the reflection that as Weland and other heroes survived their misfortunes, so may he also regain his former prosperity.

Next in importance to these legendary poems are the two historical pieces Byrhtnod and Brunanburg, the former purely narrative, the latter showing a decided lyrical tinge. Byrhtnod (otherwise known as the "Battle of Maldon"), is meagre in form, being in fact little better than alliterative prose, yet shows considerable dramatic power, and is animated throughout by a strong patriotic feeling. The language and general tone of the poem show that it must have been composed immediately after the battle it celebrates (A. D. 993); it is even possible that the poet himself took an active part in it. This historical character gives the poem its special interest; in it we recognise the epic song in its most primitive stage, unaltered and unadorned by tradition. The beginning and end of the poem are lost, but the context shows that there cannot be many lines missing. The argument of the poem is as follows:—The "ealdorman" Byrhtnod assembles a body of men to oppose the landing of a body of Danish pirates at Maldon in Essex. They offer to return to their ships in peace, if Byrhtnod will agree to pay them any sum of money they may fix. Byrhtnod rejects all terms, and prepares to oppose their landing. The bridge over the Pant is successfully defended, but as the tide ebbs, the Danes ford the stream higher up, and attack the English on their own ground. Byrhtnod falls, and a general flight ensues. Many of the best men however rally and the fight is renewed.

The Brunanburg battle song commemorates the great victory of

Ædelstan over the Danes and Scotch at Brunanburg. This piece is inserted in the Saxon Chronicle under the year 938 instead of the usual prose entry. This deliberate substitution, together with the general style of the poem, shows that it is not a popular song, but was composed expressly for the Chronicle. This piece is inferior in interest to Byrhtnod. The language and metre are dignified and harmonious, but there is a perceptible tendency to bombast and overcharging with epithets, while the finest passages have rather the character of reminiscences from the common poetical traditions than of original invention. Nevertheless as a whole it is a noble poem, and stands alone in our literature. Its substance is as follows:—King Ædelstan and his brother gained life-long glory at Brunanburg. From early dawn till sunset the Northmen and Scotch fell. Two kings, eight earls were slain, and a countless host besides. Anlaf, the Northern king, fled over the dark sea with a sad remnant, and Constantine, the King of Scotland, left his son on the battle-field; nor had they cause to boast of their meeting with the sons of Edward. Then the brothers returned to the land of the West-Saxons, leaving behind them the wolf and raven to tear the slain. Never was a greater slaughter in this island, since first those proud warriors the English and Saxons crossed the broad sea, overcame the Welsh, and won their lands!

There are several other poems of inferior merit incorporated into the *Chronicle*. The best perhaps is the short piece commemorating the release of five cities from the Danish yoke by Edmund (A. D. 942): it shows something of that skilful command of proper names, which forms so essential an element of Roman poetry.

Besides the national epics there are a large number of narrative poems founded on religious subjects. These poems are entirely national in treatment: the language, costume and habits are purely English; there is no attempt at local or antiquarian colouring. The most important of these poems are those of Cædmon, of whose life and compositions an interesting account is given by Bede in his ecclesiastical history. The substance of his account is this:—Attached to the monastery of the Abbess Hild at Whitby was a certain man named Cædmon. Cædmon, never having learned any poems, often used to steal out of the house, when the harp was passed round at festive meetings. On one of these occasions he retired to the cattle-stall, and there fell asleep. A man appeared to him in a dream, and commanded him to sing something. He excused himself at first, but finally when asked to sing of the beginning of things, he began a poem, which he had never heard before. When he awoke, he remembered the words, and added many more in the same metre. The abbess then persuaded him to forsake worldly life, and become a monk. He learnt the whole of the Bible history, and all that he remembered he ruminated, like a pure animal, and turned it into the sweetest poetry, and his teachers wrote it down from his mouth. He sang of the creation of the world, and the origin of the human race, the whole history contained in Genesis, the departure of the

Israelites from Egypt and their entering into the promised land, and many other scripture narratives,—of the incarnation, passion, resurrection and ascension of Christ, of the coming of the Holy Ghost and the apostolic doctrine, also of the terror of the day of judgment, the torments of hell and delights of heaven, and he composed many other poems about the beneficence and justice of God, and never would make any poems on secular or frivolous subjects. Hild was abbeſs from 657 to 680. The first lines of *Cædmon* are preserved at the end of a MS. of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* of the early part of the eighth century. They agree very closely with Bede's translation of them in the history, and as they are in the old Northumbrian dialect we may conclude that in them we have the exact words of the poet. The great bulk of his poetry is contained in a much later MS. written in the usual southern dialect. The beginning of this MS. corresponds in matter to the first lines of *Cædmon* in their oldest form, but there is such discrepancy in the actual words and expressions, that the authenticity of the later MS. has been denied. However, the comparison of the analogous discrepancies between the two versions of Cynewulf's poem of the *Cross*, also preserved both in the original northern form and in a southern MS., shows that either the original poems were liable to considerable variations or that the southern transcribers took great liberties with their originals; probably both causes worked together. In the case of these lines of *Cædmon* such variations are quite conceivable. Their poetical merit is not high; they form merely an introduction to a longer poem, and as such might easily have been altered afterwards by the poet himself. We may have in the earlier lines the rough draft, which appears in the later MS. in a revised and expanded form. The contents of the later MS. agree also with Bede's enumeration, although it contains only a part of his poems. *Cædmon*'s poetry naturally falls into four divisions. The first consists of the poems founded on the book of Genesis, which seem to be preserved entire, with the exception of a few leaves cut out in the MS., down to the intended sacrifice of Isaac. Then follows the departure of the Israelites from Egypt. All the other Old Testament narratives are lost except that founded on the adventures of Daniel. The New Testament pieces are chiefly represented by Christ's descent into hell. This poem is not mentioned by Bede, probably because it is not strictly a scripture narrative. There are besides several smaller pieces founded on New Testament narratives, some of doubtful authenticity.

It has exercised an unfortunate influence on the due appreciation of Anglo-Saxon poetry that *Cædmon* has always been held up as its most important representative. Although his poetry contains many fine passages and always shows considerable metrical power, it is as a whole inferior to that of the other religious poets. The most serious fault of his poetry is the almost total want of constructive power and command of his material, which often reduced his poems to mere paraphrases. Thus, to the narrative of the creation and fall is appended a circumstantial and tedious list of the de-

scendants of Adam, and the length of their lives, followed by the remaining history contained in the Book of *Genesis*. This feature of Cædmon's poetry is the more striking as it contrasts remarkably with the perfect structure of *Judith* and the religious epics of Cynewulf. The best portions of his poetry are those which narrate the creation and fall of the rebellious angels. These passages have all the grandeur of Milton, without his bombastic pedantry.

Of the poem of *Judith* only the last three cantos are preserved; the first nine, with the exception of a few lines of the last, are entirely lost. The fragment opens with the description of a banquet, to which Holofernes invites his chiefs. Then follows the death of Holofernes at the hands of Judith, the attack on the Assyrian camp at daybreak, and slaughter of the Assyrians. Mutilated as it is, this poem is one of the finest in the whole range of Anglo-Saxon literature. The language is of the most polished and brilliant character; the metre harmonious, and varied with admirable skill. The action is dramatic and energetic, culminating impressively in the catastrophe of Holofernes' death; but there is none of that pathos which gives *Beowulf* so much of its power: the whole poem breathes only of triumph and warlike enthusiasm. In constructive skill and perfect command of his foreign subject, the unknown author of *Judith* surpasses both Cædmon and Cynewulf, while he is certainly not inferior to either of them in command of language and metre.

The name of Cynewulf has already been mentioned as contained in several poems. These are the cycle of hymns on the threefold coming of Christ, commonly known as Cynewulf's *Crist*, the *Passion of St. Juliana*, both in the Exeter MS., and the *Elene* or *Finding of the Cross* in the Vercelli MS. His name is also contained in a charade prefixed to the collection of riddles in the Exeter MS. The poem of *Elene* is immediately preceded in the MS. by a work of a similar character, relating the adventures of St. Andrew among the cannibal Marmedonians, ending, like the *Elene* and *Juliana*, with an epilogue, wherein the poet, after briefly alluding to the fates of the other apostles, expresses penitence for his sins. There is every reason for believing that the conclusion of this piece, which is unfortunately cut out, contained an acrostic similar to that in the *Elene*, and from their marked resemblance of language and style, that the two poems are by the same author. The poem of *Elene* is preceded by a short piece called the *Dream of the Cross*, evidently composed by Cynewulf as an introduction to the longer poem, and expressly alluded to in the epilogue of the *Elene*. There are several other pieces contained in the Exeter book, which from evidence of style seem also to be Cynewulf's. These are the *Life of St. Gudlac*, and the descriptive poem of the *Phoenix*, and several smaller lyric pieces, the most important of which are the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer*.

These passages in which the poet introduces his name, are also of value, as affording some biographical data. They tend to show that in his youth Cynewulf held the post of minstrel at the court

of one of the Northumbrian kings, and that in one of those civil wars which desolated Northumbria in the 8th century, he was driven into exile. In his old age a total change came over Cynewulf, which he himself attributes to the miraculous vision of the cross. Up to this time he confesses that he was a frivolous and sinful man, given over to worldly pursuits; but after being commanded by the cross to reveal his vision to men, he devoted himself entirely to religious poetry. To this period of his life belong, therefore, the longer narrative poems, all of which are founded on religious subjects. The internal evidence, on which these results depend, may not be altogether trustworthy; but the main result, viz, that Cynewulf was a minstrel by profession, and not, as formerly supposed, a churchman, seems incontrovertible. The most valuable and characteristic of Cynewulf's poems are the early lyric pieces; the longer poems, although always distinguished by grace of diction and metre, pathos, and delicacy of feeling, are inferior to *Beowulf* and *Judith* in the specially epic qualities.

The shorter poems of Cynewulf show lyric poetry in its earliest stage, in which the narrative and descriptive element is still to a great degree predominant: the lyric idea is enclosed, as it were, in an epic frame. The *Wanderer* and the *Wife's Complaint* both turn on the miseries of exile and solitude. In the former of these poems, which is the more important, the Wanderer bewails the slaughter of his lord and kinsmen, the destruction of their burg, and the hardships of his wanderings. Into this half-epic matter are woven reflections on the excellence of constancy and silent endurance, and on the transitory nature of earthly things: the ruins which cover the face of the earth are but presages of that general destruction to which all things are tending; the world grows old and decrepit day by day. The *Seafarer* is fragmentary, and therefore somewhat obscure. Its general subject is the dangers and hardships of the sea, and the fascinations of a sailor's roving life, with a purely lyrical undercurrent of ideas similar to those of the *Wanderer*. These poems have a wonderful harmony of language and metre, which is of course quite lost in a translation. The following piece is a literal rendering of a few lines of the *Seafarer*:—

“He cares not for harp, or gifts of gold; his joy is not in woman, nor are his thoughts of the world, or of aught else except the rolling waves; but he yearns ever to venture on the sea. The groves resume their flowers, the hills grow fair, the heath brightens, the world shakes off sloth. All this only reminds him to start on his journey, eager to depart on the distant tracks of ocean. The cuckoo also reminds him with his sad voice, when the guardian of summer sings, and bodes bitter heart-sorrow. (The cuckoo's song is here taken in the double sense of a bad omen and harbinger of summer—*Rieger*.) The man who lives in luxury knows not what they endure who wander far in exile! Therefore now my mind wanders out of my breast over the sea-floods, where the whale dwells,

returns again to me, fierce and eager, screams in its solitary flight, impels me irresistibly on the path of death over the ocean waters."

The *Ruin* is, unhappily, a very mutilated fragment. It describes a ruined castle, whose builders have long since passed away. This poem, together with the *Wanderer* and *Seafarer*, are the finest lyric pieces we possess. *The Complaint of the Soul to the Body*, and *The Blessed Soul's address to the Body*, treat of a favourite subject of the middle ages. Other short poems of a lyrical and didactic character have for their subjects the various fortunes of men, the various arts of men, the falsehood of men, the pride of men. These pieces are of no great literary merit, but their antiquarian value, as illustrations of life and manners, is considerable. *The Father's Advice to his Son*, is, as the title shows, purely didactic. The Gnostic poems consist of a string of aphorisms and proverbs strung together, often in a somewhat disconnected manner. Many of the passages are extremely poetical, and the poems generally bear a striking resemblance to the Norse *Hávamál*, and like them, belong no doubt to the earliest stage of poetry, however much they may have been altered in later times. The curious poem, *Salomon and Saturn*, consists also of a variety of gnostic sentences, mixed, however, with a variety of other matter, in the form of a dialogue. Much of the poem is of foreign origin, and often wildly extravagant, but many passages have a strongly heathen character, and are probably fragments of some older piece resembling the Eddaic *Vafþrúdnismál*. *Solomon and Saturn* treats of the divine virtue, personified under the mystic name of "Pater-noster," of "vafa mortis," the bird of death, of the fall of the angels, of the good and evil spirits that watch over men to encourage them to virtue or tempt to evil, of fate, old age, and various moral and religious subjects. Many passages of the poem are of high poetic beauty. The *Riddles* of Cynewulf are very pleasing. Many of them are true poems, containing beautiful descriptions of nature; and all of them have the charm of harmonious language and metre.

The religious lyric poetry is chiefly represented by the metrical psalms. The translation is a very fine one, far superior to any modern version. The language and style show that it was originally composed in the Northern dialect. The imperfect scholarship of the translator makes it doubtful whether the work is to be ascribed to Aldhelm, as suggested by Dietrich. Several metrical hymns and prayers, of little value, have also been preserved. The most valuable of the religious lyrics is the "Dream of the Cross," composed by Cynewulf, as an introduction to the *Elene*. The following is an abridged translation of the poem:—

"Lo! I will tell of the best of visions, which I dreamed at midnight. I thought I saw a noble tree raised aloft, encircled with light, bright with gems and molten gold. On it gazed all the angels of God, men, and all this fair creation; for it was no felon's gallows, but a noble victorious tree, and I was stained with sins. My mind was sad, awestruck at the fair sight, as I watched its changing hues:

now it was wet with blood, now bright with gold. I lay there a long while, gazing sorrowfully on the Saviour's tree, till I heard a voice: the best of woods began then to speak: 'It was long ago (I remember it still), when I was hewn on the borders of a forest, torn from my roots. Strong foes seized me, bore me on their shoulders, and fixed me on a hill. There they bade me raise aloft their felons. Then I saw the Lord of mankind hasten courageously, ready to ascend me. The young hero girded himself, he was God Almighty, resolute and stern of mood; he ascended the lofty gallows, proudly in the sight of many, eager to redeem mankind. I trembled, when the King embraced me, yet I durst not bow to earth; I could easily have felled all my foes, yet I stood firm. They pierced me with dark nails, the wounds are still visible on me, open gashes of malice. I durst not harm any of them, and they reviled us both together. I was all stained with blood; it poured from the hero's side, when he had yielded up his spirit. Many cruel fates have I endured on that hill! The Lord's body was shrouded in black clouds; deep shade oppressed the sun's rays. All creation wept, mourned the king's fall: Christ was on the road. Nobles came, hastening from afar; I beheld it all. I was sorely oppressed with sorrow, yet I bowed humbly before those men, yielded myself readily into their hands. They took Almighty God, and raised him from the cruel torment. They laid him down weary in his limbs, stood around at the head of the corpse, gazing on the Lord of heaven, and he rested there a while, weary after the great toil. They began then to work an earth-house, cutting it in white stone, and placed in it the victorious king. They sang then a lay of sorrow, disconsolate at eventide, when they departed weary from the noble prince. He rested there with a scanty retinue. The corpse grew cold, the fair life-dwelling. They began then to fell us all to the ground: that was a terrible fate! They buried us in a deep pit, but the Lord's disciples found me, and adorned me with gold and silver. Now thou hast heard, dear friend, what sorrows I have endured. On me the Son of God suffered, therefore I now tower gloriously under the heavens, and I can heal all who revere me. Once I was the hardest of tortures, the most hateful to men, until I cleared for them the way of life.'"]



The History of English Poetry.

SECTION I.



IN the foregoing account of Anglo-Saxon poetry, Mr. Sweet has intentionally passed over several Saints' Lives and other like productions which are hardly to be distinguished from alliterative prose in short lines, and are not really metrical. The Percy Society's Anglo-Saxon *Passion of St. George* (1850), Mr. Earle's *Saint Swidun*, &c., are of this class; and the third series of Ælfric's

Homilies (mainly lives of saints), on which Mr. Skeat is now engaged for the Early English Text Society,¹ will probably prove to be so.

We now pass on to the Second or Transition stage of English, which is generally called Semi-Saxon. Its first stage,—1100-1150, A.D.—contains no very striking specimens in any species of composition. Its substance was Anglo-Saxon, with degrading forms, and slightly mixed with Norman-French. The Saxon, a language subsisting on uniform principles, and polished by poets and theologists, however corrupted by the Danes, had much perspicuity, strength, and harmony: while the Norman-French imported by the Conqueror and his people—though of mixed origin (principally Latin, with a slight admixture of Teutonic and Celtic),—was a tongue of great beauty and power.

[Norman and Saxon struggled for the mastery, and] in this fluctuating state of our national speech, the French predominated [for a time]. Even before the Conquest the Saxon language began to fall into contempt, and the French, or Frankish, to be substituted in its stead: a circumstance which at once facilitated and foretold the Norman accession. In the year 652, [if we may trust the spurious History of Ingulphus] it was the common practice of the Anglo-Saxons to send their youth to the monasteries of France for educa-

¹ [This society has undertaken to print all our unedited Anglo-Saxon MSS. Those of the time of Alfred are under Mr. Sweet's charge; the later ones will be edited by Dr. R. Morris, Mr. Skeat, and Mr. Lumby.]

tion:¹ and not only the language but the manners of the [Franks] were esteemed the most polite accomplishments.² In the reign of Edward the Confessor, the resort of Normans to the English court was so frequent, that the affectation of imitating the Frankish customs became almost universal; and the nobility were ambitious of catching the Frankish idiom. It was no difficult task for the Norman lords to banish that language, of which the natives began to be absurdly ashamed. The new invaders [are said, but probably in error, to have] commanded the laws to be administered in French.³ Many charters of monasteries were forged in Latin by the Saxon monks for the present security of their possessions, in consequence of that aversion which the Normans professed to the Saxon tongue.⁴ Even children at school were forbidden [says the spurious Ingulphus] to read in their native language, and instructed in a knowledge of the Norman only.⁵ In the meantime we should have some regard to the general and political state of the nation. The natives were so universally reduced to the lowest condition of neglect and indigence, that the English name became a term of reproach: and several generations elapsed before one family of Saxon pedigree was raised to any distinguished honours or could so much as attain the rank of baronage.⁶ Among other instances of that absolute and voluntary submission with which our Saxon ancestors received a foreign yoke, it is said [in the spurious Ingulphus] that they suffered their hand-writing to fall into discredit and disuse;⁷ which by degrees became so difficult and obsolete, that few beside the oldest men could understand the characters.⁸ In the year 1095, Wolstan bishop of Worcester was deposed by the arbitrary Normans: it was objected against him, that he was "a superannuated English idiot, who could not speak French."⁹ It is true that in some of the monasteries, particularly at Croyland and Tavistock, founded by Saxon princes, there were regular preceptors in the Saxon language: but this institution was suffered to remain after the Conquest as a matter only of interest and necessity. The religious could not otherwise have understood their original charters. William's successor, Henry I., gave an instrument of con-

¹ Dugd. *Mon.* i. 89.

² Ingulph. *Hist.* p. 62, *sub ann.* 1043.

³ But there is a precept in Saxon from William I. to the sheriff of Somersetshire. Hickes, *Thes.* i. Par. i. p. 106. See also Præfat. *ibid.* p. xv.

⁴ The Normans, who practised every specious expedient to plunder the monks, demanded a sight of the written evidences of their lands. The monks well knew that it would have been useless or impolitic to have produced these evidences, or charters, in the original Saxon; as the Normans not only did not understand, but would have received with contempt, instruments written in that language. Therefore the monks were compelled to the pious fraud of forging them in Latin; and great numbers of these forged Latin charters, till lately supposed original, are still extant. See Spelman, in *Not. ad Concil. Anglic.* p. 125; Stillingsf. *Orig. Eccles. Britann.* p. 14; Marham, Præfat. ad Dugd. *Monast.*; and Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* vol. ii. Præfat. pp. ii. iii. iv. See also Ingulph. p. 512. Launoy and Mabillon have treated this subject with great learning and penetration.

⁵ Ingulph. p. 71, *sub ann.* 1066.

⁶ See Brompt. *Chron.* p. 1026; Abb. Rieval, p. 339.

⁷ Ingulph. p. 85.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 98, *sub ann.* 1091.

⁹ Matt. Paris. *sub ann.*

firmation to William archbishop of Canterbury, which was written in the Saxon language and letters.¹ That monarch's motive was perhaps political: and he seems to have practised this expedient with a view of obliging his queen who was of Saxon lineage, or with a design of flattering his English subjects, and of securing his title already strengthened by a Saxon match, in consequence of so specious and popular an artifice. It was a common and indeed a very natural practice, for the transcribers of Saxon books to change the Saxon orthography for the Norman, and to substitute in the place of the original Saxon Norman words and phrases. A remarkable instance of this liberty, which sometimes perplexes and misleads the critics in Anglo-Saxon literature, appears in a voluminous collection of Saxon homilies preserved in the Bodleian library, and written about the time of Henry II.² It was with the Saxon characters, as with the signature of the crofs in public deeds, which were changed into the Norman mode of seals and subscriptions.³ The Saxon was [of course] spoken in the country, yet not without various adulterations from the French: the courtly language was [Norman-] French, yet perhaps with some vestiges of the vernacular Saxon. But the nobles in the reign of Henry II. constantly sent their children into France, lest they should contract habits of barbarism in their speech, which could not have been avoided in an English education.⁴ Robert Holcot, a learned Dominican friar, confesses that in the beginning of the reign of Edward III. there was no institution of children in the old English: he complains that they first learned the French, and from the French the Latin language. This he observes to have been a practice introduced by the Conqueror, and to have remained ever since."⁵ There is a curious passage relating to this subject in Trevisa's translation of Hygden's *Polychronicon*.⁶ "Chyldern in scoles, azenes þe usage and manere of al oþere nacions, buþ compelled for to leue here oune longage, and for to construe here lessons and here þingis a Freynsch; and habbeþ suþe þe Normans come furst into Engeland. Also gentilmen children buþ ytauht for to speke Freynsch fram tyme that a buþ yrokked in here cradel, and conneþ speke and pleye wiþ a child his brouch: and uplondysch⁷ men wol lykne hamfylf to gentile men, and fondeþ⁸ with gret bysfynes for to speke

¹ Wharton, *Auðor. Histor. Dogmat.* p. 388. The learned Mabillon is mistaken in asserting, that the Saxon way of writing was entirely abolished in England at the time of the Norman Conquest. See Mabillon, *De Re Diplom.* p. 52. The French antiquaries are fond of this notion. There are Saxon characters in Herbert Lo-finga's charter for founding the church of Norwich, temp. Will. Ruf. A.D. 1110. See Lambard's *Diction.* v. NORWICH. See also Hickes, *Thesaur.* i. Par. i. p. 149. And Præfat. p. xvi. An intermixture of the Saxon *u* is common in English MSS. [up to 1200, A.D.; the *ð* was used still later, and the *þ* after 1500; indeed, the latter is still seen in our *ye* for *the*.]

² MSS. Bodl. NE. F. 4. 12.

³ Yet some Norman charters have the crofs.

⁴ Gervas. Tilbur. *de Otis Imperial.* MSS: Bibl. Bodl. lib. iii. See Du Chesne, iii. p. 363.

⁵ *Let. in Libr. Sapient.* Let. ii. 1518.

⁶ Lib. i. cap. 59, MSS. Coll. S. Johan. Cantabr. Robert of Gloucester, who wrote about 1280, says much the same: edit. Hearne, p. 364.

⁷ upland, country.

⁸ try.

Freynsch for to be more ytold of. Thys manere was moche yufed tofore þet furste moreyn; and ys seþe somdel ychaunged. For John Cornwall, a maystere of gramere chaungede þe lore in gramere scole, and construccion of Freynsch into Englysch: and Richard Pencryche lernede þat manere techynge of hym, and oþere men of Pencryche. So þat þe zer of oure Lord *a thousand thre hon. red foure score and fyve*, [and] of þe secunde Kyng Richard after þe conquest nyne, in al þe grammere scoles of Engelond childern leueth Freynsch and construeþ and lurneþ an Englysch,"¹ &c. About the same time, or rather before, the students of our universities were ordered to converse in French or Latin.² The latter was much affected by the Normans. All the Norman accounts were in Latin. The plan of the great royal revenue-rolls, now called the pipe-rolls, was of their construction and in that language. Among the Records of the Tower, a great revenue-roll on many sheets of vellum, or *Magnus Rotulus*, of the Duchy of Normandy for the year 1083, is still preserved indorsed in a cœval hand ANNO AB ICARNATIONE DNI M° LXXX° III° APUD CADOMUM [Caen] WILLIELMO FILIO RADULFI SENESCALLO NORMANNIE.³ This most exactly and minutely resembles the pipe-rolls of our exchequer belonging to the same age in form, method, and character.⁴ But from the declension of the barons and prevalence of the commons, most of whom were of English ancestry, the native language of England gradually gained ground; till at length the interest of the commons so far succeeded with Edward III., that an act of parliament was passed [in 1362], appointing all pleas and proceedings of law to be carried on in English;⁵ although the same statute decrees, in the true Norman spirit, that all such pleas and proceedings should be enrolled in Latin.⁶ Yet this change did not restore either the Saxon alphabet or language. It abolished a

[¹ From the contemporary MS. Cotton. Tiberius, D. vii., collated with Harl. MS. 1900, in Dr. R. Morris's handy book for students, *Specimens of Early English*, 1250-1400, A.D. p. 338-9.—F.]

² In the statutes in Oriel College in Oxford, it is ordered that the scholars or fellows, "siqua inter se proferant, colloquio Latino, vel saltem Gallico, perfruantur." See Hearne's *Trakeloue*, p. 298. These statutes were given 23 Maii, A.D. 1328. I find much the same injunction in the statutes of Exeter College, Oxford, given about 1330; where they are ordered to use "Romano aut Gallico saltem sermone." Hearne's MSS. Collect. No. 132, p. 73, Bibl. Bodl. But in Merton College statutes mention is made of the Latin only (cap. x.). They were given 1271. This was also common in the greater monasteries. In the register of Wykeham bishop of Winchester, the domicellus of the prior of St. Swythyn's at Winchester is ordered to address the bishop on a certain occasion in French. A.D. 1398. Registr. Par. iii. fol. 177.

[³ Privately printed by Petrie, 1830, 4°. Two other rolls of the Norman era have been published by Stapleton, 1848, 2 vols. 8°.]

⁴ Ayloffe's *Calendar of Ant. Chart.* Pref. p. xxiv. edit. 1774.

⁵ But the French formularies and terms of law, and particularly the French feudal phraseology, had taken too deep root to be thus hastily abolished. Hence, long after the reign of Edward III., many of our lawyers composed their tracts in French. And reports and some statutes were made in that language. See Fortescut. *De Laud Leg. Angl.* c. xlviii.

⁶ Pulton's Statut. 36 Edw. III. This was A.D. 1363. The first English instrument in Rymer is dated 1368. *Fœd.* vii. p. 526.

token of subjection and disgrace, and in some degree contributed to prevent further French innovations in the language then used, which yet remained in a compound state, and retained a considerable mixture of foreign phraseology. In the meantime, it must be remembered that this corruption of the Saxon was not only owing to the admission of new words, occasioned by the new alliance, but to changes of its own forms and terminations, arising from reasons which we cannot investigate or explain.¹

[The Transition Period of the English language, between 1100 and 1250 A.D., may be divided into two stages, 1100-1150, 1150-1250. The characteristics of the language of each of these stages are its successive changes from Anglo-Saxon, principally in inflexions; and of these changes, between 1100 and 1300 A.D., we are enabled to present² the following sketch:—

Changes from 1100 to 1150.

(This period includes part of the *A.-Sax. Chronicle*, and some prose pieces as yet inedited. No poetical compositions of this period have, as yet, been found.)

The changes are mostly *orthographical* ones.

1. The older vowel endings, *a, o, u*, were reduced to *e*. This change affected the oblique cases of nouns and adjectives, as well as the nominative, causing great confusion in the grammatical inflexions, so that the termination

an	became	en.
um	„	en.
ena	„	en.
on	„	en.
as	„	es.
ath	„	eth.
ra, ru	„	re.
od, ode	„	ed, ede.

The older endings were not wholly lost, but co-exist along with the modified forms.

2. C is sometimes softened to *ch*, and *g* to *y* or *i*, but *ſc* remains intact.

3. An *n* is often added to a final *e*, and *n* often falls off, especially in the endings of nouns of the *n* declension and in the definite declension of adjectives.

Changes from 1150 to 1250,

(Including pieces in Dr. R. Morris's *Old English Homilies*,
Lazamon, &c.)

Great grammatical changes take place, and orthographical ones become fully established.

[¹ This subject will be further illustrated in the next Section.]

[² By the kindness of Dr. Richard Morris, who drew up the present insertion.]

1. The indefinite article *an* (*a*), is developed out of the numeral *an* (one). It retains most of the older inflexions.

2. The definite article becomes *the*, *theo*, *that* (*that*), instead of *se*, *seo*, *that*.

There is a tendency to drop suffixes, and to use an uninflected *the*. *The* occurs as a plural instead of *tha* or *tho*.

3. Plurals of nouns end in *—en* or *—e* instead of the older *a* or *u*, thus conforming to the *n* declension.

4. The plural ending *—es* is often substituted for *—en*.

5. Genitive plural *—es*, is occasionally found for *—e* or *—ene*.

6. Confusion in the genders of nouns, showing a tendency to abolish the older distinction of masculine, feminine and neuter nouns.

7. Adjectives show a tendency to drop certain case endings :

(1.) The gen. sing. masc. indef. declension.

(2.) The gen. and dat. fem. of indef. declension.

8. Dual forms are still in use, but are less frequently employed.

9. New pronominal forms come into use :

ha, *a* = he, she, they ; *is* (*bise*) = *bire* = her ;

his, *is* = *hi*, *heo* = them ; *me* = *men* = *man* = Fr. *on*.

That is used as an indeclinable relative (1) for the indeclinable *the* : (2) for *se* and *seo*. *Which*, *whose*, *whom*, *what*, come in as relatives.

10. The *n* of *min*, *thin*, drops off before consonants, but is retained in the oblique cases.

11. The genitive cases of the pronouns are becoming mere possessives.

Mi-self, *thi-self*, for *me self*, *the self*.

12. The infinitive frequently omits the final *n*, as *smelle* = *smellen*.

The infinitive often takes *to*, as in the earlier text of *Lazamon*.

13. The gerundial or dative infinitive ends in *—en* or *—e*, instead of *—ene* (= *enne*, *anne*).

14. The *n* of the passive participle is often dropped, as *icume* = *icumen* = come.

15. The present participle ends in *—inde* (for *ende*).

The participle in *inde* often does duty for the dative infinitive in *—ene*, as *to swimende* = *to swimene* = to swim.

This corruption is found before 1066.

Shall and *will*, are used as auxiliaries of the future tense.

16. The above remarks are based on the Southern dialect, but the *Ormulum* has a general disregard for nearly all inflexions.

(1.) The article is uninflected in the singular, and for the pl. we only find the nom. *tha*.

That is a demonstrative, and not the neuter of the article.

(2.) The gender of nouns is much the same as in modern English.

(3.) The genitive *s* is used for masc. and fem. nouns.

(4.) *Thezz*, *thezzre*, *thezzm*, are used for *hi*, *heore*, *beom*.

zho = she, for *beo*.

(5.) Verbal plurals end in *en* instead of *eth* (except imper. pl.)

(6.) The particle *i* (or *ge*) is dropt before the passive participle.

(7.) Inflexion is often lost in the 2nd perf. pret. of strong verbs.

(8.) The *Ancren Riwele*, *St. Marbarete*, &c. have *sch* for *sc*, which change seems to have taken place after 1200.

There is a mixture of dialect in these latter works, and there is more simplicity of grammatical structure than in *Lazamon*, &c.

(9.) *Arn* occurs, as in the *Ormulum*, for *beoth* or *find*.

Changes from 1250 to 1300.

(1.) The def. article has not wholly lost in the Southern dialect the gen. sing. fem. and acc. masc. inflexions: *tho* is the plural in all cases.

(2.) The gender of nouns is much simplified, owing to loss of adjective inflexions.

(3.) Plurals of nouns in *en* and *es* are used indiscriminately.

(4.) The genitive *es* becomes more general, and often takes the place

(1.) Of the older —*en* or —*e*. (n. decl.)

(2.) Of *e* (fem. nouns).

(3.) Of the plural —*ene* or —*e*.

(5.) Dative *e* (sing. and pl.) is often dropt.

(6.) Dual forms rare; and lost before 1300.

(7.) Adjective inflexions are reduced to *e*.

The gen. pl. —*re* is retained in a few cases, as *al-re*, as well as the gen. sing. —*es* in a few pronominal forms, as *eaches*, *otheres*.

(8.) The gerundial infinitive in *e* or *en* is more common than in —*ene*.

(9.) Some strong verbs become weak.

(10.) Present participles in —*inge* make their appearance in the second text of *Lazamon*, say 1270 A. D.

All these points are subject to occasional exceptions caused by dialectal differences. Thus, the Kentish of the thirteenth century, as far as we know it, has older forms than the western, as exhibited in *Lazamon*, as *se* = the (m.) *si*, f. &c., while the *Ayenbite* of the fourteenth century is more inflectional in many respects than the *Ancren Riwele* and *St. Marbarete*.

Having thus stated the characteristics of the two stages of the Transition Period, in the first of which we have, as above noted, no poetry, we proceed to give a list of the principal poetical works known to us in manuscript in the second stage of the Transition Period, and the Early English Period—with some extension,—only warning our readers that our dates are in many cases hypothetical ones, as it is very difficult to settle the date of an old romance or poem known to us only through a late and often altered copy. Of the MS. of the latter we know the date, but it would be absurd to give that date to the early original.

As it would be impossible, under existing circumstances, to notice in detail all the Early English Poems that have been printed, or made known in modern times, we trust that the reader will be content with our list of the principal ones, and the volumes containing most

of the minor ones, so that he may examine for himself those that he does not find described in the course of the *History*:

Before 1200 A.D.

Poetical pieces from the Lambeth MS. 487. (*in Tannis, O.E. Homilies*)

From 1200 to 1250, A.D.

Dr. R. Morris's Old English Homilies (Early English Text Society), pp. 1—182.

? The Grave, in Thorpe's *Analekta*.

Ormulum (ed. White).

Laȝamon, the 1st text (ed. Madden).

St. Marharete, the 1st text (ed. Cockayne).

St. Katherine (ed. Morton, Abbotsford Club).

St. Juliana (ed. Cockayne).

The Poetical Pieces in Dr. R. Morris's Eng. Homilies (pp. 182—287).

Later versions of the Moral Ode.

From 1250 to 1300 A.D.

Genesis and Exodus (ed. Dr. R. Morris).

Bestiary (ed. by T. Wright in *Reliq. Antiq.*, and by Dr. R. Morris in *Old English Bestiary, &c.*, Early English Text Society, 1871).

Laȝamon, 2nd text (ed. Madden).

Cuckoo Song and Prisoners' Prayer (ed. A. J. Ellis, Philolog. Soc., 1868).

The Owl and Nightingale (eds. Stevenson and T. Wright; Stratmann, best edition).

The Religious Pieces from the Jesus MS., in *Old English Bestiary*, 1871.

Havelok the Dane (eds. Madden and Skeat).

O. E. Northern Psalter (ed. Stevenson, for Surtees Society).

Athanasian Creed (Hickes's *Thesaurus*).

1264-1327. Political Songs (ed. T. Wright, Camden Society).

1280-1300. Hending's Proverbs (ed. T. Wright and R. Morris).

Lyric Poetry, Harl. 2253 (ed. T. Wright, Percy Society).

Harrowing of Hell, Maximon &c., Harl. 2253 (ed. Halliwell, &c.)

Horn (ed. Michel, Roxburghe Club; ed. Lumby, Early English Text Society; ed. Mätzner and Goldbeck in their *Sprachproben*, best edition).

Close upon 1300 A.D., but probably after, to judge by *ou* for *u*.

Romance of Alexander (in Weber's *Metrical Romances*, vol. i.).

Robert of Gloucester (Cotton MS.—*not* the version printed by Hearne).

Lives of Saints (ed. Furnivall¹); SS. Brandan and Beket (Percy Society); Popular Science (ed. T. Wright); and the rest in the Harleian MS. 2277.

1303. Robert Manning of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, MS. about 1370 (ed. Furnivall, Roxburghe Club).

— (?) *Meditations on the Lord's Supper*.

Curfor Mundi, or *Curfor o Worlde*² (in hand for the Early English Text Society, 2 parallel texts).

1310-20? Metrical Homilies (ed. Small).

1310-20? Pieces in Digby MS. 86. Maximian, Dame Siriz, Vox and Wolf, &c. (*Rel. Ant.*, Mätzner, Hazlitt, &c.) Harrowing of Hell, &c.

1320? Poem on the times of Edward II. (ed. Hardwicke, Percy Society).

1320-30? All the Romances and pieces in the Auchinleck MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, of which a list is given in Sir Walter Scott's edition of Sir Trifram, and Mr. D. Laing's *Penniworthe of Wit*, &c. (Abbotsford Club, 1857). The principal are:—*Bevis of Hampton* (Maitland Club); *Guy of Warwick* (Abbotsford Club); *Sir Trifram* (ed. Scott);

[¹ The contraction *ie* was by mistake printed *ic* instead of *ich*, in this edition.—F.]

[² There are a great many *u*'s for *ou*'s in *Curfor Mundi* (Cotton MS.), and Dr. R. Morris is inclined to think that the *oldest* text, from which many dialectal copies have been made, was written before 1300; but this original has not yet been found.]

- Otuel (Abbotsford Club); Roland and Vernagu (Abbotsford Club); Orfeo and Heurodis (ed. Laing); Arthour & Merlin (Abbotsford Club); Seven Sages (Weber); Syr Degore (Abbotsford Club); Guy and Alquine; Lai le Freine, King of Tars, and Horn Child (Ritson); Liber Regum Anglie; Assumption of the Virgin; Joachim, our Lady's Mother; Amis and Amiloun (Weber); Owayn Miles; Harrowing of Hell; Body and Soul; Pope Gregory; Adam; St. Margaret; St. Katherine.
- 1325? Shoreham's Poems (ed. T. Wright, Percy Society).
1338. Robert Manning of Brunne's Chronicle (Part I. ed. Furnivall; Part II. ed. Hearne).
- 1340? The Pálms wrongly called Shoreham's (Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 17,376).
- 1340? Alifaunder, a fragment, with William of Palerne (Skeat's ed.).
- 1340-8. Hampole's Pricke of Conscience (ed. R. Morris, Philological Society) and Minor Poems.
1350. William of Palerne, or William and the Werwolf (ed. Madden, Roxburghe Club; Skeat, Early English Text Society).
1352. Minot's Poems (ed. Ritson).
- 1360? Early English Alliterative Poems (ed. R. Morris, Early English Text Society), and
- Gawayne & the Green Knight, Cotton MS. Nero, A. x. (ed. Madden, Roxburghe Club; R. Morris, Early English Text Society; See too Percy Folio, ii. 56). The coarse paintings in the cotton MS. are later than the text.
- Respecting the age of the Cotton MS., however, Sir F. Madden observes (*Sir Gawayne*, 1839, 301): "It will not be difficult, from a careful inspection of the manuscript itself, in regard to the writing and illuminations, to assign it to the reign of Richard the Second; and the internal evidence, arising from the peculiarities of costume, armour, and architecture, would lead us to assign the romance to the same period, or a little earlier."
- 1360? Morte Arthure (eds. Halliwell, Perry, and Brock, the two latter for the Early English Text Society, from the Thornton MS. about 1440 A.D.).
- ? The Geste Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy (ed. Donaldson and Panton, Early English Text Society).
1362. Piers Plowman, Text A (ed. Skeat, Early English Text Society).
- 1366? Chaucer's Romaunt of the Rose.¹
1369. Chaucer's Boke of the Ducheſſe. Rewle of St. Benet (Northern).
- 1373? Chaucer's Life of St. Cecile.
- Chaucer's Asſemble of Foules, and Palamon and Arcite.
1375. Barbour's Brus (ed. Hart, Anderson, &c.; Pinkerton, Jamieson, James; best ed. Skeat, 1870).
- About 1375. All the pieces in the (Southern) Vernon MS.,² of which Mr. Halliwell printed an incomplete and incorrect list.³ The chief are:
- *Old and New Testament, abridged.
- Saints' Lives, &c. (Other Brit. Mus. MSS. are Harl. 2277, 4196

[¹ Mr. Henry Bradshaw disputes the Glasgow MS., the only one known of any English translation of the Rose, being Chaucer's version.]

[² A very imperfect duplicate of this MS., the Simeon or Additional MS. 22,283, is in the British Museum.]

[³ The Vernon MS. has these Lives, &c., which are not in the earlier Harl. MS. 2277. (The numbers are those of Mr. Halliwell's list). How the Martyrs be God's Knights, "Now bloweth this newe fruyt that late bigon to springe," (1st line of Lives.) 2 New Year's Day, 3 Twelfth Day (Epiphany), 4 St. Hillare, 5 St. Wolston, St. Edward, and William of Normandy, 6 St. Fabian, 7 St. Agnes, 8 St. Vincent, 9 St. Juliane, 10 St. Blase, 11 St. Agace, 12 St. Scolace, 13 St. Valentin, 14 St. Juliane, 15 St. Mathi[as], 16 St. Gregori, 17 St. Longius, 18 St. Edward the King, 19 St. Cuthberd, (20 St. Benet), 21 St. Julian, 22 St. Bride, 23 St. Ofwald, 24, St. Chadde, 40 St. Pernele, 42 St. Adboruh, 44 St. Aylbriht, 45

(Northern), Egerton, 1993; Additional, 10301, 10626). Mr. Earle has printed the St. Swithin and St. Mary of Egypt.

*Barlaam and Josafaph.

*La Efforie del Evangelie translated (to the Nativity).

*Gospels illustrated by Stories.

Wm. of Nassington's Mirror of Life, from Jn. of Waldby's Speculum Vitæ.

†Hampole's Prick of Conscience.

The Prikke of Love.

Bodie and Soule (ed. T. Wright, in Mapes's Poems, pp. 340-6).

Chriftes Passiõ; Chrif and the Devil, &c.

Castell off Loue (ed. Weymouth, Philological Society, 1864).

*†Kyng Robert of Cicyle, &c.

Kyng of Tars and Soudan of Dammas (ed. Ritson, Metr. Rom.).

*Proverbs and Cato.

Stacions of Rome (ed. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, 1867).

Virgin and Chrif's Crofs (ed. Morris, Early English Text Society, 1871).

*†Piftyl of Sweet Susan. Stimulus Amoris.

Hampole's Perfect Living. Contemplative Life.

Mirour of St. Edmund. Abbey of the Holy Gost, or Conscience.

Spiritum Guidonis. *Life of Adam and Eve.

Piers Plowman, Text A. (ed. Skeat, Early English Text Society).

*Joseph of Arimathæa, or the Holy Graal (ed. Skeat, Early English Text Society, 1871).

Lives of Pilate and Judas (ed. Furnivall, Philological Society).

Minor Poems (some printed).

1370-80. Sir Amadas, Avowyng of Arthur, &c. (eds. Stephens and Robson).

1377 Piers Plowman, Text B. (ed. Crowley, T. Wright; Skeat, best edition, Early English Text Society).

1377? *Sir Ferumbras (Athmole MS. 33).

Chaucer's Troylus and Cresseide.¹

1380? Piers Plowman, text C. (ed. Whitaker).

1384? Chaucer's Houfe of Fame.

Chaucer's Anelida and Arcite, Complaynt of Mars and Venus, and minor pieces.

Chaucer's Legend of Good Women.

1387? Chaucer's Canterbury Tales.²

Sowdane of Babyloyne and Sir Ferumbras (Roxburghe Club).

Barbour's Troy Book, MSS. fragments.

Audelay's Poems (Percy Society).

* Copied, and in hand for the Early English Text Society.

† Of this, another MS. has been printed.

St. Aeldrede, 46 St. Botulf, 47 St. Patrik, 50 St. Athelwold, 55 St. Mildride, 58 St. Allix (different metre), 59 St. Gregory, 60 The 7 Sleepers, 61 St. Dominick, 62 King St. Oswold, 65 St. Perpolyt, 69 St. Egwyne, 73 St. Justine, 74 St. Leger, 75 St. Francis. Also in different metre: 87 Sancta Paula, 89 Virgin in Antioch, 90 ditto, Miracle of a Virgin, 91 Sithia and Climonen, 92 St. Theodora, 93 St. Bernard, 94 St. Austin, 95 St. Savyn. The Beket is different too.

The earlier Harl. MS. 2277 has these Lives, &c. not in the Vernon:—4 Leynte, 6 Paſcha, 7 Afencio, 8 Pentecost, 13 Letanie, 14 Rouifons, 18 Quiriac, 19 Brendan, 24 Teofle, 46 Denis, 47 Luc, 48. 11,000 Virgins, 49 Symon and Jude, 50 Quintin, 51 All Saints, 52 All Souls, 53 St. Leonard, 54 St. Martin, 55 Edmund Confessor, 56 Edmund King, 63 St. Anaface, 65 Invencio Stephani.

The following are lost from the beginning of Harl. MS. 2277:—Hillarij, Wolfstani, Fabiani, Sebastiani, Agnetis, Vincencij, Juliani conf[essoris], Juliani hoſp[itis], Brigide, Blasi, Agathe, Scolafice, Valentini, Juliane virginis, Mathie apostoli, Ofwaldi, Cedde conf[essoris], Gregorij, Longij, Patricij, Edwardi Juuenis, Cutberti, and (part) Benedic[i].

[¹ The prose *Boece* was probably written before *Troylus*.]

[² The prose *Afolabe* contains the date 1391.]

- The altered version of Wm. of Naffington's *Mirroir of Life*, (from Jn. of Waldby's *Speculum Vitæ*).
- 1390? Barbour's *Lives of Saints* (MS. in Camb. Univ. Library, about 40,000 lines).
Troy Book, Bodleian MS.
- 1392-3. Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (ed. Pauli, a poor text).
- 1394? Pierce the Ploughman's Crede (ed. Wolfe, Rogers, Whitaker, T. Wright; Skeat, Early English Text Society, best ed.).
- 1395? Plowman's Tale (ed. 1687, Wright's *Polit. Poems*, ii.)
- 1395? Richard Maydenstoon's *Psalms* (Rawlinson MS. A. 389).
The Lay Folks' Mass Book (ed. Simmons, Early English Text Society, in the press).
1399. Deposition of Richard II. (ed. T. Wright for the Camden Society, and in *Political Poems*, vol. ii.).

After 1400 A.D. a final rapidly lost such grammatical value as it had at the close of the 14th century. Many copies of earlier romances, &c., are preserved for us only in 15th century MSS.

- ? Morte Arthure, from MS. Harl. 2252, ab. 1440-50, A.D. (ed. Panton, Roxburghe Club; ed. Furnivall).
1410. Lydgate's Translation of Boethius.
1414. Brampton's Penitential Psalms (Percy Society).
- 1414-25. Poems of James I. of Scotland.
- 1420? Mirk's Duties of a Parish Priest (ed. Peacock, Early English Text Society).
- 1420? Occleve's *De Regimine Principum* (ed. T. Wright, Roxburghe Club);
Minor Poems (ed. Mason, 1796, and those in MS.)
1420. Siege of Rouen (*Archæologia*, xxi, xxii.).
- 1425? Palladius on Husbandry, translated (ed. Lodge, Early English Text Society; in the press).
1426. Lydgate's Pilgrim (from De Guileville).
- 1430? Partonope of Blois (ed. Buckley, Roxburghe Club).
- 1430? Minor Poems of Lydgate (ed. Halliwell, Percy Soc. Others are in MS. at Trinity College, Cambridge, &c. &c.)
- 1430? Merlin, Douce MS. 236, 1296 lines (differs from Affleck copy).
Athelston (and other pieces in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, ii.).
- 1430? Poem on Freemasonry (ed. Halliwell).
- 1430? Chevelere Assigne (ed. Utterton, Roxburghe Club; H. H. Gibbs, Early English Text Society).
- 1430-40. Lincoln's Inn MS. 150; Ly beaus Disconus; Merlin, &c.
- 1430? Ancient Mysteries from the Digby MS. (Abbotsford Club).
1430. Political, Religious, and Love Poems (ed. Furnivall, Early English Text Society).
- 1430? English verse translation of *Speculum Humane Salvationis*. Mr. Hy. Huth's MS.
- 1430? Sir Generides (ed. Furnivall, Roxburghe Club; Lydgate's version is in a MS. at Trinity College, Cambridge).
Robert of Cyrcille (ed. Halliwell, in *Nugæ Poeticæ*).
The Siege of Jerusalem (2 versions).
Jon the Gardener, and Poems on Herbs (MS. Trinity College, Cambridge, in hand for Early English Text Society).
- 1430? Hymns to the Virgin and Christ, the Parliament of Devils, &c. (ed. Furnivall, Early English Text Society).
- 1430-40? The poems in the Cambr. University MS. F f 2, 38. Many of the minor poems have been printed. The principal pieces are:—
Commandments, 7 Works, 5 Wits, 7 Sins and Virtues.
The Good Man and his Son, Merchant and Wife, Merchant and Son (all printed).
Erle of Tolous (ed. Ritson, *Metr. Rom.*, iii. 93-114).
Syr Eglamoure (ed. Halliwell, *Thornton Rom.* 121-176. See too Percy Folio, ii. 338.)

- Syr Tryamour (ed. Halliwell, Percy Society. See, too, Percy Folio, ii. 78.)
 Octavian (ed. Halliwell, Percy Society, 1844).
 Seven Ages (imperfect, differs from Affleck copy).
 Guy of Warwick (12156 lines, perfect). Another copy at Caius College, Cambridge. Copies of Lydgate's translation are in the Bodleian, and in Harleian MS. 5243.
 Le Bone Florence of Rome (ed. Ritson, Metr. Rom. iii. 1-92).
 Robert of Sicily (ed. Halliwell, 1844).
 Sir Degare (imperfect. See too Percy Folio, i. 344).
 †Bevis of Hampton.
- 1430? Lydgate's Siege of Thebes, and other Poems.
 1430, 1460, &c. The Babes Book, Ruffell's Book of Courtesy, &c. (ed. Furnivall, Early English Text Society).
 1430. Two Alexander Fragments (ed. Stevenson, Roxburghe Club).
 1440? Lyfe of Ipomydon (Harl. MS. 2252, later ed. Weber.)
 1440? Arthur (ed. Furnivall, Early English Text Society).
 1440? Torrent of Portugal (ed. Halliwell).
 1440? Sir Gowther (ed. Utterton).
 1440? Poems of Charles Duke of Orleans (Roxburghe Club).
 1440? Those pieces in the Thornton MS. which do not belong to a much earlier date. See a list of the contents of the MS. in Mr. Halliwell's "Thornton Romances" for the Camden Society. The principal poems are:
 Morte Arthure (ed. Halliwell, ed. Perry, and best ed. Brock).
 †Octavyane, †Syr Ifumbrace, †Erle of Tholoufe, †Syr Degravante, †Syr Eglamour.
 Tomas off Ersfeldoune (ed. Laing, in Select Remains).
 Syr Percyvelle of Gales (ed. Halliwell, Thornton Rom. 1-70.)
 Awnetys of Arthur at the Tarne Wathelan (ed. Laing, in Select Remains, and Madden in Syr Gawayne, 15-128).
 Wm. of Naffington on the Trinity (ed. Perry, Early English Text Society).
 Sayne Johan, &c. (ed. Perry, Early English Text Society).
1443. Bokenam's Lives of Saints (Roxburghe Club).
 1440-50? Henry Lonelich's Saynt Graal (ed. Furnivall, Roxburghe Club) and Merlin; both imperfect.
 Songs and Carols (ed. Wright, Percy Society and Warton Club).
 1450? Sir Degrevvaunt (ed. Halliwell, Thornton Romances, 177-276), and many poems in Cambridge University, MS. F f 1, 6.
 1450? Chester Plays (ed. T. Wright, Shakespeare Society).
 1455? The Buke of the Howlat, by Sir R. de Holande (ed. Pinkerton, 1792; Bannatyne Club, 1823).
 1460. Wyntown's Chronicle (ed. Macpherson, 1795).
 1462? The Wright's Chaste Wife (ed. Furnivall, Early English Text Society).
 Wey's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem (Roxburghe Club, and Mr. H. Huth's MS.).
- 1460? Towneley (or Widkirk) Mysteries (ed. Surtees Society).
 1460? Play of the Sacrament (ed. Stokes, Philological Society).
 1460? York Mysteries (Lord Ashburnham's MS.)
 1460? Miscellanies from the Porkington MS.
 1460? Liber Cure Cocorum (ed. R. Morris, Philological Society).
 1460? Tundale's Visions, &c. (ed. Turnbull).
 1460? Blind Harry's Wallace (ed. Jamieson, &c.)
 1460? Knight and his Wife, and Life of St. Katherine (ed. Halliwell).
 1460? The pieces in the Cotton MS. Caligula A. ii. from older originals.
 †Eglamor of Artus.
 †Octavian Imperator.
 Launfal Miles (ed. Ritson, Metr. Rom.).
 Ly beaus Disconus, or The Fayre Unknown (ed. Ritson, Metric. Rom. ii.; ed. Hippeau; see also another copy in the Percy Folio, ii. 415).

† Of these, other MSS. have been printed.

- The Nightingale, from John of Hoveden's Latin. He wrote the *Prædica Chilindri* in the Chaucer Society's Essay, Part 2.
 Emare (ed. Ritson, Metr. Rom.).
 Ypotis (Vernon MS.; in hand for Early English Text Society).
 Stations of Rome, St. Gregory's Trental, (ed. Furnivall, 1866, Early English Text Society).
 Urbanitas (ed. Furnivall, Babees Book, Early English Text Society, 1868).
 †Owayne Miles (another MS. pr. at Edinburgh). †Tundale.
 Siege of Jerusalem (see Vesp. E. xvi. leaf 78).
 †Ifumbras.
 St. Jerome. St. Eustache. Minor Poems.
 1460? The Rule of the Moon, &c. (in hand for Early English Text Society, ed. Furnivall).
 1468? Coventry Myteries (ed. Halliwell, Shakespeare Society).
 1470. Harding's Chronicle (printed). See MS. Selden B. 26: Harl. 661.
 1460-88. Henryton's Poems (ed. Laing).
 1500? Lancelot of the Laik (ed. Skeat, Early English Text Society).
 1500? Partenay or Lusignan (ed. Skeat, Early English Text Society).
 ? Robert the Devyll (ed. Herbert, 1798).
 1500? Dostryngall of Good Servauntes, &c. (circa 1550, repr. Percy Society).
 1450-1500. Caxton's Book of Curtesy, 3 versions (ed. Furnivall, Early English Text Society).
 1480-1515. Dunbar's Poems (ed. D. Laing).
 1506-30. Hawes's Poetical Works (W. de Worde, &c., Percy Society, &c.).
 Death and Life (Percy Folio Ballads and Romances, iii. 56).
 1508. Golagrus and Gawayne, &c. (ed. Madden; ed. Laing).
 1513? Scotish Field (Percy Folio Ball. and Rom. i. 199).
 1520? John the Reeve (Percy Folio Ball. and Rom. ii. 550).
 Sir Iambewell, " " i. 142.
 Eger and Grime " " i. 341.
 Merlin, " " i. 417.
 1520? Gawin Douglas's Works.

[The reader is also referred to the section of English Poetry in the Class Catalogue of MSS. in the British Museum, now being made under Mr. E. A. Bond's direction; to Mr. Coxe's Catalogue of the Oxford College MSS.; Mr. Kitchin's, of the Christchurch MSS.; the Index and Catalogue of the Cambridge University Library, of Corpus Christi Coll. Cambridge; of the Ashmole, and other collections in the Bodleian Library; in Trinity College, Dublin; in Sir Thomas Philipps's and Lord Ashburnham's collections; and to the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission under the Master of the Rolls, &c. &c. Mr. W. Aldis Wright is cataloguing the MSS. in Trinity Coll. Cambridge.]

Among the Digby MSS. in the Bodleian library, we find a religious or moral Ode, consisting of one hundred and ninety-one stanzas, [the original of which¹, if it should be discovered, may be as old as] the Conquest²; but [it is certain that the earliest MS. we have of this poem, Lambeth 487, is not earlier than the latter half of the 12th century, if it is not after 1200 A.D.³] It exhibits a

† Of these, other MSS. have been printed.
Ling. Vett. Thes. Part i. p. 222. There is another copy not mentioned by Hickes, in Jesus College library at Oxford, MSS. 85, *infra citat.* This is entitled *Traſaius quidam in Anglico*. The Digby manuscript has no title.

¹ [Morris's *Old English Homilies*, Early English Text Society, 1868, p. vi. note.]

² Sir F. Madden attributes the Digby MS. to the reign of Henry III. He enumerates five other MSS. of the Ode: Jesus Coll. 29; Trin. Coll. Camb. B. 14, 52; Lambeth, 487, f. 39 b.; and two others in the Egerton MS. 613, in the Br. Mus.; and printed in Dr. Morris's *Old English Homilies*, p. 159. The copy

regular lyric strophe of four lines, the second and fourth of which rhyme together : although these four lines may be perhaps resolved into two Alexandrines ; a measure concerning which more will be said hereafter, and of which it will be sufficient to remark at present that it appears to have been used very early. For I cannot recollect any strophes of this sort in the elder Runic or Saxon poetry ; nor of any of the old Frankish poems, particularly of Otfrid, a monk in Weissenburgh, who turned the evangelical history into Frankish verse about the ninth century, and has left several hymns in that language ;¹ of [the Strickers,] who celebrated the achievements of Charlemagne ;² and of the anonymous author of the metrical life of Anno, archbishop of Cologne. The following stanza is a specimen [of the Lambeth MS., but with the lines arranged as in the Digby MS.] :³

Sendeth sum god biforen eow⁴
The hwile thet ȝe muȝen to hovenē,
For betere is an elmeſſe biforen
Thenne both etter ſouene.⁵

That is, "Send some good thing before you to heaven while you

in the Egerton MS. 613, was printed by Mr. Furnivall for the Philological Society (*Transactions*, 1858, pt. II. p. 22), and partly in Morris's *Old English Homilies*, p. 288.]

¹ See Petr. Lambec. *Commentar. de Bibl. Cæſar. Vindebon.* pp. 418, 457. [A modern German translation, by Kelle, of Otfrid's poems has just been published.]

² See Petr. Lambec. *ubi ſupr.* lib. ii. cap. 5. There is a circumstance belonging to the ancient Frankish versification which, as it greatly illustrates the subject of alliteration, deserves notice here. Otfrid's dedication of his evangelical history of Lewis I., king of East France, consists of four-lined stanzas in rhyming couplets : but the first and last line of every stanza begin and end with the same letter : and the letters of the title of the dedication respectively, and the word of the last line of every tetraſtic. Flacius Illyricus published this work of Otfrid at Baſil, 1571. But I think it has been since more correctly printed by Johannes Schilterus. It was written about the year 880. Otfrid was the diſciple of Rhabanus Maurus. [Schilter's book was published under this title : *Schilteri Theſaurus antiquitatum Teutonicarum, exhibens monumenta veterum Francorum, Alamannorum vernacula et Latina, cum additamentis et notis Joan. Georg. Schertzii.* Ulmæ, 1727-8. 3 vols. in fol. The *Theſaurus* of Schilter is a real mine of Francic literature. The text is founded on a careful collation of all the MSS. to which he could obtain access ; and these, with one exception, perhaps—the *Life of St. Anno*—are highly valuable for their antiquity and correctness. In the subsequent editions of this happiest effort of the Francic Muse, by Hegewisch, Goldman, and Besseldt, Schilter's oversight has been abundantly remedied. The *Strickers* (a name which some have interpreted *the writer*), is written in the Swabian dialect ; and was composed towards the close of the thirteenth century. It is a feeble amplification of an earlier romance, which Warton probably intended to cite, when he used the Strickers' name. Both poems will be found in Schilter ; but the latter, though usually styled a Francic production, exhibits a language rapidly merging into the Swabian, if it be not in fact an early specimen of that dialect in a rude uncultivated state.—*Price.*]

³ St. xiv.

⁴ "Sende god biforen him man,
pe hwile he mai to heuene ;
For betere is on elmeſſe biforen
Danne ben after ſeue." "

This is from the Trinity MS. at Cambridge, written about the [middle of the 13th century, in Mr. Wright's opinion.] Cod. membran. 8vo. Tractat. I. See Abr. Wheloc, *Eccles. Hiſt. Bed.* p. 25, 114.

⁵ MSS. Digby. A 4, membran.

can : for one alms-giving before death is of more value than seven afterwards." The verses might have been thus written, as two Alexandrines :

Sendeth sum god biforen eow the hwile thet þe moȝen to hovenen,
For betere is an elmesse biforen, thenne both after souene.¹

Yet alternate rhyming, applied without regularity, and as rhymes accidentally presented themselves, was not uncommon in our early poetry, as will appear from other examples.

In the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, among other [Transition English] homilies in prose, there is a homily or exhortation on the Lord's prayer in verse,² which we may place with some degree of certainty [about the year 1200] :

Vre feder thet in heouene is
Thet is al sothful i wis.
Weo moten to theos weordes iseon
Thet to live and to saule gode beon.
Thet weo beon swa his sunes iborene
Thet he beo feder and we him icorene
Thet we don alle his ibeden
And his wille for to reden, &c.—(lines 1-8.)
Lauerd God we biddeth thus
Mid edmode heorte ȝif hit us.
Thet ure soule beo to the icore
Noht for the flesce forlore.
Thole us to biwepen ure sunne
Thet we ne steruen noht therinne
And ȝif us, lauerd, thet ilke ȝifte
Thet we hes ibeten thurh holie scrifte.—AMEN.³

—(Lines 298-305.)

In the valuable library of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, is a sort of poetical biblical history, extracted from the books of Genesis and Exodus.⁴ It was probably composed about [1250]. But I am chiefly induced to cite this piece, as it proves the excessive attachment of our earliest poets to rhyme : they were fond of multiplying the same final sound to the most tedious monotony, and without producing any effect of elegance, strength, or harmony. It begins thus :

Man og to luuen that rimes ren.
The wissed wel the logede men.
Hu man may him wel loken
Thog he ne be lered on no boken.
Luuen God and seruen him ay
For he it hem wel gelden may.
And to alle Cristenei men
Beren pais and luue by-twen

¹ As I recollect, the whole poem is thus exhibited in the Trinity MS. [and in all the others except the Digby.—Sir F. Madden's information.]

² [The whole of this Lambeth MS. 487, written before 1200, has been edited for the Early English Text Society, by Dr. R. Morris, in his *Old English Homilies*, 1867-8. The verse Lord's Prayer is on pages 55-71 of Part I.—F.]

³ [The Story of Genesis and Exodus. An early English song, about A.D. 1250. Now first edited from a unique MS. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. With Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. By Richard Morris. Early English Text Society, 1865.]

⁴ Quart. minor. 185. Cod. membran. [487,] f. 21, b.

Than sal him almighti[n] luuven.
 Here by-nethen and thund abuuen,
 And given him blisse and soules reſte[n],
 That him ſal earvermor leſten.

Ut of Latin this ſong is dragen
 On Engleiſ ſpeche on ſothe ſagen,
 Criſtene men ogen ben ſo fagen,
 So fueles arn quan he it ſen dagen.
 Than man hem telled ſothe tale
 Wid londes ſpeche and wordes ſmale
 Of bliſſes dunc, of ſorwes dale,
 Quhu Lucifer that devel dwale
 And held hem ſperd in helles male,
 Til God frid him in manliched,
 Dede mankinde bote and red.
 And unſpered al the fendes ſped
 And halp thor he ſag mikel ned.
 Biddi hie ſingen non other led.
 Thog mad hic folgen idel-hed.

Fader god of alle thinge,
 Almightin louerd, hegeſt kinge,
 Thu give me ſeli timinge
 To thaunen this werdes beginninge.
 The, leuerd God, to wurthinge
 Quether ſo hic rede or ſinge.¹

We find this accumulation of identical rhymes in the Runic odes, particularly in the ode of Egill cited above, entitled *Egill's Ransom*. [At the end of the Cotton MS. of the *Owl and Nightingale*, are ſeven religious metrical pieces which are printed in one of the modern editions² of that poem, and alſo in Dr. Richard Morris's *Old Engliſh Beſtiary*, &c., (E. E. T. Soc. 1871,) together with other verſions from the Jeſus Coll. MS., which give hints towards ſettling the date, &c. of the poems. Among theſe is] a poem on the ſubjects of death, judgment, and hell torments, where the rhymes are ſingular, and deſerve our attention :

Non mai longe lives thene,
 Ac ofte him lieth the wrench :
 Feir weder turneth ofte into reine,
 An wunderliche hit maketh his blench,
 Tharvore, mon, thu the bithench,
 Al ſchal falewi thi grene.
 Weilawei ! nis kin ne quene
 That ne ſchal drinke of deathes drench.
 Mon, er thu falle of thi bench,
 Thine ſunne thu aquench.³

To the ſame period of our poetry I refer a verſion of Saint Jerom's French pſalter, which occurs in the library of Corpus Chriſti College at Cambridge [and in Cotton MS. Velp. D. vii.⁴]. The [ninety-ninth] pſalm is thus tranſlated :

¹ [Naſmith's Cat. No. 444. It is deſcribed by Dr. Morris as in the Eaſt Midland dialect.]

² [Edited by T. Wright for the Percy Society, 1843.]

³ Bibl. Cotton. MSS. Calig. A. ix.—vi. f. 243. [Sir F. Madden pointed out that there is another copy in Jeſus Coll. Oxf. 29, f. 252, b.]

⁴ [Printed from this MS. by Mr. Stevenſon for the Surtees Society, 1843-7, 2 vols. 8vo.—F.]

Mirthhes to lauerd al erthe that es
 Serues to lauerd in fainenes.
 Ingas of him in the fight,
 In gladeschip bi dai and night.
 Wite ye that lauerd he God is thus
 And he vs made and oure self noght vs,
 His folk and schepe of his fode :
 Ingas his yhates that ere gode :
 In schrift his porches that be,
 In ympnes to him schriue yhe.
 Heryes of him name swa fre,
 For that lauerd soft es he ;
 In euermore his merci esse,
 And in strende and strende his sothnesse.¹

In the Bodleian library there is [another MS. of this] translation of the Psalms, (No. 921, *olim* Arch. B. 38,) a folio on vellum, written in the fifteenth century.² A fourth copy written in the reign of Edward II. has been purchased for the British Museum. This version may be ascribed to the period of his predecessor. The Bodleian MS. also contains the Nicene creed³ and some church hymns versified; but it is mutilated and imperfect. The nineteenth psalm runs thus :

Heuenes tellen Godes blis
 And wolken shewes loūd werk his,
 Dai to dai worde riſe riht,
 And wiſdome shewes niht to niht,
 And pai nare ſpeeches ne ſaihes euen.
 Of whilk wat noht es herde war ſteuen.
 In al the werld out yhode war rorde
 And in ende of erþ of pame þe worde.
 In ſunne he ſette his telde to ſtande
 And bridegome he als of his boure comād.
 He gladen als eten to renne þe wai
 Fro beghift heuen his outcoming ai,
 And his gainrenning til heht ſete
 Ne is gwiłk mai hide him fro his hete
 Lagh of louerd vnwemned iſſe
 Turnand faules in to bliſſe
 Witnes of louerd es euer trewe,
 Wiſdom leuand to litel newe
 Louerdes rightwiſnes riht hertes fainand
 Bode of louerd light eghen lighand
 Drede of louerd hit heli iſſe
 In werlde of werld ai ful of bliſſe,
 Domes of louerd ful ſōþe are ai
 Righted in pame ſelue are pai
 More to be yorned ouer golde
 Or ſton derwurpi pat is holde,
 Wel ſwetter to mannes wombe,
 Ouer honi ande te kombe.

This is the beginning of the eighteenth psalm :

¹ [Cott. MS. Vesp. D, vii. fol. 70.]

² [Sir F. Madden's information.]

³ Hickes has printed a metrical version of the creed of St. Athanasius: to whom, to avoid prolix and obsolete specimens already printed, I refer the reader, *Theſaur.* Par. i. p. 233. I believe it to be of the age of Henry II. [In 1835, Mr. Thorpe published his edition of the Psalter in Anglo-Saxon from a MS. in the Bibl. Imper. at Paris.]

I ſal loue the louerd of bliſſe
 Strenght mine louerd feſtneſſe min eſſe
 And in fleing min als ſo
 And mi leſer out of wo.

I will add another religious fragment on the crucifixion, in the shorter meaſure [of the middle of the thirteenth century]:

Vyen i o the rode ſe,
 Faſt nailed to the tre,
 Jeſu mi leſman,
 Ibunden, bloc ant blodi,
 An hys moder ſtant him bi,
 Wepande, and Johan:
 Hys bac wid ſcourage iſwungen,
 Hys ſide depe iſtungen,
 For ſinne and lowe [love] of man;
 Weil aut [well ought] i ſinne lete
 An neb wit teres wete,
 Thif i of loue can.¹

In the library of Jeſus College at Oxford [MS. Arch. 1. 29], I have ſeen [an early Engliſh] poem of another caſt, yet without much invention or poetry. [This Jeſus MS. is of the latter half of the thirteenth century. Another MS. of the firſt half of the ſame century is in the Britiſh Muſeum, Cotton, Caligula, A. ix.²] The poem³ is a conteſt between an owl and a nightingale about ſuperiority in

¹ MSS. Bibl. Bodl. 57, f. 102, b. [In MS. Bodl. 42, are two ſtanſas of a metrical verſion of a paſſage in the Meditations of St. Auſtin, very ſimilar to Watſon's fragment, and the ſame lines occur on a piece of vellum inſerted in a MS. in the Cath. Lib. Durh. written in the middle of the thirteenth century. Both texts are printed in Mr. Furnivall's *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, for the Early Engliſh Text Society, p. 214.]

² The latter has been edited by Mr. T. Wright for the Percy Society, and very carefully by Dr. Stratmann (Krefeld, 1868), with a full collation of the Jeſus MS. The Jeſus MS. was printed by Mr. Stevenſon for the Roxburghe Club, and his Gloſſary contains ſome aſtoniſhing miſtakes.]

³ [Nicholas de] Guldevorde is the author of the poem which immediately preceſſes in the manuſcript, as appears by the following entry at the end of it, in the handwriting of [Thomas Wilkins, LL.B., rector of St. Mary, Glamorganſhire. Sir F. Madden's Corr.]: "On part of a broken [ſly?] leaf of this MS. I find theſe verſes written, whearby the author may be gueſt at:

"Mayſter Johan eu greteth of Guldworde tho,
 And ſendeth eu to ſeggen that ſynge he nul he wo,
 On thiſſe wiſe he will endy his ſonge,
 God louerde of hevene, beo us alle amonge."

The piece [which is printed in Dr. R. Morris's *Old Engliſh Beſtiary*, &c., Early Engliſh Text Society, 1871] is entitled and begins thus:

Ici commence la Puſſyun Ihu Chriſt en engleys.
 "Thereth eu one lutele tale that ich eu wille telle
 As we vyndeth hit iwrite in the godſpelle:
 Nis hit nouht of Karlemeyne ne of the Duzpere,
 Ac of Criſtes thruwynges," &c.

It ſeems to be of equal antiquity with that mentioned in the text. The whole manuſcript, conſiſting of many detached pieces both in verſe and proſe, was perhaps written in the [thirteenth century. It is attributed to Nicholas de Guilford, who was poſſibly related to John de Guilford].

voice and singing. It is not later than [Edward] I.¹ The rhymes are multiplied, and remarkably interchanged :

Ich was in one sumere dale :
In one swithe di3ele hale,
Iherde ich holde grete tale,
An ule² and one nihtegale.
That plaid was stif & flarc and strong,
Sum hwile softe and lud among.
And either a3en other swal
And let that uuele mod ut al.
And either seide of othres custe,
That alre worste that hi wufte ;
And hure and hure of othres songe
Hi heolde plaiding swithe stronge.³

[—Stratmann, p. 1.]

The earliest love-song which I can discover in our language, is [in Harl. MS. 2253]. I would place it before or about the year 1200. It is full of alliteration, and has a burthen or chorus :⁴

Blow northerne wynd,
Sent thou me my fuetying ;
Blow northerne wynd,
Blou, blou, blou.
Ichot a burde in boure bryht
That fully semly is on fyht,
Menkful maiden of myht,
Feir ant fre to fonde.
In al this wurhliche won,
A burde of blod & of bon,
Never 3ete y nufte⁵ non
Luffomore in londe. *Blou, &c.*

From the same collection I have extracted a part of another amatorial ditty, of equal antiquity, which exhibits a stanza of no inelegant or unpleasing structure, and approaching to the octave rhyme. It is, like the last, formed on alliteration :

In a fryht as y con fare fremede
Y founde a wel feyr fenge to fere,
Heo glyftnede ase gold when hit glemede,
Nes ner gome so gladly on gere,
Y wolde wyte in world who hire kenede,
This burde bryht, 3ef hire wil were ;
Heo me bed go my gates, lef hire gremede,
Ne kepte heo non hevyng here.⁶

In the following lines a lover compliments his mistress named Alyfoun :

¹ [Sir F. Madden seems inclined to identify Nicholas de Guilford with the vicar of Porteshom, near Abbotbury.]

² owl.

³ MSS. Coll. Jes. Oxon. 86, membr.

⁴ [Printed in Ritson's *Ancient Songs*, 1792, p. 26 ; 2nd ed. i. 58 ; and in T. Wright's *Specimens of Lyric Poetry* (Percy Soc. 1842), which contains all the songs quoted from the MS. (about 1307 A.D.) by Warton. It was not thought desirable, therefore, to retain Warton's very lengthy extract, and only the commencement has been given.]

⁵ knew not.

⁶ MSS. *ibid.* f. 66. [*Hevyng* is hoving, stopping. Sir F. Madden, judging from internal evidence, supposes that this piece was written shortly after 1307, to which date he assigns the execution of the MS.]

Bytuene Merthe ant Aueril
 When spray biginneth to springe,
 The lutel foul hath hire wyl
 On hyre lud to synge,
 Ich libbe in louelonginge
 For semlokeft of alle thyng.
 He may me blyffe bringe;
 Icham in hire baundoun;
 An hendy hap ichabbe yhent
 Ichot from heuene it is me sent.
 From alle wymmen mi love is lent
 And lyht on Alifoun.
 On heu hire her is fayre ynoȝ,
 Hire browe broune, hire eye blake,
 With loffum chere he on me loh:
 With middel smal and wel ymake,
 Bote he me wolle to hire take, &c.¹

The following song, containing a description of the spring, displays glimmerings of imagination, and exhibits some faint ideas of poetical expression. It is extracted from the same inexhaustible repository. I have transcribed the whole :²

Lenten ys come with love to toune,
 With blofmen ant with briddes rounne,
 That al this bliffe bryngeth;
 Dayes eȝes in this dales,
 Notes suete of nyȝtegales,
 Uch foul song fingeeth.
 The threstelcoc³ him threteth oo,
 Away is huere wynter wo,
 When woderoue springeth;
 This foules fingeeth ferly fele,
 Ant wlyteth on huere wynter wele,
 That al the wode ryngeth.
 The roſe rayleth hir rode,
 The leues on the lyȝte wode
 Waxen al with wille:
 The mone mandeth hire bleo
 The lilie is loffum to ſeo;
 The fenyl and the fille.
 Wowes this wilde drakes,
 Miles murgeth huere makes.
 As ſtrene that ſtriketh ſtille
 Mody meneth, ſo doh mo.
 Ichot ycham on of tho,
 For love that likes ille.

¹ Harl. MSS. fol. 2253 63, b.

² [The following stanza formed the opening of this song as printed by Warton. It appears to have been inadvertently copied from a poem in the parallel column of the manuscript, Harl. 2253. (See Wright's *Lyric Poetry*, p. 45.)

"In May hit muryeth when hit dawes,¹
 In dounes with this dueres plawes,²
 Ant lef is lyȝt on lynde;
 Blofmes bredeth on the bowes,
 Al this wyld wyȝtes wowes,
 So wel ych under-fynde."—*Price*.]

³ throffle, thrush.

¹ "it is mery at dawn."

² plays.

The mone mandeth hire lyȝt,
 [So doth the femly sonne bryȝt,]
 When briddes syngeth breme,
 Deawes donketh the dounes
 Deores with huere derne rounes,
 Domes forte deme.
 Wormes woweth under cloude,
 Wymmen waxith wounder proude,
 So wel hyt wol hem seme :
 Ȝef me shal wonte wille of on
 This wunne weole y wol forgon
 Ant wyht in wode be fleme.¹

This specimen will not be improperly succeeded by the following elegant lines, which a contemporary poet appears to have made in a morning walk from Peterborough, on the blessed Virgin ; but whose genius seems better adapted to descriptive than religious subjects :

Now skruketh rose ant lylie flour,
 That whilen ber that suete favour
 In fomer, that suete tyde ;
 Ne is no quene so stark ne flour,
 Ne no leuedy so bryht in bour
 That ded ne shal by-glyde :
 Whofo wol fleysh-lust for-gon
 And hevene-blisse abyde,

¹ MSS. *ibid.* ut sup. f. 71, b. In the same style, as it is manifestly of the same antiquity, the following little descriptive song, on the Approach of Summer, deserves notice.—MSS. *Harl.* 978, f. 5 :

“ Sumer is i-comen in,
 Lhude sing cuccu :
 Groweth fed, and bloweth med,
 And springeth the wde nu.
 Sing cuccu.
 Awe bleteth after lomb,
 Lhouth after calve cu ;
 Bulluc sterteth, bucke verteth :
 Murie sing, cuccu,
 Cuccu, cuccu :
 Wel singes thu cuccu ;
 Ne fwik thou nauer nu.
 Sing cuccu nu,
 Sing cuccu.

That is, “ Summer is coming : Loudly sing, Cuckow ! Groweth feed, and bloweth mead, and springeth the wood now. Ewe bleateth after lamb, loweth cow after calf ; bullock starteth, buck *verteth* :¹ merrily sing, Cuckow ! Well singest thou, Cuckow, Nor cease to sing now.” This is the most ancient English song that appears in our manuscripts, with the musical notes annexed. The music is of that species of composition which is called *Canon in the Unison*, and is supposed to be of the fifteenth century. [See Chappell’s *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 23-5, and references there given to other songs of the same character ; also Mr. Alexander J. Ellis’s careful edition of this song and the Prisoner’s Prayer in the *Philological Society’s Transactions*, 1868. Mr. Richard Taylor has drawn attention to the similarity of this song to some of the lays of the *Minnesingers*, collected by Mr. Edgar Taylor, 1825.]

¹ goes to harbour among the fern.

On Jhefu be is thoht anon,
That therled was ys fide.¹

To which we may add a song, probably written by the same author, on the five joys of the blessed Virgin, [a common topic, treated by Shoreham and other poets:]

Ase y me rod this ender day,
By grene wode, to seche play;
Mid herte y thohte al on a May.
Suetest of alle thinge;
Lythe, and ich ou telle may
Al of that suete thinge.²

In the same pastoral vein, a lover, perhaps of the reign of King John, thus addresses his mistress, whom he supposes to be the most beautiful girl, "bituene Lyncolne and Lyndeseye, Northampton and Lounde":³

When the ny3tegale singes, the wodes waxen grene;
Lef and gras and blofme springes in Averyl, y-wene.
Ant love is to myn herte gon with one spere so kene
Ny3t and day my blod hit drynkes, myn herte deth me tene.⁴
Ich have loved al this 3er that y may love na more,
Ich have fiked moni fyk, lemmon, for thin ore,
Me nis love never the ner, ant that me reweth fore;
Sute lemmon, thench on me, ich have loved the 3ore,
Sute lemmon, y preye the of love one speche,
While y lyve in worlde so wyde other nulle y seche.⁵
[With thy love, my suete leof, mi blis thou mi3tes eche,
A suete cos of thy mouth mi3te be my leche.]

Nor are these verses, in somewhat the same measure, unpleasing:

My deth y love, my lyf ich hate, for a levedy shene,
Heo is brith so daies li3t, that is on me wel sene.
Al y falewe, so doth the lef in fomer when hit is grene;
3ef mi thoht helpeth me no3t, to wham shal I me mene?

Another, in the following little poem, enigmatically compares his mistress, whose name seems to be Joan, to various gems and flowers. The writer is happy in his alliteration, and his verses are tolerably harmonious:

Ichot a burde in a bour, ase beryl so bry3t,
Ase saphyr in selver semly on fy3t,
Ase jalpe⁶ the gentil that lemeth⁷ with ly3t,
Ase gernet⁸ in golde and ruby wel ry3t,
Ase onycle⁹ he ys on yholden on hy3t;
Ase diamauud the dere in day when he is dy3t:
He is coral y-cud with Cayser ant kny3t,
Ase emeraude a morewen this may haveth my3t.
The my3t of the margarite haveth this mai mere,
For charbocke iche hire chafe bi chyn ant bi chere.
Hire rode ys as rose that red ys on rys,¹⁰

¹ Harl. MSS. 2253, f. 80; [*Lyric Poetry*, p. 87.]

² MS. *ibid.* f. 81, b; [*Lyric Poetry*, p. 94.]

³ London.

⁴ MSS. *ibid.* f. 80, b. [The confusion, adverted to above, prevailed in the disposition of this song. The present copy follows the MS.—*Price*.] Ritson's *Anc. Songs*, p. 30.

⁵ MSS. *ibid.* f. 80, b.

⁶ jalper.

⁷ freams, shines.

⁸ garnet.

⁹ onyx.

¹⁰ branch.

With lilye white leves lossom he ys,
 The primrose he passeth, the parvenke of prys,
 With alisaundre thareto, ache ant anys :
 Coynte¹ as columbine such hire cande² ys,
 Glad under gore in gro ant in grys
 He is blofme opon bleo bri3ttest under bis
 With celydone ant sauge afe thou thi self fys, &c.
 From Weye he is wisift into Wyrhale,
 Hire nome is in a note of the ny3tegale ;
 In an note is hire nome, nempneth hit non,
 Who so ryzt redeth, ronne to Johon.³

The curious Harleian volume, to which we are so largely indebted, has preserved a moral tale, a comparison between age and youth, where the stanza is remarkably constructed. The various sorts of versification which we have already seen, evidently prove that much poetry had been written, and that the art had been greatly cultivated before this period.

Herkne to my ron,	}	<i>Of elde al hou yt ges.</i>
As ich ou tell con,	}	
Of a mody mon,	}	<i>Soth withoute les.</i>
Hihte Maximion,	}	
Clerc he was ful god,	}	<i>Nou herkne hou it wes⁴.</i>
So moni mon undirftod,	}	

For the same reason, a sort of elegy on our Saviour's crucifixion should not be omitted. It begins thus (*Lyric Poetry*, p. 85) :

I syke when y linge,
 For forewe that y se,
 When y with wypinge
 Bihold upon the tre,
 Ant se Jhesu the suete
 Is hert blod for-lete,
 For the love of me ;
 Ys woundes waxen wete,
 Thei wepen still and mete,
 Marie, reweth the.⁵

Nor an alliterative ode on heaven, death, judgment, &c. (*Lyric Poetry*, p. 22.) :

Middel-erd for mon wes mad,
 Un-mihti aren is meste mede,
 This hedy hath on honde yhad,
 That hevене hem is heft to hede.
 Icherde a blisse budel us bade,
 The dreri domeldai to drede,
 Of sunful sauhting sone be sad,
 That derne doth this derne dede,
Thah he ben derne done.
 This wrakefall werkes under wede,
 In foule foteleth sone.⁶

Many of these measures were adopted from the French chansons.⁷ I will add one or two more specimens.

¹ quaint. ² [kind, nature. Sir F. Madden's corr.]

³ MSS. *ibid.* f. 63.

⁴ MSS. *ibid.* f. 82, [printed in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, i. 119-125. There is another copy in the Digby MS. 86, leaf 134 back, ab. 1320 A.D.]

⁵ *Ibid.* f. 80.

⁶ MS. Harl. 2253, f. 62, b.

⁷ See MSS. Harl. *ut supr.* f. 49, 76.

On our Saviour's passion and death :

Jesu for thi muchele miȝt
 Thou ȝef us of thi grace,
 That we mowe dai ant nyht
 Thenken o thi face.
 In myn herte hit doth me god,
 When y thenke on Jesu blod,
 That ran doun bi ys syde ;
 From is herte doune to his fot,
 For ous he spradde is herte blod
 His wondes were so wyde.¹

On the same subject :

Luutel wot hit any mon
 How love hym haveth y-bounde,
 That for us o the rode ron,
 Ant bohte us with is wounde ;
 The love of him us haveth ymaked founde,
 And y-caſt the grimly goſt to grounde :
 Ever ant oo, nyȝt ant day, he haveth us in is thoȝte,
 He nul nout leoſe that he ſo deore boȝte.²

The following are on love and gallantry. The poet, named Richard, professes himself to have been a great writer of love-songs :

Weping haveth myn wonges³ wet,
 For wikked werk ant wone of wyt,
 Unblithe y be til y ha bet,
 Bruches broken, aſe bok byt :
 Of levedis love that y ha let,
 That lemeth al with luefly lyt,
 Ofte in ſonge y have hem ſet,
 That is unſemly ther hit ſyt.
 Hit ſyt and ſemeth noht,
 Ther hit ys ſeid in ſong
 That y have of them wroht,
 Ywis hit is al wrong.⁴

It was customary with the early scribes, when stanzas consisted of short lines, to throw them together like prose. As thus :

"A wayle whyt as whalles bon | a grein in golde that godly ſhon | a tortle that
 min herte is on | in tounes trewe | Hire gladſhip nes never gon | whil y may
 glewe."⁵

Sometimes they wrote three or four verses together as one line :

With longyng y am lad | on molde y waxe mad | a maide marreth me,
 Y grede, y grone un-glad | for ſelden y am ſad | that ſemly for te ſe.
 Levedi, thou rewre me | to routh thou haveſt me rad | be bote out of that y bad
 | my lyf is long on the.⁶

Again,

¹ MS. Harl. 2253, f. 79. Probably this song has been somewhat modernised by transcribers.

² *Ibid.* f. 128. These lines afterwards occur, burlesqued and parodied, by a writer of the same age.

³ [cheeks, A. S. *panz*, Ital. *guancia*.]

⁴ MSS. *Ibid.* f. 66; [*Lyric Poetry*, p. 30-33.]

⁵ *Ibid.* f. 67. [Mr. R. Taylor refers us to Hoffmann's *Fundgruben* 1830; *Danſte Kiæmpe Viſer*, 1787; and Raynouard, *Poëſies des Troubadours*, ii. Poeme ſur Boece, p. 6.]

⁶ *Ibid.* f. 63, b.

Moffi ryden by Rybbes-dale | wilde wymmen for te wale | ant welde wuch ich
wolde :
Founde were the feyrest on | that ever wes mad of blod ant bon | in boure best with
bolde.¹

This mode of writing is not uncommon in ancient manuscripts of French poetry. And some critics may be inclined to suspect, that the verses which we call Alexandrine, accidentally assumed their form merely from the practice of absurd transcribers, who frugally chose to fill their pages to the extremity, and violated the metrical structure for the sake of saving their vellum. It is certain, that the common stanza of four short lines may be reduced into two Alexandrines, and on the contrary. I have before observed that the [old English] poem cited by Hickes, consisting of one hundred and ninety-one stanzas, is written in stanzas in the Bodleian, and in Alexandrines in the Trinity manuscript at Cambridge. How it came originally from the poet I will not pretend to determine.

Our early poetry often appears in satirical pieces on the established and eminent professions; and the writers, as we have already seen, succeeded not amiss, when they cloathed their satire in allegory. But nothing can be conceived more scurrilous and illiberal² than their satires when they descend to mere invective. In the British Museum, among other examples which I could mention, we have a satirical ballad on the [Consistory Courts, and the vexation which they caused to the peasantry. The whole ballad is printed in Mr. T. Wright's *Political Songs*, for the Camden Society, 1839, pp. 155-9, and we quote a few lines against the Summoners, whom we know from Chaucer's sketch, eight years later :—]

Hyrd-men hem hatieth, ant vch mones byne,
For everuch a parroishe heo polketh in pyne,
Ant clastreth with heore colle :
Nou wol vch fol clerc that is fayly
Wende to the byfshop ant bugge bayly,
Nys no wyt in is nolle.³

The elder French poetry abounds in allegorical satire; and I doubt not that the author of the satire on the [legal] profession, cited above, copied some French satire on the subject. Satire was one species of the poetry of the Provençal troubadours. Gaucelm Faidit, a troubadour of the eleventh century, who will again be mentioned, wrote a sort of satirical drama called the *Herefy of the Fathers*, *Heregia del Preyres*, a ridicule on the council which condemned the Albigenſes. The papal legates often fell under the lash of these poets : whose favour they were obliged to court, but in vain by the promise of ample gratuities.⁴ [There is a very lively and severe satire (erroneously attributed to Hugues de Bercy,) belonging to the 12th or 13th century, which is called by the writer *Bible Guiot de Provins*,] as containing nothing but truth.⁵

¹ Harl. MSS. 2253, f. 66.

² [I doubt whether they said one word more than the oppressions they suffered justified.—F.]

³ Harl. MS. 2253, f. 71.

⁴ Fontenelle, *Hist. Theatr. Fr.* p. 18, edit. 1742. ⁵ See Fauchet, *Rec.* p. 151.

In Harl. MS. 2253, I find an ancient French poem, yet respecting England, which is a humorous panegyric on a new religious order called *Le Ordre de bel Eyse*. This is the exordium :—

Qui vodra a moi entendre
Oyr purra e aprendre
L'efoyre de un Ordre Novel
Qe mout est delitous e bel.¹

The poet ingeniously feigns that his new monastic order consists of the most eminent nobility and gentry of both sexes, who inhabit the monasteries assigned to it promiscuously; and that no person is excluded from this establishment who can support the rank of a gentleman. They are bound by their statutes to live in perpetual idleness and luxury: and the satirist refers them for a pattern or rule of practice in these important articles, to the monasteries of Sempringham in Lincolnshire [where Robert Manning of Brunne dwelt for a time²], Beverley in Yorkshire, the Knights Hospitallers, and many other religious orders then flourishing in England.³

When we consider the feudal manners and the magnificence of our Norman ancestors, their love of military glory, the enthusiasm with which they engaged in the Crusades, and the wonders to which they must have been familiarized from those eastern enterprises, we naturally suppose, what will hereafter be more particularly proved, that their retinues abounded with minstrels and harpers, and that their chief entertainment was to listen to the recital of romantic and martial adventures. But I have been much disappointed in my searches after the metrical tales which must have prevailed in their times. Most of those old heroic songs have perished, together with the stately castles in whose halls they were sung. Yet they were not so totally lost as we may be apt to imagine. Many of them still partly exist in the old English metrical romances, which will be mentioned in their proper places; yet divested of their original form, polished in their style, adorned with new incidents, successively modernized by repeated transcription and recitation, and retaining little more than the outlines of the original composition. This has not been the case with the legendary and other religious poems written soon after the Conquest, manuscripts of which abound in our libraries. From the nature of their subject they were less popular and common, and being less frequently recited, became less liable to perpetual innovation or alteration.

In the reign of [Edward II.], a poem occurs, the date of which may be determined with some degree of certainty. It is a satirical song or ballad, written by one of the adherents of Simon de Mont-

¹ [It will be found in the second volume of Barbazan's *Fabliaux*, p. 307. "La Bible au Seigneur de Berze" is a more courtly composition, and forms a part of the same collection, p. 194. The earlier French antiquaries have frequently confounded these two productions.—*Price*. *L'Ordre de Bel Eyse* is printed also by Wright, *Political Songs of England*, 1839, p. 137. Mr. Wright assigns it to the reign of Edward II.]

² [*Handlyng Synne*, Prologue, edit. Furnivall.]

³ MSS. *ibid.* f. 121.

fort earl of Leiceſter, a powerful baron, ſoon after the battle of Lewes, which was fought in the year 1264, and proved very fatal to the intereſts of the king. In this deciſive action, Richard king of the Romans, his brother Henry the Third, and Prince Edward, with many others of the royal party, were taken priſoners :¹—

Sitteth alle ſtille, ant herkneth to me :

The kyn of Alemaigne, bi mi leaute,

Thritti thouſent pound aſkede he² .

For te make the pees in the countre,

And ſo he dude more.

Richard, thah thou be ever trichard,

trichen ſhall thou never more.

Richard of Alemaigne, whil that he was kyng,

He ſpende al is trefour opon ſwyvyng :

Haveth he nout of Walingford o ferlyng ;

Let him habbe, aſe he brew, bale to dryng,

Maugre Wyndefore.

Richard, thah thou, &c.

Theſe popular rhymes had probably no ſmall influence in encouraging Leiceſter's partifans, and diffuſing his faction. There is ſome humour in imagining that Richard ſuppoſed the windmill to which he retreated, to be a fortification ; and that he believed the fails of it to be military engines. In the manuſcript, from which this ſpecimen is tranſcribed, immediately follows a ſong in French, ſeemingly written by the ſame poet, on the battle of Eweſham fought the following year ; in which Leiceſter was killed, and his rebellious barons defeated.³ Our poet looks upon his hero as a martyr, and particularly laments the loſs of Henry his ſon, and Hugh le Deſpenſer juſticiary of England. He concludes with an Engliſh ſtanza, much in the ſtyle and ſpirit of thoſe juſt quoted.

[Daines Barrington, in his *Observations on the Statutes*, 1766,] has obſerved, that this ballad on Richard of Alemaigne probably occaſioned a ſtatute againſt libels in the year 1275, under the title, “ Againſt ſlanderous reports, or tales to cauſe diſcord betwixt king and people.”⁴ That this ſpirit was growing to an extravagance

¹ [Printed entire in *Political Songs*, ed. Wright, 1839, p. 69. The firſt and ſecond ſtanzen have therefore been thought a ſufficient ſpecimen of the production.]

² The barons made this offer of thirty thouſand pounds to Richard.

³ f. 59. It begins,

“ Chaunter meſtoit | mon ever le voit | en un duré langage,

Tut en pluraunt | fuſt fet le chaunt | de noitre duz Baronage,” &c.

⁴ [Privately printed by Palgrave, 1818, with three other pieces from the ſame ſource. Sir F. Madden's information. It has alſo been included in Ritſon's *Ancient Songs*, ed. 1829. A verſion of it was made by Sir Walter Scott, at the requeſt of Ritſon, and has been reprinted in the [ſecond edition] of his *Engliſh Songs*, vol. ii. Mr. Geo. Ellis made another metrical tranſlation, which perished with many of Ritſon's MS. treaſures.—*Park*.

This Norman ballad has ſince been printed in the new edition of Ritſon's *Ancient Songs*. Political ſongs ſeem to have been common about this period : both Engliſh, Norman, and Latin, the three languages then uſed in England, ſeem to have been enliſted into the cauſe of Simon de Montfort. I have ſomewhere ſeen a Latin poem in his praiſe ; and, in the following paſſage from a MS. containing his miracles (for Simon, like Harold, and Waltheof, and moſt of the popular heroes of thoſe days, was looked upon as a ſaint), and written apparently no very long time

which deserved to be checked, we shall have occasion to bring further proofs.

I must not pass over the reign of Henry III. who died in the year 1272, without observing that this monarch entertained in his court a poet with a certain salary, whose name was Henri d'Avranches.¹ And although this poet was a Frenchman, and most probably wrote in French, yet this first instance of an officer who was afterwards, yet with sufficient impropriety, denominated a *poet laureate* in the English court, deservedly claims particular notice in the course of these annals. He is called *Master Henry the Versifier* :² which appellation perhaps implies a different character from the royal *Minstrel* or *Joculator*. The king's treasurers are ordered to pay this *Master Henry* one hundred shillings, which I suppose to have been a year's stipend, in the year 1251.³ And again the same precept occurs under the year 1249.⁴ Our Master Henry, it seems, had in some of his verses reflected on the rusticity of the Cornish men. This insult was refuted in a Latin satire now remaining, written by Michael Blaunpayne, a native of Cornwall, and recited by the author in the presence of Hugh, abbot of Westminster, Hugh de Mortimer, official of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop elect of Winchester, and the bishop of Rochester.⁵ While we are speaking

after his death, we have apparently the fragment of a hymn addressed to him when canonized by the popular voice. MS. Cotton. Vesp. A. VI. fol. 189. "Anno Domini m^o cc^{mo} lx^o v^{to} octavo Symonis Montis Fortis sociorumque ejus pridie nonas Augusti.

"Salve Symon Montis Fortis,
 tocius flos milicie,
 Duras penas passus mortis,
 protector (?) gentis Anglie.
 Sunt de sanctis inaudita,
 Cunctis passis in hac vita
 quemquam passum talia : (sic.)
 Manus, pedes amputari ;
 Caput, corpus vulnerari ;
 abscidi virilia.
 Sis pro nobis intercessor
 Apud Deum, qui defensor
 in terris exterritas. (sic.)

Ora pro nobis, beate Symon, ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi." There are found many political songs in Latin, which shows that the monks took much interest in politics.—W.]

¹ See Carew's *Surv. Cornwall*. p. 58, edit. 1602.

² Henry of Huntingdon says, that Walo *Verficator* wrote a panegyric on Henry the First : and that the same Walo *Verficator* wrote a poem on the park which that king made at Woodstock. Leland's *Collectan.* vol. ii. 303, i. 197, edit. 1770. Perhaps he was in the department of Henry mentioned in the text. One Gualo, a Latin poet, who flourished about this time, is mentioned by Bale, iii. 5, and Pits, p. 233. He is recommended in the *Policraticon*. A copy of his Latin hexametrical satire on the monks is printed by Mathias Flacius, among miscellaneous Latin poems *De corrupto Ecclesiæ statu*, 1557, p. 489.

³ "Magistro Henrico Verficatori." See Madox, *Hist. Excheq.* p. 268.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 674. In MSS. Digb. Bibl. Bodl. I find, in John of Hoveden's *Sa-lutationes quinquaginta Mariæ*, "Mag. Henricus, verficator magnus, de B. Vir-gine," &c.

⁵ MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Arch. Bodl. 29, viz : "Versus magistri Michaelis Cornu-

of the *Versifier* of Henry III., it will not be foreign to add, that in the thirty-sixth year of the same king, forty shillings and one pipe of wine were given to Richard the king's harper, and one pipe of wine to Beatrice his wife.¹ But why this gratuity of a pipe of wine should also be made to the wife, as well as to the husband who from his profession was a genial character, appears problematical according to our present ideas.²

The most ancient English metrical romance which I can discover, is entitled the *Geste of King Horn*.³ It was evidently written after the Crusades had begun, is mentioned by Chaucer,⁴ and probably still remains in [something near] its original state. I will first give the substance of the story, and afterwards add some specimens of the composition. But I must premise, that this story occurs in very old French metre in the manuscripts of the British museum;⁵ [but

bienfis contra Mag. Henricum Abricensen coram dom. Hugone abbate Westmon. et aliis." fol. 81, b. *Princ.* "Archipoeta vide quod non sit cura tibi de." See also fol. 83, b. Again, fol. 85:

"Pendo poeta prius te diximus Archipoetam,
Quam pro postico nunc dicimus esse poetam,
Imo poetulum," &c.

Archipoeta means here the *king's chief poet*.

In another place our Cornish satirist thus attacks master Henry's person:

"Est tibi gamba capri, crus passeris, et latus apri;
Os leporis, catuli nasus, dens et gena muli:
Frons vetulæ, tauri caput, et color undique mauri."

In a blank page of the Bodleian MS., from which these extracts are made, is written, "Iste liber constat Fratri Johanni de Wallis monacho Ramefeye." The name is elegantly enriched with a device. This MS. contains, amongst other things, *Plançus de Excidio Trojæ*, by Hugo Prior de Montacino, in rhyming hexameters and pentameters, viz. fol. 89. Camden cites other Latin verses of Michael Blaunpain, whom he calls "Merry Michael the Cornish poet." *Rem.* p. 10. See also p. 489, edit. 1674. He wrote many other Latin pieces, both in prose and verse.

Compare Tanner in *Joannes Cornubiensis*, for his other pieces. *Bibl.* p. 432, notes, f, g. [The poems of Michael Cornubiensis (in Latin) are preserved, as Mr. Wright informs us, in MS. Cotton. Vesp. D. 5, 49. The same gentleman states that in the British Museum there is more than one copy of the verses quoted by Warton. In one (MS. Reg. 14 C. xiii. 269), they are said to have been recited at Cambridge before the university and masters.]

¹ *Rot. Pip. an.* 36 *Hemr.* iii. "Et in uno dolio vini empto et dato magistro Ricardo Citharistæ regis, xl. fol. per Br. Reg. Et in uno dolio empto et dato Beatrici uxori ejusdem Ricardi."

² [Beatrice may possibly have been a *juglerefs*, whose pantomimic exhibitions were accompanied by her husband's harp, or who filled up the intervals between his performances. This union of professional talents in husband and wife was not uncommon. In a copy of the ordonnances for regulating the minstrels, &c. residing at Paris, a document drawn up by themselves in the year 1321, and signed by thirty-seven persons on behalf of all the *menestreaux joueurs et jonglerefs* of that city, we find among others the names of Jehanot Langlois et Adeline, fame de Langlois Jaucons, fils le moine et Marguerite, la fame au moine. See Raynouard, *De la Poésie Française dans les xii. et xiii. Siècles*, p. 288.—*Price*.]

[³ See Mätzner and Goldbeck's text in their *Sprachproben*.—F.]

⁴ *Rim. Thop.* 3402, Urr.

⁵ MSS. Harl. 527, b. f. 59, Cod. membr. [*King Horn* has been edited for the Early English Text Society; it was included (from Harl. 2253) in Ritson's col-

it is probably not] a translation : a circumstance which will [affect] an argument pursued hereafter, proving that most of our metrical romances are translated from the French.

[The] king of the Saracens lands in the kingdom of Suddene, where he kills the king named Allof [or Mury]. The queen, Godylt, escapes ; but [the king] seizes on her son Horne, a beautiful youth aged fifteen years, and puts him into a galley, with two of his play-fellows, Athulph and Fykenyld : the vessel being driven on the coast of the kingdom of Westnesse, the young prince is found by Aylmer king of that country, brought to court, and delivered to Athelbrus his steward, to be educated in hawking, harping, tilting, and other courtly accomplishments. Here the princess Rymenild falls in love with him, declares her passion, and is betrothed. Horn, in consequence of this engagement, leaves the princess for seven years ; to demonstrate, according to the ritual of chivalry, that by seeking and accomplishing dangerous enterprises he deserved her affection. He proves a most valorous and invincible knight : and at the end of seven years having killed King Mury, recovered his father's kingdom, and achieved many signal exploits, recovers the Princess Rymenild from the hands of his treacherous knight and companion Fykenyld, carries her in triumph to his own country, and there reigns with her in great splendour and prosperity. The poem itself begins and proceeds thus :¹—

Alle beon he blithe
That to my song lythe :
A sang ich schal þou singe
Of Murry the kinge.
King he was biwesse
So long so hit laste.
Godhild het his quen,
Faire ne miȝte nou ben.
He hadde a sone that het horn.
Ne no rein upon birine,
Ne sun[n]e upon bischine.
Faifer nis no[n] thane he was,
He was bryȝt so the glas,
He was whit so the flur :
Rose red was his colur.
In none kinge-riche
Nas no[n] his iliche.
Twelf feren he had
That alle with him ladde.
Alle riche manes son[n]es,
Alle hi were faire gomes,
With him for to pleie,

lection. It is substantially the same story as *Ponthus of Galicia*, printed in 1511, 4to. In 1845, M. Francisque Michel completed for the Bannatyne club his long-promised volume on this subject. It is entitled, "Horn et Rimenhild. Recueil de tout ce qui reste des poemes, relatifs a leurs Aventures, composés en François, en Anglais, et en Ecossois, dans le xiii. xiv. xv. et xvi. Siècle."

[¹ The following extracts have now been collated with the Early English Text Society's edit. of *Horn*, 1866, from the Cambridge University MS.]

Meft he lu[u]ede tweie ;
 That on him het hathulf child,
 That oth[er] Fikenild.
 Athulf was the beſte,
 Fikenylde the weſte.
 Hit was upon a ſomeres day,
 Alſo ich 3ou telle may,
 Murri the gode king
 Rod on his pleing
 Bi the ſe ſide,
 Aſe he was woned ride,
 He fonde by the ſtronde,
 Ariued on his londe,
 Schipes fiftene
 With farazins kene :
 He axede what iſo3te
 Other to londe bro3te.

But I haften to that part of the ſtory where Prince Horne appears at the court of the king of Weſtneſſe :

The kyng com in to halle,
 Among his kni3tes alle ;
 Forth he clupede Athelbrus,
 That was ſtiward of his hus,
 Stiwarde, tak nu here
 My fundlyng for to lere,
 Of thine meſtere
 Of wude [and] of riwere,¹
 Ant tech him to harpe
 With his nayles ſcharpe,²
 Thou tech him of alle the liſte
 That thee eue of wiſte,
 Biuore me to kerue,

¹ So Robert de Brunne, of King Marian. Hearne's *Rob. Glouc.* p. 622.

"Marian faire in chere
 He couthe of wod and ryvere
 In alle maner of venrie," &c.

[Sir F. Madden points out that the phraſe is from the French, and inſtances the following :

"Tant ſeit apriſ qu'il liſe un bref
 Car ces ne li eſt pas trop gref,
 D'eſchas, *de riwere*, et de *chace*,
 Voil que del tot apreuze e ſace."

—*Roman du Rou* (MS. Harl. 1717, fol. 79).]

² In another part of the poem he is introduced playing on his harp :

"Horn ſette him abenche,
 Is harpe he gan clenche,
 He made Rymenild a lay,
 Ant hue ſeide weylaway," &c.

In the chamber of a biſhop of Wincheſter at Merdon caſtle, now ruined, we find mention made of benches only. *Comp. MS. J. Gervays, Epiſcop. Winton*, 1266. "Idem red. comp. de ii. menſis in aula ad magnum deſcum. Et de iii. menſis, et una parte, et ii. menſis ex altera parte cum treſſellis in aula. Et de i. menſa cum treſſellis in camera dom. epiſcopi. Et v. *formis* in eadem camera." *Deſcus*, in old Engliſh *dees*, is properly a canopy over the high table. See a curious account of the goods in the palace of the biſhop of Nivernois in France, in the year 1287, in Montf. *Cat. MSS.* ii. p. 984, col. 2.

And of the cupe serue,¹
 In his feiren thou wif
 Into other seruise;
 Horn thu underuonge,
 Tech him of harpe and songe
 Ailbrus gan lere
 Horn [and] his yfere:
 Horn in herte la3te
 Al that he him ta3te,
 In the curt and ute,
 And elles al abute,
 Luuede men horn child,
 And meft him louede Rymenhild
 The kynges o3ene dofter,
 He was meft in tho3te,
 Heo louede fo horn child,
 That ne3 heo gan wexe wild:
 For heo ne mi3te at borde
 With him speke no worde,
 Ne no3t in the halle
 Among the kni3tes alle,
 Ne nowhar in non othere ftede:
 Of folk heo hadde drede:
 Bi daie ne bi ni3te
 With him speke ne mi3te,
 Hire fore3e ne hire pine,
 Ne mi3te neure fine.
 In heorte heo hadde wo,
 And thus hire bitho3te tho:
 Heo fende hire fonde
 Athelbrus to honde,
 That he come hire to,
 And alfo fcholde horn do,
 Al in to bure,
 For heo gan to lure,
 And the fonde feide,
 That fik lai that maide,
 And bad him come fwythe
 For heo nas nothing blithe.
 The ftuard was in herte wo,
 For he nufte what to do,
 Wat Rymenhyld byfu3te
 Gret wunder him thu3te;
 Abute horn the 3onge
 To bure for to bringe,
 He tho3te upon his mode
 Hit nas for none gode;
 He tok him another,
 Athulf, hornes brother.
 Athulf, he fede, ri3t anon
 Thu fchalt with me to bure gon,
 To speke with Rymenhild stille,
 To wyte hure wille,

¹ According to the rules of chivalry, every knight before his creation passed through two offices. He was first a page: and at fourteen years of age he was formally admitted an esquire. The esquires were divided into several departments; that of the body, of the chamber, of the stable, and the carving esquire. The latter stood in the hall at dinner, where he carved the different dishes with proper skill and address, and directed the distribution of them among the guests. The inferior offices had also their respective esquires. *Mem. Anc. Cheval.* i. 16, seq.

In hornes ilike,
 Thu schalt hure biſwike :
 Sore ihe me ofdrede
 He wolde horn mis-rede
 Athelbrus gan Athulf lede
 And into bure with him 3ede :
 Anon upon Athulf child
 Rymenhild gan wexe wild :
 He[o] wende that Horn hit were,
 That heo hauede there.

At length the princess finds she has been deceived ; the steward is severely reprimanded, and Prince Horn is brought to her chamber ; when, says the poet :

Of his feire fi3te
 Al the bur gan li3te.¹

It is the force of the story in these pieces that chiefly engages our attention. The minstrels had no idea of conducting and describing a delicate situation. The general manners were gross, and the arts of writing unknown. Yet this simplicity sometimes pleases more than the most artificial touches. In the mean time, the pictures of ancient manners presented by these early writers strongly interest

¹ There is a copy, much altered and modernized, in the Advocates' library at Edinburgh, W. 4, i. Numb. xxxiv. [and another in MS. Harl. 2253, temp. Edw. II. printed in Ritson's *Romances*, vol. 3.] The title *Horn-childe and Maiden Rimnild*. The beginning :

“ Mi leve frende dere,
 Herken and ye shall here.”

[The bishop of Dromore considered this production “ of genuine English growth ;” and though his lordship may have been mistaken in ascribing it, in its present form, to so early an æra as “ within a century after the Conquest ;” yet the editor has no hesitation in expressing his belief, that it owes its origin to a period long anterior to that event. The reasons for such an opinion cannot be entered upon here. They are too detailed to fall within the compass of a note, and though some of them will be introduced elsewhere, yet many perhaps are the result of convictions more easily felt than expressed, and whose shades of evidence are too slight to be generally received, except in the rear of more obvious authority. However, to those who with Mr. Ritson persist in believing the French fragment of this romance to be an earlier composition than *The Geste of Kyng Horn*, the following passage is submitted, for the purpose of contrasting its highly wrought imagery with the simple narrative, and natural allusion, observed throughout the English poem :

“ Lors print la harpe a sei si commence a temprer
 Deu ki dunc lesgardaſt, cum il la ſot manier !
 Cum les cordes tuchot, cum les ſefeit trembler,
 A quantes faire les chanz, a cuantes organer,
Del armonie del ciel lie pureit remembrer
 Sur tuz ceus ke i ſunt fait ciſt à merveiller
 Kuant celes notes ot fait prent ſen amunter
 E par tut autre tuns fait les cordes ſoner.”—*Price*.

Both Mr. Wright and Sir F. Madden believe the French romance of *Horn* to be a translation from the English *Gest*, and the former points out, as one ground for his opinion, that the French MSS. (of which there are three, all imperfect) exhibit traces of additions and embellishments, and that many new names are interpolated. Sir F. Madden adds that the French romance of *Atla* declares that *Horn* (there called *Aleſ*) was translated from English into French.]

the imagination; especially as having the same uncommon merit with the pictures of manners in Homer, that of being founded in truth and reality, and actually painted from the life. To talk of the grossness and absurdity of such manners is little to the purpose; the poet is only concerned in the justness and faithfulness of the representation.

Hickes has printed a satire on the monastic profession; the MS. of which was written [a little before the year 1300, according to Sir F. Madden, but early in the following century, Mr. Wright inclines to believe. It is printed (the spelling modernised) by Ellis,¹ and from the Harl. MS. 913, leaf 3, &c., by Mr. Furnivall.²] The poet begins with describing the land of indolence or luxury:

Fur in see, bi weſt Spaynge,
Is a lond ihote Cokaygne;
Ther nis lond under hevenriche,³
Of wel of godnis hit iliche.
Tho3 paradis be miri⁴ and bri3t
Cockaygn is of fairir fi3t.
What is ther in paradis
Bot graſſe, and flure, and grene ris?
Tho3 ther be joy,⁵ and grete dute,⁶
Ther nis mete bote frute.
Ther nis halle, bure,⁷ no benche,
Bot watir, manis thurs[t] to quenche, &c.

In the following lines there is a vein of satirical imagination and some talent at description. The luxury of the monks is represented under the idea of a monastery constructed of various kinds of delicious and costly viands:

Ther is a wel fair abbei,
Of white monkes and of grei,
Ther beth bowris and halles:
All of pasteis beth the walles,
Of fleis, of fiſſe, and rich[e] met,
The likfulliſt that man mai et.
Fluren cakes beth the ſcingles⁸ alle,
Of cherche, cloiſter, boure, and halle.
The pinnes⁹ beth fat podinges
Rich met to princez and [to] kinges
Ther is a cloiſter fair and li3t,
Brod and lang, of ſemblis fi3t.
The pilers of that cloiſtre alle
Beth iturned of criſtale,
With harlas and capitale

¹ *Specimens*, vol. i.

² [In *Poems and Lives of Saints*. Phil. Soc. Trans. 1858, part II. p. 156. The MS. was lent to Hickes by Tanner, but in 1698 it was the property of Bishop More. How it came into the Harleian Collection, Sir F. Madden professes himself unable even to guess.]

³ Heaven. Sax.

⁴ Merry, cheerful. "Although Paradise is cheerful and bright, *Cokayne* is a much more beautiful place."

⁵ ioi, Orig.

⁶ Pleasure.

⁷ [A chamber.]

⁸ *Shingles*. "The tiles, or covering of the house, are of rich cakes."

⁹ The pinnacles.

Of grene jaspe and rede corale
 In the praer is a tre
 Swithe likful for to se,
 The rote is gingeur and galingale,
 The siouns beth al sedwale.
 Trie maces beth the flure,
 The rind, canel of swet odor :
 The frute gilofre of gode smakke,
 Of cucubes ther nis no lakke. . . .
 There beth iiii. willis¹ in the abbei
 Of triacle and halwei,
 Of baum and ek piement,²
 Ever ernend³ to ri3t rent ;⁴
 Of thai fremis al the molde,
 Stonis preciuse⁵ and golde,
 Ther is saphir, and uniune,
 Carbuncle and aftiune,
 Smaragde, lugre, and prassiune,
 Beril, onix, toposiune,
 Ametist and crisfolite,⁶
 Calcedun and epetite.⁶
 Ther beth birdes mani and fale
 Throftil, thruisse, and ni3tingale,
 Chalandre, and wood[e]wale,
 And other briddes without tale,
 That stinteth never bi her mi3t
 Miri to sing[e] dai and ni3t. . . .
 Yi[t]e I do 3ow mo to witte,
 The gees iroftid on the spitte,
 Flee3 to that abbai, God hit wot,
 And gredith,⁷ "gees al hote, al hote," &c.

Our author then makes a pertinent transition to a convent of nuns, which he supposes to be very commodiously situated at no great distance, and in the same fortunate region of indolence, ease, and affluence :

An other abbai is therbi
 For soth a gret fair nunnerie ;⁸
 Up a river of swet milke
 Whar is plente grete of silk.
 When the someris dai is hote,
 The 3ung[e] nunnes takith a bote
 And doth ham forth in that river
 Both with oris and with stere :
 Whan hi beth fur from the abbei,
 Hi makith ham nakid for to plei,

¹ Fountains.

² This word will be explained at large hereafter.

³ Running, Sax.

⁴ Course, Sax.

⁵ The Arabian philosophy imported into Europe was full of the doctrine of precious stones.

⁶ Our old poets are never so happy as when they can get into a catalogue of things or names. See *Observat. on the Fairy Queen*, i. p. 140.

⁷ Cryeth. [Anglo-Sax.] [See Conybeare's *Illustr. of A.-S. Poetry*, 1826, 3-8, and Thorpe's *Cædmon*, 1832, Pref.—Madden.]

⁸ [*La grange est pres des bateurs* ; ("Said of a Nunnerie thats neere vnto a Fryerie :) the Barne stands neere the Threshers."—Cotgrave, under *Bateur*.—F.]

And lepith dune in to the brimme
 And doth ham flelich for to swimme :
 The zung[e] monkes that hi feeth,
 Hi doth ham up, and forth hi fleeth,
 And comith to the nunnes anon,
 And euch monke him takith on,
 And flelich¹ berith forth har prei
 To the mochil grei abbei,²
 And techith the nunnes an oreifun
 With jambleue³ up and dun.⁴

¹ Quickly, quickly. [Anglo-Saxon.]

² "To the great abbey of Grey Monks."

³ Lascivious motions, gambols. Fr. *gambiller*.

⁴ Hickes, *Thes.* i. Par. i. p. 231 *seq.* [A French fabliau, bearing a near resemblance to this poem, and possibly the production upon which the English minstrel founded his song, has been published in Barbazan, *Fabliaux et Contes*, 1808, iv. 175.—*Price*. But Mr. Wright has pointed out that *Price* errs in describing the fabliau as similar to the English poem, and specifies, on the other hand, an old Dutch poem which, from the specimen he affords, certainly exhibits a striking resemblance.]

The secular indulgences, particularly the luxury, of a female convent, are intended to be represented in the following passage of an ancient poem, called *A Disputation bytweene a Crystene mon and a Jew*, [from a MS.] written [near the end of the 14th century.] MS. Vernon, fol. 301 :

"Till a Nonneri thei came,
 But I knowe not the name ;
 Ther was mony a derworthe¹ dame
 In dyapre dere :²
 Squizeres³ in vche syde,
 In the wones⁴ so wyde :
 Hur schul we lenge⁵ and abyde,
 Auntres⁶ to heare.
 Thene swithe⁷ spekethe he,
 Til a ladi so fre,
 And biddeth that he welcum be,
 'Sire Water my feere.'⁸
 Ther was bords⁹ i-clothed clene
 With schire¹⁰ clothes and schene,
 Seppe¹¹ a wasschen,¹² i wene,
 And wente to the sete ;
 Riche metes was forth brouht,
 To all men that gode thouht :
 The cristen mon wolde nouht
 Drynke nor etc.
 Ther was a wyn ful clere
 In mony a feir mafere,¹³
 And other drynkes that weore dere,
 In coupes¹⁴ ful gret :

¹ Dear-worthy.

² Diaper fine.

³ Squires, attendants.

⁴ Rooms, apartments.

⁵ Shall we tarry.

⁶ Adventures.

⁷ Swiftly, immediately.

⁸ My companion, my love. He is called afterwards, "[Sir] Walter of Berwick."

⁹ Tables.

¹⁰ Sheer, clean.

¹¹ Or *fithe*, i. e. [afterwards : but perhaps we should read *seththe thei*, "afterwards they."—*Price*.]

¹² Washed.

¹³ Mazer, great cup.

¹⁴ Cups.

This poem was designed to be sung at public festivals :¹ a practice, of which many instances occur in this work ; and concerning which it may be sufficient to remark at present, that a Joculator or bard was an officer belonging to the court of William the Conqueror.²

Another [Early English] poem cited by the same industrious antiquary [and since printed by Mr. Cockayne], is entitled *The Life of Saint Margaret*. The structure of its versification considerably differs from that in the last-mentioned piece, and is like the French Alexandrines. But I am of opinion that a pause, or division, was intended in the middle of every verse : and in this respect its versification resembles also that of [Warner's] *Albion's England*, or Drayton's *Polyolbion*, which was a species very common about the reign of Queen Elizabeth.³ The rhymes are also continued to every fourth line. It appears to have been written about the time of [Henry III.]. It begins thus :⁴

Seinte Margarete was : holi maide 't god
Ibore heo was in Antioche : icode of cunde blod
Terdose hire fader het : while bi olde dawe
Patriarch he was wel he3 : 't maister of the lawe
He ne bileouede on ihesu crift no3t : for he hethene was
Margarete his 3unge dou3ter : ipaid therwith no3t has
For hire hurte bar anon : cristene to beo
The false godes heo het deuelen : that heo mi3te aldai iseo—.

In the sequel, Olibrius, lord of Antioch, who is called a Saracen, falls in love with Margaret : but she being a Christian and a candidate for canonization, rejects his solicitations, and is thrown into prison.⁵

Meidan Maregrete one nitt in prisun lai
Ho com biforn Olibrius on that other dai.

Sihthe was schewed him bi
Murththe and muntralfy,¹
And preyed hem do gladly,
With ryal rechet.²
Bi the bordes up thei stode," &c.

¹ As appears from this line :

"Lordinges gode and hende," &c.

² His lands are cited in Doomsday Book (*Gloucestershire*.) "Berdic, Joculator Regis, habet iii. villas et ibi v. car. nil redd." See Anstis, *Ord. Gart.* ii. 304.

³ It is worthy of remark, that we find in the collection of ancient Northern monuments published by M. Biorner, a poem of some length, said by that author to have been composed in the twelfth or thirteenth century. This poem is professedly in rhyme, and the measure like that of the heroic Alexandrine of the French poetry. See Mallet's *Introd. Dannem*, &c., ch. xiii.

⁴ I direct, Fr. "I advise you, your," &c. [The writer of this Life in the Bodleian MS., who is quite as likely to have understood the author's meaning, reads, "I preye you :—" words bearing no doubt the same signification then as they do at present.]—*Price*. This extract has now been taken from edit. Cockayne, 1st text, 1866.]

⁵ [Edit. Cockayne (2nd text), p. 37].

¹ Afterwards there was sport and minstrelsy.

² i. e. receipt, reception. But see Chaucer's *Rom. R.* v. 6509 :

"Him woulde I comfort and *rechete*."

[Cheer, from Fr. *rehaitier*.—Sir F. Madden's inform.] And *Tr. Cress.* iii. 350.

Meidan Maregrete, lef up on my lay,
 And Ihefu that thou levest on, thou do him al away.
 Lef on me, ant be my wife, ful wel the mai spede.
 Auntioge and Afie scaltou han to mede :
 Ciclatoun¹ ant purpel pal scaltou haue to wede :
 Wid all the metes of my lond ful wel I scal the fede.²

This piece was printed by Hickes from a MS. in Trinity College library at Cambridge, [and has been lately re-edited]. It seems to belong to the manuscript metrical *Lives of the Saints*,³ which form a very considerable volume, and were probably translated or paraphrased from Latin or French prose into English rhyme before the year 1[3]00.⁴ We are sure that they were written after the year

¹ Checklaton. See *Obs. Fair.* 2, i. 194.

² The legend of *Saint Julian* in the Bodleian, is [in prose, with verses at the end, which Sir F. Madden notes, are not in MS. Reg. 17 A. xxvii. Both texts are now in type for the Early English Text Society, ed. Cockayne.] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. NE. 3 xi. membran. 8vo. iii. fol. 86. This MS. I believe to be of the age of Henry III. or King John : the composition much earlier. It was translated from the Latin. These are the last five lines :

"Hpen drihten o bomeþ beī pinþeþ his hpeate,
 And penþeþ þæt durti chep to hellene heate,
 He mot beon a corn i gober gulbene ebene,
 De tunþe þi of Latin to Engliſche lebeenne
 And he þæt her leaſt onþrae ſpa aþ he cuþe. *ÆWEN.*"

That is, "When the judge at doomsday winnows his wheat, and drives the dusty chaff into the heat of hell; may he be a corn in God's golden Eden, who turned this book [from] Latin," &c. [Sir F. Madden points out that these lines are taken from an inedited prose life of St. Hugh (MS. Digby, 165, fol. 114.) See Hume's monograph on St. Hugh, 1849, for some curious particulars respecting that singular tradition.]

The same that are mentioned by Hearne, from a MS. of Ralph Sheldon. See Hearne's *Petr. Langt.* pp. 542, 607, 608, 609, 611, 628, 670. Saint Winifred's Life is printed from the same collection by Bishop Fleetwood, in his *Life and Miracles of S. Winifred*, p. 125, ed. 1713.

⁴ It is in fact a metrical history of the festivals of the whole year. The life of the respective saint is described under every saint's day, and the institutions of some Sundays, and feasts not taking their rise from saints, are explained on the plan of the *Legenda Aurea* written by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa, about the year 1290, from which Caxton, through the medium of a French version entitled *Legend Dorée*, translated his *Golden Legend*. The *Festival or Festiall* by Myrk (see preface to Myrk's *Duties of P. Priests*, Early Eng. Text Society), is a book of the same sort, yet with homilies intermixed. See MSS. Harl. 2247 and 2371, and 2391, and 2402 and 2800 *seq.* Manuscript lives of saints, detached and not belonging to this collection, are frequent in libraries. The *Vite Patrum* were originally drawn from S. Jerome and Johannes Cassianus. In Gresham College library are metrical lives of ten saints, chiefly from the *Golden Legend*, by Osberne Bokenham, an Augustine canon in the abbey of Stoke-clare in Suffolk, transcribed by Thomas Burgh, at Cambridge, 1477. The *Life of St. Katharine* appears to have been composed in 1445. MSS. Coll. Greth. 315, [but now MS. Arundel Br. Mus. 327: Printed for the Roxb. Club, 1835, 4to. Some other *Lives of Saints* have been printed by the Philological Society, ed. Furnivall (*Transactions*, 1858, Pt. ii.); the *Life of St. Quiriacus*, with the *Legends on the Cross*, from a Saint's Lives' MS., is in the press for the Early English Text Society, under the editorship of Dr. Morris. The *Life of St. Katharine* is also in MS. Publ. Lib. Camb. Ff. ii. 38, and has been printed by Halliwell (*Contrib. to Early Engl. Lit.*, 1849).] The French translation of the *Legenda Aurea* was made by Jehan de Vignay, a monk, soon after 1300.

1169, as they contain the *Life of Saint Thomas Becket*.¹ In the Bodleian library are three manuscript copies of these *Lives of the Saints*,² in which the *Life of Saint Margaret* constantly occurs ;

¹ Ashmole cites this *Life*, *Instit. Ord. Gart.*, p. 21. And he cites S. Brandon's *Life*, p. 507. Ashmole's MS. was in the hands of Silas Taylor. It is now in [the Bodleian]. MSS. Ashm. 50. [7001.]

² MSS. Bodl. 779, Laud, L 70. And they make a considerable part of a prodigious folio volume, beautifully written on vellum [about 1400], and elegantly illuminated [of which the first foliated text has the title] : "*Here begynnen the tytyles of the book that is calld in Latyn tongue Salus Anime, and in Englysh tonge Sowlehele.*" It was given to the Bodleian library by Edward Vernon, Esq., soon after the civil war. I shall cite it under the title of MS. Vernon. Although pieces not absolutely religious are sometimes introduced, the scheme of the compiler or transcriber seems to have been, to form a complete body of legendary and scriptural history in verse, or rather to collect into one view all the religious poetry he could find. Accordingly the *Lives of the Saints* a distinct and large work of itself properly constituted a part of his plan. There is another copy of the *Lives of the Saints* in the British Museum, MSS. Harl. 2277; and in [the Bodleian] MSS. Ashm. *ut supr.* This MS. is also in Bennet College library [and elsewhere : MS. Laud. 108; MS. Ashmole, No. 43 [6924]; Cotton MS. Julius, D ix. and Add. MS. 10, 301, &c.] The *Lives* seem to be placed according to their respective festivals in the course of the year. The Bodleian copy (marked 779) is a thick folio, containing 310 leaves. The variations in these manuscripts seem chiefly owing to the transcribers. The *Life of Saint Margaret* in MS. Bodl. 779, begins much like that of Trinity Library at Cambridge.

"Old and yonge I preye you your folyis for to lete," &c.

I must add here, that in the Harleian library, a few *Lives*, from the same collection of *Lives of the Saints*, occur, MSS. 2250, 23 f. 72, b. *seq.* chart. fol. See also *ib.* 19, f. 48.

The *Lives of the Saints* in verse, in Bennet library, contain the martyrdom and translation of Becket, Num. clxv. This MS. is supposed to be of the fourteenth century. Archbishop Parker, in a remark prefixed, has assigned the composition to the reign of Henry II. But in that case, Becket's translation, which did not happen till the reign of King John, must have been added. See a specimen in Nasmith's *Catalogue of the Bennet MSS.* 1777, p. 217. There is a MS. of these *Lives* in Trinity College library at Oxford, but it has not the *Life of Becket*, MSS. Num. lvii. In parchment, fol. The writing is about the fourteenth century. I will transcribe a few lines from the *Life of St. Cuthbert*, f. 2, b :

"Seint Cuthberd was ybore here in Engelande,
God dude for him meraccle, as 3e scholleth vnderstonde.
And wel 3ong child he was, in his eigetthe 3ere,
Wit children he pleyde atte balle, that his felawes were :
That com go a lite childe, it tho3t thre 3er old,
A swete creature and a fayr, yt was myld and bold :
To the 3ong Cuthberd he 3ede 'fene brother,' he fede,
'Ne 3ench than no3t such ydell game for it ne o3te no3t be thy dede :'
Seint Cuthberd ne tok no 3eme to the childis rede
And pleyde forth with his felawes, al so they him bede.
Tho this 3onge child y fe3 that he is red forlok,
A doun he fel to grounde, and gret del to him tok,
It by gan to wepe fore, and his bonden wrynge,
This children hadde alle del of him, and bylevede hare pleyinge.
As that they couthe hy gladede him, fore he gan to liche,
At even this 3onge child made del y liche,
'A welaway, qd seint Cuthbert, 'why wepes thou so fore
'Sif we the haveth o3t mysdo, we ne scholleth na more.'
Thanne spake this 3onge child, fore hy wothe beye,
'Cuthberd, it falleth no3t to the with 3onge children to pleye,

but it is not always exactly the same with this printed by Hickes; and, on the whole, the Bodleian Lives seem inferior in point of antiquity. I will here give some extracts:

From the *Life of Saint Swithin*:¹

Seint Swithin the confessour : was her of Engelande,
 Biside wynchestre he was ibore : as ic vnderstonde :
 By the kinges day Egberd : this gode man was ibore,
 That tho was king of Engeland : and somwhat ek bifore ;
 The ei3teothe king he was that com : after Kenewold the kyng,
 That seint Berin dude to Cristendom : in Engeland furst bringe :
 Ac seynt Austin hadde bifore : to cristendom ibro3t
 Athelbri3t the gode king : ac al the londe no3t.
 Ac fithe hit was that seint berin : her bi wesse wende,
 And turnde the king Kenewold : as our louerd him grace fende :
 So that seint Egberd was kyng : tho seint swithin was ibore
 The ei3teoteothe he was : after kenewold that so longe was bifore, &c.
 Seint Swithin his bischopriche : to alle gode drou3 (line 51)
 The toun alfo of Wynchestre he amended, enou3,
 For he let the stronge brugge : withoute the est 3ate arere
 And fond therto lym and ston : to worcmen that ther were.

From the *Life of Saint Wolstan*:

Seynt Wolston bysscop of Wirceter was then in Ingelonde,
 Swithe holyman was all his lyf, as ich onderstonde :
 The while he was a yonge childe, good lyf hi ladde ynow,
 Whenne other children orne play, toward cherche hi drow.

‘For no suche idell games it ne cometh the to worche,
 ‘Whanne god hath y-proveyd the an heved of holy cherche.’
 With this word, me nyfte whidder, this 3ong child wente,
 An angel it was of heven that our lord thuder sent.”

I will exhibit the next twelve lines as they appear in that mode of writing : together with the punctuation.

“þo by-gan seint Cuthberd. for to wepe sore
 [And by-leuede al þis ydel game, nolde he pleye no more.]
 He made his fader and frendis. sette him to lore
 So þat he seruede boþe nyxt and day. to plese god þe more
 And in his zoughede nyxt and day. of seruede godis ore
 þo he in grettere elde was, as þe bok us hap yfied
 It byfel þat seint Aȝdan. þe bisschop was ded
 Cuthberd was a felde with schep. angeles of heven he se3
 þe bisschopis soule seint Aȝdan. to heven bere on he3
 Allas fede seint Cuthberd. fole ech am to longe
 I nell þis schep no longer kepe. aforonge hem who so aforonge²
 He wente to þe abbeye of Germans. a grey monk he þer bycom
 Gret joye made alle þe covent. þo he that abbyt nom,” &c.

The reader will observe the constant return of the hemistichal point, which I have been careful to preserve, and to represent with exactness; as I suspect that it shows how these poems were sung to the harp by the minstrels. Every line was perhaps, uniformly recited to the same monotonous modulation, with a pause in the midst; just as we chant the psalms in our choral service. In the psalms of our liturgy, this pause is expressed by a colon: and often, in those of the Roman missal, by an asterisk. The same mark occurs in every line of this manuscript, which is a folio volume of considerable size, with upwards of fifty verses in every page.

[¹ *Early English Poems and Lives of Saints*, edit. Furnivall, pp. 43-7; *St. Swithun*, ed. Earle, 1861, pp. 78-81.]

[¹ Inserted from Add. MS. 10,301. Sir F. Madden's inform.]

[² “Take them who will.”—*Price*.]

Seint Edward was tho vr kyng, that now in hevene is,
 And the biscope of Wircester Brytthege is hette I wis, &c.
 Biscop hym made the holi man seynt Edward vre kyng
 And undirfonge his dignite, and tok hym cros and ringe.
 His bushopreke he wult wel, and eke his priorie,
 And forcede him to serve wel God and Seinte Marie.
 Four 3er he hedde biscop ibeo and not folliche fyve
 Tho seynt Edward the holi kyng went out of this lyve.
 To gret reuge to al Engelonde, so welaway the stounde,
 For strong men that come sithen and brougte Engelonde to grounde.
 Harald was sithen kyng with trefun, alas!
 The crowne he bare of England which while hit was.
 As William Bastard that was tho duyck of Normaundye¹
 Thouhte to winne Engelonde thoruz strength and felonye:
 He lette hym greith foulke inou3 and gret power with him nom,
 With gret strengthe in the see he him dude and to Engelonde com:
 He lette ordayne his oft wel and his baner up arerede,
 And destruyed all that he fond and that londe fore aferde.
 Harald hereof tell kyng of Engelonde
 He let garke fast his ofte agen hym for to stonde:
 His baronage of Engelonde redi was ful sone
 The kyng to helpe and eke himself as ri3t was to done.
 The warre was then in Engelonde dolefull and stronge inou3
 And heore either of othures men al to grounde flou3:
 The Normans and this Englich men day of batayle nom
 There as the abbeye is of the batayle a day togedre com,
 To grounde thei smiit and slowe also; as God yaf the cas,
 William Bastard was above, and Harald bi-neothe was.²

From the *Life of Saint Christopher*:

³Seint Cristofre was fara3in: in the lond of Canaan,
 In no stede bi him daye: ne fond me so strong a man:
 Four & tuentie fet he was long: & thicke & brod inou3,
 Such mon bote he were strong me thin3th hit were wou3:
 Al a contrai where he were: for him wolde fleo,
 Therfore him thou3te that no man: a3en him scholde beo.
 With no man he seide he nolde beo: bote with on that were
 Hexist louerd of alle men: & vnder non, other uere.

Afterwards he is taken into the service of a king:

Cristofre him seruede longe; (l. 17)
 The kyng louede melodie: of harpe & of songe;
 So that his iugelour adai: to-fore him pleide faste,
 & anemede in his rym: the deucl atte laste:
 Tho the kyng ihurde that: he blefcede him anon, &c.⁴

From the *Life of Saint Patrick*:

Seyn Pateryk com thoru Godes grace to preche in Irelande
 To teche men ther ryt believe Jhesu Cryfte to underfonde:
 So ful of wormes that londe he founde that no man ni myghte gon,
 In som stede for worms that he nas wenemyd anon;
 Seynt Pateryk bade our lorde Cryft that the londe dellyvered were,
 Of thilke foul wormis that none ne com there.

¹ [See Small's *Metrical Homilies*, p. xvi.]

² MS. Vernon. fol. 76, b.

³ MSS. Harl. *ut sup.* fol. 101, b.

"Seint Cristofre was Sarazin in 3e lond of Canaan
 In no stede bi his daye ne fond me so strong a man
 Four and tuenti fet he was long and þiche and brod y-nou3, &c."

⁴ [*Early English Poems and Lives of Saints*, edit. Furnivall, 1862, pp. 59-60.]

From the *Life of Saint Thomas Becket*:¹

Gilbert was Thomas fader name : that the true was and gode
 And lovede God and holi church : fiththe he wit underfod.
 The croice to the holie lond : in his 3unghede he nom,
 And mid on Richard that was his man : to Jerufalem com,
 There hi dude here pelrynage : in holi ftedes fafte
 So that among the Sarazyns : ynome hi were atte lafte, &c.

[One authority² attributes these *Lives* to the clofe, and another³ to the middle, of the thirteenth century.⁴ The former remarks: "The ftyle and language of these *Lives* of Saints would lead us at once, from their fimilarity to the Chronicle afcribed to Robert of Gloucefter, to attribute them to the clofe of the thirteenth century, and perhaps to the fame writer. Had Warton⁵ looked into these *Lives* a little more attentively, he would have found the *Legend of St. Dominic*, who died in 1221, and that of *St. Edmund of Pountney*, who was canonized in 1248. But in the latter legend we have decisive proof that these lives were written in the reign of Edward I."]

These metrical narratives of Chriftian faith and perfeverance feem to have been chiefly compofed for the pious amufement, and perhaps edification, of the monks in their cloifters. The fumptuous volume of religious poems which I have mentioned above⁶ was undoubtedly chained in the cloifter or church of fome capital monaftery. It is not improbable that the novices were exercifed in reciting portions from these pieces. In the Britifh Mufeum⁷ there is a fet of legendary tales in rhyme, which appear to have been folemnly pronounced by the prieft to the people on Sundays and holidays. This fort of poetry⁸

¹ [*Life and Martyrdom of Thomas Becket*, edit. Black (Percy Soc.), p. 1.]

² [Madden's note in *H. E. P.* ed. 1840, i. 17. Guernes, an ecclefiaftic of Pont St. Maxence in Picardy, wrote a metrical life of Thomas à Becket, and from his anxiety to procure the moft authentic information on the fubject, came over to Canterbury in 1172, and finally projected his work in 1177. It is written in ftanzas of five Alexandrines, all ending with the fame rhymes, a mode of compofition fupposed to have been adopted for the purpofe of being eafily chanted. A copy is preferved in MS. Harl. 270, and another in MS. Cotton, *Domit.* A. xi. See *Archæol.* vol. xiii. and Ellis's *Hift. Sketch*, &c. p. 57.—*Park.*]

³ [*Life and Martyrdom of St. Thomas A Becket*, ed. Black, Introd.]

⁴ [Warton fupposed them written in the reign of Richard I.]

⁵ In the Cotton library I find the lives of Saint Iofaphas and the Seven Sleepers : [compofed in the French of the thirteenth century, and in a hand of the time. Sir F. M.'s corr.] Brit. Mus. MSS. Cott. *Calig.* A ix. Cod. membran. 4to. ii. fol. 192 :

Ici commence la vie de seint Iofapha3.

Ki voute a nul bien æntendre

Per effample poet mult aprenbre,

iii. fol. 213, b. *Ici commence la vie de Set Dorman3.*

La vertu ðeu ke tut iur ðure

E tut iur3 eft cerene e pure.

Many legends and religious pieces in Norman rhyme were written about [the time of Edward I.] See MSS. Harl. 2253, f. 1, membr. fol. *supra citat.* p. 15.

⁶ Viz. MS. Vernon.

⁷ MSS. Harl. 2391. 70. The dialect is perfectly Northern.

⁸ That legends of Saints were fung to the harp at feasts, appears from *The Life of Saint Marins*, MSS. Harl. 2253, fol. memb. f. 64, b.

was also sung to the harp by the minstrels on Sundays, instead of the romantic subjects usual at public entertainments.¹

“ Herketh hideward and beoth stille,
Y prae ou 3if hit be or wille,
And 3e shule here of one virgin
That was ycleped faint Maryne.”

And from various other instances. [But Sir F. Madden very properly doubts whether this expression means, in many cases, any thing further than an invitation to the listeners to attend to the recital.]

Some of these religious poems contain the usual address of the minstrel to the company. As in a poem of our Saviour's descent into hell, and his discourse there with Sathanas the porter, Adam, Eve, Abraham, &c. MSS. *ibid.* f. 57.

“ Alle herkeneth to me now,
A strif wolle y tellen ou :
Of Jhesu and of Sathan,
Tho Jhesu wes to hell y-gan.”

Other proofs will occur occasionally. [The lives of St. Josaphat and of the Seven Sleepers are attributed by the Abbé de la Rue to Chardry, an Anglo-Norman poet, who also wrote *le petit plebs*, a dispute between an old and a young man on human life. Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury in 1207, wrote a canticle on the passion of Jesus Christ in 123 stanzas, with a theological drama, in the Duke of Norfolk's library, and Denis Pyrannus, who lived in the reign of Henry III., wrote in verse the life and martyrdom of King St. Edmund in 3286 lines, with the miracles of the same saint in 600 lines : a manuscript in the Cott. Library, Dom. A. xi. See *Archæologia*, vol. xiii.—*Park*.]

¹ As I collect from the following poem, MS. Vernon, fol. 229 :—

“ *The Visions of Seynt Poul won he was rapt into Paradys.*

“ Luftteneth lordynges leof and dere,
3e that wolen of the Sonday here ;
The Sonday a day hit is
That angels and archangels joyn iwis,
More in that ilke day
Then any odor,” &c.

[It was enjoined by the ritual of the Gallican church, that the Lives of the Saints should be read during mass, on the days consecrated to their memory. On the introduction of the Roman liturgy, which forbade the admixture of any extraneous matter with the service of the mass, this practice appears to have been suspended, and the Lives of the Saints were read only at evening prayer. But even in this the inveteracy of custom seems speedily to have re-established its rights ; and there is reason to believe that the lives of such as are mentioned in the New Testament were regularly delivered from the chancel. Of this a curious example, the “ *Planch de Sant Esteve*,” has been published by M. Raynouard in his “ *Choix des Poésies originales des Troubadours* [Paris, 1817] ;” where the passages from the Acts of the Apostles referring to St. Stephen are introduced between the metrical translations of them. From France it is probable this rite found its way into England ; and the following extract from the piece alluded to above will show the uniformity of style adopted in the exordiums to such productions on both sides of the Channel :

“ Sezets, senhors, e aiats pas ;
Se que direm ben escoutas ;
Car la liffon es de vertat,
Non hy a mot de falsetat.”

“ Be seated, lordings, and hold your peace (*et ayez paix*) ; listen attentively to what we shall say ; for it is a lesson of truth without a word of falsehood.” It has been recently maintained, that the term “ lording,” of such frequent occurrence in the preludes to our old romances and legends, is a manifest proof of their being

In that part of Vernon's manuscript entitled "Soulehele,"¹ we have a translation of the Old and New Testament into verse, which I believe to have been made before the year 1300 [though the MS. is some seventy-five years later]. The reader will observe the fondness of our ancestors for the Alexandrine: at least, I find the lines arranged in that measure:—

Oure ladi and hire sustur stoden vndur the Roode,
 And seint jon and marie magdaleyn with wel fori moode:
 Vr ladi biheold hire swete sone; heo gon to wepe fore,
 That thre teres heo let of red blod, tho heo nedde watur no more.
 Vr lord seide: "Wommon, to her thi sone ibrouht in gret pyne
 For monnes gultes nouthē her, and nothing for myne."
 Marie weop wel fore, and bitter teres leet;
 The teres fullen uppon the ston doun at hire feet.
 "Allas, my sone, for serwe wel ofte" seide heo,
 "Nabbe ich bote the one, that honguft on the treo;
 So ful icham of serwe, as any wommon may beo,
 That i schal my deore child in al this pyne ifeo:
 How schal I, sone deore, hou haft i thouȝt liuen with outen the,
 Nuȝti neuere of serwe nouȝt, sone, what seȝst thou me?"
 Thenne spak Ihesus wordus goode tho to his modur dere,
 Ther he heng vpon the roode: "here I the take a fere,
 That treweliche schal serue the, thin owne cofin Jon,
 The while that thou alyue beo among alle thi son:"
 "Ich the hote, jon," he seide, "thou wite hire bothe day and niȝt,
 That the Gýwes, hire son, ne don hire non vnriht."
 Seint Jon in the stude vr ladi in to the temple nom;
 God to seruen he hire dude, sone so he thider com;
 Hole and seeke heo duden good that heo founden thore,
 Heo hire serueden to hond and foot, the lasse and eke the more.
 The Pore folk feire heo fedde there, heo seȝe that hit was neode,
 And the feke heo brouȝte to bedde, and mete and drinke gon heom beode.
 With al heore mihte ȝong and olde hire loueden, bothe syke and fer,
 As hit was riȝt, for alle and sūme to hire seruise hedden mester.
 Jon hire was a trewe feere, and nolde nouȝt fro hire go,
 He loked hire as his ladi deore; and what heo wolde, hit was ido.²

"composed for the gratification of knights and nobles." There are many valid objections to such a conclusion; but one perhaps more cogent than the rest. The term is a diminutive, and could never have been applied to the nobility as an order, however general its use as an expression of courtesy. By way of illustration, let it also be remembered, that the "Disours" of the present day, who ply upon the Mole at Naples, address every ragged auditor by the title of "Eccellenza."—*Price.*

¹ [The first foliated part of the MS. A prose translation of Ailred's *Regula Inclusarum*, or *Rule of Nuns*, is on the preceding unfoliated leaves. Both treatises are in the hands of editors for the Early English Text Society.—F.]

² MS. Vernon, fol. 8.

SECTION II.

HITHERTO we have been engaged in examining the state of our poetry from the Conquest to the year 1[3]00, or rather afterwards. It will appear to have made no very rapid improvement from that period. Yet, as we proceed, we shall find the language losing much of its ancient obscurity, and approaching more nearly to the dialect of modern times.

The first poet whose name occurs in the reign of Edward I., and indeed in these annals, is Robert of Gloucester, a monk of the abbey of Gloucester. He has left a poem of considerable length, which is a history of England in verse, from Brutus to the reign of Edward I. It was evidently written after the year 1278, as the poet mentions King Arthur's sumptuous tomb, erected in that year before the high altar of Glastonbury church¹: and he declares himself a living witness of the remarkably dismal weather which distinguished the day on which the battle of Evesham above mentioned was fought, in the year 1265.² From these and other circumstances this piece appears to have been composed [after] the year [1297].³ It is exhibited in the manuscripts, is cited by many antiquaries, and printed by Hearne, in the Alexandrine measure; but with equal probability might have been written in four-lined stanzas. This rhyming chronicle is totally destitute of art or imagination. The author has clothed in rhyme the fables of Geoffry of Monmouth, which have often a more poetical air in Geoffry's prose. The language is not much more easy or intelligible than that of many of the [Early English] poems quoted in the preceding section: it is full of Saxonisms, which indeed abound, more or less, in every writer before Gower and Chaucer. But this obscurity is perhaps owing to the western dialect, in which our monk of Gloucester was educated. Provincial barbarisms are naturally the growth of extreme counties, and of such as are situated at a distance from the metropolis; and it is probable that the Saxon heptarchy, which consisted of a cluster of seven independent states, contributed to produce as many different provincial dialects. In the mean time it is to be considered, that writers of all ages and languages have their affectations and singularities, which occasion in each a peculiar phraseology.

¹ Pag. 224, edit. Hearne.² Pag. 560.

³ [Sir F. Madden's corr., founded on the mention in the piece of the canonization of St. Louis in 1297. Sir F. M. refers to the Cotton MS. Calig. A. xi. (from which Dr. R. Morris has printed an extract in his *Specimens*) as nearly coeval with the author, and as the proper basis of a new edition. He tells us that Waterland's annotated copy of ed. Hearne (erroneously taken from Harl. MS. 201 in chief measure), is in the Bodleian. Mr. Furnivall notes that there is a MS., one of a class, with great differences, in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Mr. W. Aldis Wright is preparing a new edition of Robert of Gloucester for the Rolls Series.]

[The MSS. of Robert of Gloucester divide themselves naturally into two classes. Taking the Cotton MS. as the type of what we may call the earlier recension, and the MS. in Trinity College Library, Cambridge, as the type of the later, the two classes may be readily distinguished by a reference to the beginning of the reign of King Stephen. Up to this point the MSS. of the two recensions agree roughly in their contents, those of the later having insertions in various places and of various lengths, amounting altogether to between eight and nine hundred lines. From this point they differ entirely; the reigns from Stephen to Edward I. occupying in the earlier recension about three thousand lines, while in the later they are compressed into about six hundred of an entirely different character. In the Cotton MS. King Stephen's reign begins thus:

Steuene þe bleis þat god kniȝt. & stalwarde was also
þo þe king was ded is vnclē. an oþer he þoȝte do.

In the Trinity MS. it begins:

þo com stephene þe bleys; mid strēȝe & quaintise
& feide he wolde be king; in alle kūnes wyȝe.

This distinction furnishes a ready test of the class to which any MS. belongs. Tried by it, we find that the known MSS. of the earlier recension are Cotton Calig. A. xi., Harl. 201, Add. MSS. 18631 and 19677 in the British Museum, and MS. S. 3. 41 in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. The MSS. of the later recension are Sloane 2027 in the British Museum; Ec. 4. 31 in the University Library, Cambridge; R. 4. 26 in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge; Bodleian, Digby 205; Lord Moityn's MS.; and MS. 2014 in the Pepysian Library. The MS. in the Herald's College, of which the readings are quoted in the notes to Hearne's edition, contains a mixture of prose and verse, and cannot be assigned to either recension. Besides these there formerly existed two others, of which one belonged to the famous Thomas Allen of Gloucester Hall; the other, quoted by Camden in his *Remaines*, was in the possession of John Stow the antiquary; but of these no trace has yet been found. The passages from the former, given in Hearne's *Appendix*, shew that it probably belonged to the later recension.¹

Robert of Gloucester thus describes the sports and solemnities which followed King Arthur's coronation:

The kyng was to ys paleys, tho the servyse was ydo,²
Ylad wyth his menyce, and the quene to hire al so.
Vor hii hulde the olde viages, that men wyth men were
By them fulue, and wymmen by hem fulue al so there.³
Tho hii were echone yfet, as yt to her stat bycom,
Kay, king of Aungco, a thousand kynȝtes nome

¹ [Mr. W. Aldis Wright's addition.]

² "when the service in the church was finished."

³ "They kept the antient custom at festivals, of placing the men and women separate. Kay, king of Anjou, brought a thousand noble knights clothed in ermine of one suit, or *señal*."

Of noble men, yclothed in ermyne echone
 Of on fywete, and seruede at thys noble fest a non.
 Bedwer the botyler, kyng of Normandye,
 Nom al so in ys half a uayr companye
 Of on fywyte¹ vorto seruy of the botelerye.
 By uore the quene yt was also of al fuche cortesyfe,
 Vorto telle al the noblye thet ther was ydo,
 They my tonge were of stel, me ffolde no3t dure therto.
 Wymmen ne kepte of no kyn3t as in druery,²
 Bote he were in armys wel yprowed, & atte leste thrye.³
 That made, lo, the wymmen the chafstore lyf lede,
 And the kyn3tes the stalwordore,⁴ & the betere in her dede.
 Sone after thys noble mete,⁵ as ry3t was of fuch tyde,
 The kynats atyled hem aboute in eche fyde,
 In felde and in medys to preue her bachelerye.⁶
 Somme wyth lance, some wyth fuerd, wyth oute vylenye,
 Wyth pleyynge at tables, other atte chekere,
 Wyth castynge,⁷ other wyth flettinge,⁸ other in som o3yrt manere.
 And wuch so of eny game adde the maystrye,
 The kyng hem of ys 3yfteth dude large cortesyfe.
 Vpe the alurs of the castles the laydes thanne fode,
 And byhulde thys noble game, & wyche kyn3ts were god.
 All the thre hexte dawes⁹ ylaste thys nobleye
 In halles and in veldes, of mete and eke of pleye.
 Thys men come the verthe¹⁰ day byuore the kyng there,
 And he 3ef hem large 3yftys, euere as hii wurthe were.
 Byffopryches and cherches, clerkes he 3ef somme,
 And castles and tounes, kyn3tes that were ycome.¹¹

Many of these lines are literally translated from Geoffrey of Monmouth, [and more from Wace.] In King Arthur's battle with the giant at Barbesfleet, there are no marks of Gothic painting. But there is an effort at poetry in the description of the giant's fall:

Tho gryflych 3al the ffewe tho, that grisflych was ys bere:
 He vel doun3 as a gret ok, that bynethe ycorue were,
 That yt tho3te that al hul myd the vallynge flok.¹²

That is, "Then horribly yelled the shrew, that fearful was his braying: he fell down like an oak cut through at the bottom, and [it seemed that]¹³ all the hill shook with his fall." But this stroke is copied from Geoffrey of Monmouth, who tells the same miraculous story, and in all the pomp with which it was perhaps dressed up by his favourite fablers. "Exclamavit vero invifus ille; et velut quercus ventorum viribus eradicata, cum maximo sonitu corruit." It is difficult to determine which is most blameable, the poetical historian or the prosaic poet.

It was a tradition invented by the old fablers, that giants brought

¹ "brought also, on his part, a fair company clothed uniformly."

² [gallantry.] ³ thrice. ⁴ [suite.]

⁵ "Soon after this noble feast, which was proper at such an occasion, the knights accoutred themselves."

⁶ [The state preparatory to knighthood.]

⁷ [Casting the stone.—M.]

⁸ [Aiming with spears or javelins.]

⁹ "All the three highest or chief days. In halls and fields, of feasting, and turning, &c." ¹⁰ fourth. ¹¹ Pag. 191, 192 [edit. 1810.] ¹² Pag. 208 [*ibid.*]

¹³ [Mr. Garnett's correction.]

the stones of Stonehenge from the most sequestered deserts of Africa, and placed them in Ireland; that every stone was washed with juices of herbs, and contained a medical power; and that Merlin the magician, at the request of King Arthur, transported them from Ireland, and erected them in circles, on the plain of Amesbury, as a sepulchral monument for the Britons treacherously slain by Hengist. This fable is thus delivered, without decoration, by Robert of Gloucester:

"Sire kyng," quoth Merlin tho, "suche thinges y wis
Ne beth for to ichewe noȝt, but wen gret nede ys,
For ȝef ich seide in bismare, other bute yt ned were,
Sone from me he wold wende the Gost, that doth me lere:"¹
The kyng, tho non other nas, bod hym som quoyntyfe
Bi thenke aboute thilke cors, that so noble were and wyse,²
"Sire kyng," quoth Merlyn tho, "ȝef thou wolt here caste
In the honour of hem, a werk that euer schal y laste,³
To the hul of Kylar⁴ send in to Yrlond
Aftur the noble stones that ther habbet⁵ lenge y stonde;
That was the treche of geandes,⁶ for a quoynte werk ther ys
Of stones al wyth art y mad, in the world such non ys.
Ne ther nys nothing that me scholde myd strengthe a doun caste.
Stode heo here; as heo doth there, euer a wolde laste."⁷
The kyng somdel to lyȝhe,⁸ tho he herde this tale,
"How myȝte," he seyde, "suche stones so grete & so fale"
Be y brort of so fer lond? & ȝet mest of were,
Me wolde wene, that in this lond no ston to worche nere."
"Syre kyng," quoth Merlyn, "ne make noȝt an ydel such lyȝhyng.
For yt nys an ydel noȝt that ich telle this tything."¹⁰
For in the farreste stude of Affric geandes while fette¹¹
Thike stones for medycine & in Yrlond hem sette,
While heo woneden in Yrlond, to make here bathes there,
Ther vnder for to bathi, wen thei syk were.
For heo wuld the stones wasch, and ther inne bathe y wis.
For ys no ston ther among, that of gret vertu nys."¹²
The kyng and ys conseil radde¹³ tho stones forto fette,
And with gret power of batail, ȝef any mon hem lette.
Uter the kynges brother, that Ambrose hette al so
In another maner name, y chofe was ther to,

¹ If I should say any thing out of wantonness or vanity, the spirit, or demon, which teaches me, would immediately leave me. "Nam si ea in derisionem, sine vanitatem, proferrem, taceret Spiritus qui me docet, et, cum opus superveniret, recederet." Galfrid. Mon. viii. 10.

² "bade him use his cunning, for the sake of the bodies of those noble and wise Britons."

³ "if you would build, to their honour, a lasting monument."

⁴ "To the hill of Kildare."

⁵ have.

⁶ "the dance of giants." The name of this wonderful assembly of immense stones.

⁷ "Grandes sunt lapides, nec est aliquis cujus virtuti cedant. Quod si eo modo, quo ibi positi sunt, circa plateam locabuntur, stabunt in æternum." Galfrid. Mon. viii. x. 11.

⁸ somewhat laughed.

⁹ so great and so many.

¹⁰ tyding.

¹¹ "Giants once brought them from the farthest part of Africa," &c.

¹² "Lavabant namque lapides et infra balnea diffundebant, unde ægroti curabantur. Miscebant etiam cum herbarum confectioibus, unde vulnerati sanabantur. Non est ibi lapis qui medicamento careat." Galfrid. Mon. *ibid*.

¹³ [advised or counselled].

And fiftene thoufant men this dede for to do
And Merlyn for his quoyntise thider wente al so.¹

If anything engages our attention in this passage, it is the wildness of the fiction; in which, however, the poet had no share.

I will here add Uther's intrigue with Ygerne :

At the fest of Estre tho kyng sende ys sonde,
That heo comen alle to London the hey men of this lond,
And the leuedys al so god, to his noble fest wyde,
For he schulde crowne here, for the hye tyde.
Alle the noble men of this lond to the noble fest come,
And heore wyues & heore doȝtren with hem mony nome,
This fest was noble ynow, and nobliche y do;
For mony was the faire ledy, that y come was therto.
Ygerne, Gorloys wyf, was fairest of echon,
That was contasse of Cornewail, for so fair nas ther non.
The kyng by huld hire faste y now, & ys herte on hire caste,
And thoȝte, thay heo were wyf, to do folyc atte laste.
He made hire semblant fair y now, to non other so gret.
The erl nas not ther with y payed, tho he yt vnder ȝet.
Aftur mete he nom ys wyfe myd stordy med y now,
And, with oute leue of the kyng, to ys contrei drow.
The kyng sende to hym tho, to by leue al nyȝt,
For he moſte of gret conseil hadde som infyȝt.
That was for noȝt. Nolde he noȝt the kyng sende ȝet ys sonde.
That he by leuede at ys parlemente, for nede of the lond.
Tho kyng was, tho he nolde noȝt, anguyſſous & wroth.
For despyte he wolde a wreke be, he ſwor ys oth,
But he come to amendement. Ys power atte laste
He ȝarkedede, and wende forth to Cornewail faste.
Gorloys ys casteles a ſtore al a boutte.
In a ſtrong caſtel he dude ys wyf, for of hire was al ys doute.

¹ Pag. 145, 146, 147. That Stonehenge is a British monument, erected in memory of Hengist's massacre, rests, I believe, on the sole evidence of Geoffry of Monmouth, who had it from the British bards. But why should not the testimony of the British bards be allowed on this occasion? For they did not invent facts, so much as fables. In the present case, Hengist's massacre is an allowed event. Remove all the apparent fiction, and the bards only say, that an immense pile of stones was raised on the plain of Ambresbury in memory of that event. They lived too near the time to forge this origin of Stonehenge. The whole story was recent, and, from the immensity of the work itself, must have been still more notorious. Therefore their forgery would have been too glaring. It may be objected, that they were fond of referring every thing stupendous to their favourite hero Arthur. This I grant: but not when known authenticated facts stood in their way, and while the real cause was remembered. Even to this day, the massacre of Hengist, as I have partly hinted, is an undisputed piece of history. Why should not the other part of the story be equally true? Besides the silence of Nennius, I am aware that this hypothesis is still attended with many difficulties and improbabilities. And so are all the systems and conjectures ever yet framed about this amazing monument. It appears to me to be the work of a rude people who had some ideas of art: such as we may suppose the Romans left behind them among the Britons. In the mean time I do not remember, that in the very controverted etymology of the word *Stonehenge*, the name of Hengist has been properly or sufficiently considered. [The etymology referred to by Mr. Ritson is evidently the most plausible that has been suggested: *Stan-henge*—hanging stone: *Observations*, &c. In addition to this it is supported by an authority of high antiquity:

"*Stanheng* ont non en Anglois,
Pierres pendues en François."—Wace's *Brut*.—Price.]

In another hym self he was, for he nolde noȝt,
 Ȝef cas come, that heo were bothe to dethe y broȝt.
 The caſtel, that the erl inne was, the kyng by ſegede faſte,
 For he myȝte hys gynnes for ſchame to the other caſte.
 The he was ther ſene nyȝt, and he ſpedde noȝt,
 Igerne the conteſſe ſo muche was in ys thoȝt,
 That he nuſte non other wyt, ne he ne myȝte for ſchame
 Telle yt bute a pryve knyȝt, Ulfyn was ys name,
 That he truſte meſt to. And tho the knyȝt herde this,
 "Syre," he ſeide, "y ne can wyte, wat red here of ys,
 For the caſtel ys ſo ſtrong, that the lady ys inne,
 For ich wene al the lond ne ſchulde yt myd ſtrengthe wyne.
 For the ſe geth al aboute, bute entre on ther nys,
 And that ys vp on harde roches, & ſo narw wei it ys,
 That ther may go bote on & on, that thre men with inne
 Myȝte ſle al the lond, er heo come ther inne.
 And noȝt for than, Ȝef Merlyn at thi conſeil were,
 Ȝef any mygte, he couthe the beſt red the lere."
 Merlyn was ſone of ſend, y-ſeid yt was hym ſone,
 That he ſchulde the beſte red ſegge, wat were to done.
 Merlyn was ſory ynow for the kynges folye,
 And natheles, "Sire kyng," he ſeide, "here mot to maiſtrie,
 The erl hath tway men hym next, Bryȝthoel & Jordan.
 Ich wol make thi ſelf, Ȝef thou wolt, thoru art that y can,
 Habbe al tho fourme of the erl, as thou were ryȝt he,
 And Olfyn as Jordan, and as Brithoel me."
 This art was al clene y do, that al changet he were,
 Heo thre in the otheres forme, the ſelve at yt were.
 Aȝeyn euen he wende forth, nuſte no mon that cas,
 To the caſtel heo come ryȝt as yt euene was.
 The porter y ſe ys lord come, & ys meſte priuey twei,
 With god herte he lette ys lord yn, & ys men beye.
 The contas was glad y now, tho hire lord to hire com
 And eyther other in here armes myd gret joye nom.
 Tho heo to bedde com, that ſo longe a two were,
 With hem was ſo gret delyt, that bitwene hem there
 Bi gete was the beſte body, that euer was in this londe,
 Kyng Arthure the noble mon, that euer worthe vnderſtonde.
 Tho the kynges men nuſte amorwe, wer he was bi come,
 Heo ferde as wodemen, and wende he were ynome.
 Heo a ſaileden the caſtel, as yt ſchulde adoun a non,
 Heo that with inne were, ȝarked hem echon,
 And ſmyte out in a ſole wille, and ſoȝte myd here ſon:
 So that the erl was y ſlawe, and of ys men mony on,
 And the caſtel was y nome, and the folk to ſprad there,
 Ȝet, tho thei hadde al ydo, heo ne fonde not the kyng there.
 The tything to the contas ſone was ycome,
 That hire lord was y ſlawe, and the caſtel ynome.
 Ac tho the meſſinger hym ſey the erl, as hym thoȝte,
 That he hadde ſo ſoule y-low, ful fore hym of thoȝte,
 The contaffe made ſom del deol, for no ſoþneſſe heo nuſte.
 The kyng, for to glade here, bi clupte hire and cuſte.
 "Dame," he ſeide, "no fixt thou wel, that les yt ys al this?
 Ne woſt thou wel ich am olyue? Ich wole the ſegge how it ys.
 Out of the caſtel ſtilleliche ych wende al in priuete,
 That none of myne men yt nuſte, for to ſpeke with the.
 And tho heo miſte me to day, and nuſte wer ich was,
 Heo ferden riȝt as gydie men, myd wam no red nas,
 And ſoȝte with the folk with oute, & habbeth in this manere.
 Y lore the caſtel and hem ſelue, ac wel thou woſt y am here.

Ac for my castel, that is ylore, fory ich am y now,
 And for myn men, that the kyng and ys power slo3.
 Ac my power is now to lute, ther fore y drede fore,
 Leste the kyng vs nyme here, & sorwe that we were more.
 Ther fore ich wole, how so yt be, wende a3en the kyng,
 And make my pays with hym, ar he to schame vs brynge."
 Forth he wende, & het ys men that 3ef the kyng come,
 That hei schulde hym the castel 3elde, ar he with strengthe it nome.
 Tho he come toward ys men, ys own forme he nom,
 And leuede the erles fourme, & the kyng Uter by com.
 Sore hym of tho3te the erles deth, ac in other half he fonde
 Joye in hys herte, for the contasse of spoushed was vnbonde,
 Tho he hadde that he wolde, and payfed with ys son,
 To the contasse he wende a3en, me let hym in a non.
 Wat halt it to telle longe? bute heo were fethth at on,
 In gret loue longe y now, wan yt nolde other gon;
 And hadde to gedere this noble sone, that in tho world ys pere nas,
 The kyng Arture, and a do3ter, Anne hire name was.¹

In the latter end of the reign of Edward I. many officers of the French king, having extorted large sums of money from the citizens of Bruges in Flanders, were murdered: and an engagement succeeding, the French army, commanded by the Count of Saint Pol, was defeated; upon which the King of France, who was Philip the Fair, sent a strong body of troops, under the conduct of the Count of Artois, against the Flemings; he was killed, and the French were almost all cut to pieces. On this occasion the following ballad was made in the year 1301.²

Luftneth, lordinges, bothe 3onge ant olde,
 Of the Freynsche-men that were so proude ant bolde,
 Hou the Flemmyshe-men bohten hem ant solde,
 Upon a Wednesday,
 Betere hem were at home in huere londe,
 Then for te seche Flemmyshe by the see stronde
 Wharethourh moni Frenshe wyf wryngeth hire honde,
 Ant syngeth, weylaway.
 The Kyng of Fraunce made statuz newe,
 In the lond of Flaundres among false ant trewe,
 That the comun of Bruges ful fore can a-rewe,
 And seiden amanges hem,
 Gedere we us togedere hardilyche at ene,
 Take we the bailifs by twenty ant by tene,
 Clappe we of the hevedes an oven o the grene,
 Ant cast we y the fen.
 The webbes ant the fullaris assembleden hem alle,
 And makeden huere confail in huere commune halle,
 Token Peter Conyng huere kyng to calle
 Ant beo huere cheventeyn, &c.

These verses show the familiarity with which the affairs of France were known in England, and display the disposition of the English towards the French at this period. It appears from this and previous instances, that political ballads, I mean such as were the

¹ *Chron.* p. 156[-60, *ut sup.*]

² The last battle was fought that year, July 7. [The ballad is in Harl. MS. 2253, fol. 73, and is printed entire in Wright's *Political Songs*, 1839, p. 187. A specimen only has therefore been retained, from the text of 1839.]

vehicles of political satire, prevailed much among our early ancestors. About the present era we meet with a ballad complaining of the exorbitant fees extorted, and the numerous taxes levied, by the king's officers.¹ There is a libel remaining, written indeed in French Alexandrines, on the commission of trayl-baſton,² or the justices so denominated by Edward I. during his absence in the French and Scottish wars about the year 1306. The author names some of the justices or commissioners, now not easily discoverable; and says, that he served the king both in peace and war in Flanders, Gascony, and Scotland.³ There is likewise a ballad [written in the reign of Edward II.] against the Scots, traitors to Edward I., and taken prisoners at the battles of Dunbar and Kykenclef, in 1305 and 1306.⁴ The licentiousness of their rude manners was perpetually breaking out in these popular pasquins, although this species of petulance usually belongs to more polished times.

Nor were they less dexterous than daring in publishing their satires to advantage, although they did not enjoy the many conveniencies which modern improvements have afforded for the circulation of public abuse. In the reign of Henry VI., to pursue the topic a little lower, we find a [satire] stuck on the gates of the royal palace, severely reflecting on the king and his counsellors then sitting in parliament.⁵ But the ancient ballad was often applied to better purposes: and it appears from a valuable collection of these little pieces, lately published by my ingenuous friend and fellow-labourer Dr. Percy, in how much more ingenuous a strain they have transmitted to posterity the praises of knightly heroism, the marvels of romantic fiction, and the complaints of love.

[In] the reign[s] of [the three Edwards],⁶ a poet occurs named

¹ MSS. Harl. 2258, f. 64. There is a song half Latin and half French, much on the same subject. *Ibid.* f. 137, b.

² See Spelman and Duffresne *in v.* and Rob. Brunne's Chron., ed. Hearne, p. 328.

³ MSS. Harl. *ibid.* f. 113, b.

⁴ *Ibid.* f. 59. [This will be found in Wright's *Political Songs*, 1839. The ballad against the French is in Ritson's *Anc. Songs*, 1792.—Price.]

⁵ This piece is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, with the following Latin title prefixed: "*Copia scedule valvis domini regis existentis in parlamento suo tento apud Westmonasterium mense marci anno regni Henrici sexti viceſimo oſtavo.*" [See Hearne's *Hemingi Chartularium*.—Ritson.]

⁶ "In the third Edwards time was I,
When I wrote all this story;
In the house of Sixille I was a throwe;
Dan Robert of Malton that ye know,
Did it write for felaws sake."

"By this passage he seems to mean that he was born at a place called Malton; that he had resided some time in a house in the neighbourhood called Sixhill; and that *there* he, Robert de Brunne, had composed at least a part of his poem during the reign of Edward III.—Ellis.] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. 415. Cont. 80, pag. Pr. "Fadyr and sone and holy goste." And MSS. Harl. 1701. [The Harleian MS., like the Bodleian, if Warton followed the Bodleian manuscript, professes to be a translation from the French of Grosseteste. But this may be a mere dictum of the

s. 2. *Robert Mannyng of Brunne's "Handlyng Synne."* 73

Robert Mannyng, but more commonly called Robert de Brunne. He was [born at Brunne in Lincolnshire, and became] a Gilbertine canon in the [priory of Sempringham, where he remained fifteen years. He afterwards removed to] Sixhille, a house of the same order, and in the same county. He was [not] merely a translator. He [turned] into English metre, or rather paraphrased [with large omissions and additions] a French book, written by [William of Wadington, and falsely attributed to Bishop Grosseteste], entitled *Manuel Peche*, or *Manuel de Peche*, that is, the Manual of Sins. This translation was [not printed till of late years].¹ It is a long work, and treats of the decalogue and the Seven Deadly Sins, which are illustrated by many legendary stories. This is the title of the [copies of the MS.]: *Here bygynneth the boke that men clepyen in Frenshe Manuel Peche, the which boke made yn Frenshe Robert Groof-teste byshop of Lyncoln*. From the Prologue, among other circumstances, it appears that Robert de Brunne designed this performance

transcriber. All we gather from the work itself is an acknowledgment of a French original called *Manuel Peche*, whose author was clearly unknown to De Brunne. Had it been written by a man of Grosseteste's eminence, it would hardly have been published anonymously; nor can we suppose this circumstance, if really true, would have been passed over in silence by his translator. Be this as it may, the French production upon which De Brunne unquestionably founded his poem, is claimed by a writer calling himself William of Wadington, and that in language too peculiar and self-condemning to leave a doubt as to the justice of his title:

"De le françois vile ne del rimer,
Ne me deit nuls hom blamer,
Kar en Engleterre fu ne,
E norri, e ordiné, e alevé.
De une vile sui nomé,
Ou ne est burg ne cité, &c.
De Deu feit beneit chescun hom,
Ke prie por Wilhelm de Wadigton."

Manuel Peche, Harl. MSS. 4657.

De Brunne, however, is not a mere translator. He generally amplifies the moral precepts of his original; introduces occasional illustrations of his own (as in the case of Grosseteste cited in the text), p. 74, and sometimes avails himself of Wadington's Latin authorities, where these are more copious or circumstantial than their French copyist. Wadington's work, according to M. de la Rue (*Archæologia*, vol. xiv.), is a free translation of a Latin poem called *Floretus*; by some ascribed to St. Bernard, and by others to Pope Clement. But *Floretus* is so short that it cannot fairly be taken as Wadington's original, any more than the Bible and Church Services can. The following lines in one of Manning's stories—

"Equitabat Bevo per silvam frondosam,
Ducebat secum Merfwyndam formosam,
Quid stamus? cur non imus?"

By the leved wode rode Bevolynne,
Wyth hym he ledde feyre Merfwyne,
Why stond we? why go we noght?—

have been identified by Sir F. Madden as part of the unique Latin legend of St. Edith, by Goscelin (MS. Rawl. Bodl. 1027). They are not in Wadington's French, and are only part of De Brunne's many additions to the latter.]

¹ [Edit. Furnivall, 1862 (Roxb. Club), with William of Wadington's French original, in parallel columns.]

to be sung to the harp at public entertainments, and that it was written or begun in the year 1303 :¹

For lewd² men y undyrtoke,
On Englyſh tunge to make thys boke :
For many ben of ſwyche manere
That talys and rymys wyl blethly³ here,
Yn gamys and feſtya, and at the ale⁴
Love men to leſtene trotevale⁵ : (l. 43-8) &c.
To alle Cryſtyn men undir ſunne,
And to godè men of Brunne ;
And ſpeciali, alle be name
The ſelaufhepe of Symprynghame,⁶
Roberd of Brunnè greteth yow,
In al godeneſſe that may to prow.⁷
Of Brymwake yn Keſtevene⁸
Syxe myle beſyde Sympryngham evene,
Y dwelled yn the pryorye
Fyftenè yere yn compagne,
In the tyme of gode Dane Jone
Of Camelton, that now ys gone ;
In hys tyme was Y there ten yeres,
And knewe and herde of hys maneres ;
Sythyn wyth Dane Jone of Clyntone
Fyve wyntyſ wyth hym gan Y wone.
Dane Felyp was mayſter that tyme
That y began thys Englyſh ryme,
The yeres of grace fyl⁹ than to be
A thouſand and thre hundred and thre.
In that tyme turned y thys
On Englyſhe tunge out of Frankys (l. 57-78).

From the work itſelf I am chiefly induced to give the following ſpecimen ; as it contains an anecdote relating to biſhop Groſſeteſte, who will again be mentioned :

Y ſhall yow telle as y have herd
Of the byſſhope Seynt Roberd,
Hys toname¹⁰ ys Groſteſt
Of Lynkolne, ſo ſeyth the geſt.

¹ fol. 1, a.

² laymen, illiterate.

³ gladly.

⁴ So in *Pierce Ploughman*, fol. xxvi. b. edit. 1550.—

"I am occupied every day, holy day and other,
With idle tales *at the Ale*, &c."

Again, fol. 1, b—

"Foughten *at the Ale*
In glotony, godwote, &c."

And in the *Plowman's Tale*, p. 185, v. 2110—

"And the chief chantours *at the nale*."

⁵ truth and all.

⁶ The name of his order.

⁷ Profit.

⁸ A part of Lincolnshire. *Chron. Br.* p. 311.

"At Lincoln the parlement was in
Lyndesay and Keſtevene."

See a ſtory of three monks of Lyndesay, *ibid.* p. 80. [The county of Lincoln is divided into the hundreds of Lindſay and Kiſteven.—*Park.*]

⁹ Fell.

¹⁰ Surname. See Rob. Br. *Chron.* p. 168. "Thei cald hi this toname," &c. Fr. "Eſt furnomez," &c. On St. Robert of Lincoln, ſee p. 82 *note*.

He lovede moche to here the harpe,
 For mannys wytte hyt makyth sharpe.
 Next hys chaumbre, belyde hys stody,
 Hys harpers chaumbre was fast therby.
 Many tymes, be nyghtys and dayys,
 He had solace of notes and layys,
 One asked hym onys, refun why
 He hadde delyte in mynstralfy?
 He answered hym on thys manere,
 Why he helde the harper so dere:
 "The vertu of the harpe, thurghe skylle and ryght,
 Wyl destroye the fendes' myght;
 And to the croys, by gode's skylle,
 Ys the harp lykened weyle. (p. 150, l. 4742-59).
 Tharefor, gode men, ye shul lere,
 When ye any glemen¹ here,
 To wurfchepe God at youre powere,
 As Davyd seyth yn the fautere:²
 Yn harpe, yn thabour, and symphan gle³
 Wurfshepe God; yn troumpes and fautre;
 In cordys, an organes, and bellys ryngyng;
 Yn all these, wurfshepe ye hevene kyng." &c.⁴ (l. 4768-75).

But Robert de Brunne's largest work is a metrical chronicle of England.⁶ The former part, from Æneas to the death of Cadwalader, is translated from an old French poet called Maister Wace or Gasse, who manifestly copied Geoffry of Monmouth,⁷ in a poem

¹ the *Devil's*.² harpers; minstrels.³ psalter.⁴ Chaucer, *R. Sir Thop.* v. 3321:—

Here wonnith the queene of Fairie,
 With harpe, and pipe, and *Simphonie*.

⁵ Fol. 30, b. There is an old Latin song in Burton which I find in this MS. poem. Burton's *Mel.*, part iii. § 2. Memb. iii. p. 423.

⁶ The second part [translated from the French of Peter Langtoft,] was printed by Hearne in 1725. Of the first part Hearne has given us the Prologue, Pref. p. 96; an extract, *ibid.* p. 188; and a few other passages in his Glossary to Robert of Gloucester. [The whole of it will be issued in the Rolls Series in 1871.] It appears from *Chron.* p. 337, that our author was educated and graduated at Cambridge.

[How long Mannyng was employed upon his translation of Langtoft does not appear; but that he had not finished it in 1337 is clear from a passage on p. 243 of the printed copy (of 1725) of the Second Part; and indeed he, elsewhere, expressly tells us:

"Idus that is of May left I to wryte this ryme,
 B letter & Friday bi ix. that 3ere 3ede prime."

The dominical letter, as Hearne observes, should be D: so that the poet finished his work, upon which he had probably been engaged for some years, upon Friday, the 15th May, 1339."—*Ritson*. The only perfect MS. of the Chronicle known is a vellum one in the Inner Temple library; a more modern and abridged copy of Part II. is in Lambeth, MS. 131. (Sir F. Madden's inform.) But the Lambeth copy of Part I., on the old close-ribbed paper of the 14th century, was judged by the experts of the British Museum to be at least as early as the Temple vellum copy, while Dr. Richard Morris, our chief authority on Early English dialects, judges the dialect of the Lambeth MS. to be much nearer the East-Midland of Manning than the decidedly northernized Temple MS. From the Lambeth MS., therefore, Mr. Furnivall has printed his edition of Part I. for the National Series of the Master of the Rolls, 1871.—F.]

[Whether written Eustace, Eustache, Wistace, Huistace, Vace, Gasse, or Gace, the name through all its disguises is intended for one and the same person, Wace of Jersey. Mr. Tyrwhitt was the first to rescue this ingenious writer from the

commonly entitled *Roman des Rois d'Angleterre*. It is esteemed one of the oldest of the French romances; and was commenced under the title of *Brut d'Angleterre*, in the year 1155. Hence Robert de Brunne calls it simply the *Brut*.¹ This romance was soon afterwards

errors which had gathered round his name; and M. de la Rue has fully established his rights, by supplying us with an authentic catalogue of his works, and exhibiting their importance both to the historian and antiquary. [Wace's *Brut* was printed by Le Roux de Linçy at Rouen in 1836.] De Brunne was induced to follow the *Brut d'Angleterre* in the first part of his Chronicle, from the copiousness of its details upon British history. But the continuation noticed in the text was the production of Geoffri Gaimar, a poet rather anterior to Wace; and is supposed to have formed a part of a larger work on English and Norman history. *Le Roman du Rou*, or the History of Rollo, first duke of Normandy, is another of Wace's works; and *Les Vies des Ducs de Normandie*, which is brought down to the sixth year of Henry I., a third. But the reader who is desirous of further information on this subject, is referred to the 12th, 13th, and 14th volumes of the *Archæologia*, where he will find a brief but able outline of the history of Anglo-Norman poetry, by M. de la Rue.—PRICE. See also M. Joly's comparison of Wace with his rival chronicler of Normandy, in his *Benoit de St. More et le Roman de Troie*, Caen, 1870, and M. Edelestand du Meril's treatise on *Wace et ses Ouvrages*.—F.]

In the British Museum there is a fragment of a poem in very old French verse, a romantic history of England, drawn from Geoffry of Monmouth, perhaps before the year 1200. MSS. Harl. 1605, 1, f. 1. In the library of Dr. Johnston of Pontefract, there was a MS. on vellum, containing a history in old English verse from Brute to the eighteenth year of Edward II.; and in that of Lord Denbigh, a metrical history in English from the same period to Henry III. Wanley supposed it to have been of the handwriting of the time of Edward IV.

¹ The *Brut of England*, a prose chronicle of England, sometimes continued as low as Henry VI., is a common MS. It was at first translated from a French chronicle [MSS. Harl. 200], written in the beginning of the reign of Edward III. The French have a famous ancient prose romance called *Brut*, which includes the history of the Sangreal. I know not whether it is exactly the same. In an old metrical romance, the story of *Rollo*, there is this passage (MS. Vernon, f. 123):—

“Lordus ȝif ye wil lesten to me,
Of Croteye the nobile citee
As wrytten i fynde in his story
Of *Brut* the chronicle,” &c.

In the British Museum we have *Le petit Bruit*, compiled by Maître Raufe de Boun, and ending with the death of Edward I. MSS. Harl. 902, f. 1. It is [a separate compilation, made in 1310, as shown by Sir F. Madden, in his Preface to *Have-lock the Dane*]. In the same library I find *Liber de Bruto et de gestis Anglorum metrificatus*; (that is, turned into rude Latin hexameters). It is continued to the death of Richard II. Many prose annotations are intermixed. MSS. *ibid.* 1808, 24, f. 31. In another copy of this piece, [there is at the end *qd Peckward*, which may merely mean that Peckward was the copyist]. MSS. *ib.* 2386, 23, f. 35. In another MS. the grand *Brut* [that is, as Sir F. Madden notes, *Caxton's Chronicle*] is said to be translated from the French by “John Maundeulle parson of Brunham Thorpe.” MSS. *ibid.* 2279, 3.

[It was first printed by Caxton, in 1480, under the title of *The Chronicles of England*, and under the same title was twice republished. In 1483 it appeared, with a few alterations and considerable additions, under the title of *Fruen's Temporum*, and these are later impressions.]

[In the *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*, 1836, will be found part of Geoffrey Gaimar, of the continuation of the *Brut*, of the Chronicle of Benoit de Sainte More, &c. The *Roman du Rou* was printed in 1827, and a translation of part of it, by Mr. E. Taylor, with notes, in 1837. La3amon's *Brut* was published from the Cotton MS., as elsewhere mentioned, in 1847.]

continued to William Rufus, by Geoffri Gaimar, in the year 1146.¹ Thus both parts were blended, and became one work. Among the royal MSS. in the British Museum it is thus entitled: *Le Brut, le maistre Wace translaté de Latin en Franceis de tutt les Reis de Brittaigne*.² That is, from the Latin prose history of Geoffry of Monmouth. And that Master Wace aimed only at the merit of a translator, appears from his exordial verses:—

Maistre Gasse l'a translaté
Que en conte le verité.

Otherwise we might have suspected that the authors drew their materials from the old fabulous Armoric MS., which is said to have been Geoffry's original.

An ingenious French antiquary supposes, that Wace took many of his descriptions from that invaluable and singular monument, the *Tapestry of the Norman Conquest*, preserved in the treasury of the cathedral of Bayeux,³ and engraved and explained in Ducarel's *Anglo-Norman Antiquities*. Lord Lyttelton has quoted this romance, and shewn that important facts and curious illustrations of history may be drawn from such obsolete but authentic resources.⁴

The measure used by Robert de Brunne, in his translation⁵ of the former part of our French chronicle or romance, is exactly like

¹ [*Anglo-Norman Metrical Chronicle with Notes and Appendix*, &c., edited by T. Wright, 1850, 8vo.] See Lenglet, *Biblioth. des Romans*, ii. pp. 226-7, and Lacombe, *Diçtion. de la vieille Lang. Fr.* pref. p. xviii. And compare Montfauc. *Catal. Manusc.* ii. p. 1669. See also M. Galland, *Mem. Lit.* iii. p. 426, 8vo.

² A xxi. 3. [Sir F. Madden observes, that this is only in part the *Brut* of Wace.] It occurs again, 4 C xi. *Histoire d'Angleterre en vers, par Maistre Wace*. In the Cotton library [an early English MS.] occurs twice, which seems to be a translation of Geoffry's History, or very like it. Calig. A ix. and Otho. C 13. [Since printed under the care of Sir F. Madden, 1847, 3 vols. 8vo.] The translator is one Laçamon, a priest, born at Ernly on Severn. He says, that he had his original from the book of a French clergyman, named *Wate* [Walter Calenius, archdeacon of Oxford,] which book Wate the author had presented to Eleanor, queen of Henry II. So Laçamon in the preface, "Bot he nom the thridde, leide ther amidden: tha makede a frenchis clerc: Wate (Wate) wes ihoten," &c.

³ *Rec.* p. 82, edit. 1581. Mons. Lancelot, *Mem. Lit.* viii. 602. And see *Hist. Acad. Inscript.* xiii. 41, 4to. [M. de la Rue has advanced some very satisfactory reasons for supposing this tapestry to have been made by, or wrought under the direction of, the Empress Matilda, who died in the year 1167. (See *Archæologia*, vol. xviii.) It was evidently sent to Bayeux at a period subsequent to the death of its projector, at whose demise it was left in an unfinished state. Wace probably never saw it. At all events, could it be proved that he did, he disdained to use it in his *History of the Irruption of the Normans into England*, his only work where it could have assisted him; since his narrative is at variance with the representations this monument contains.—*Price*. But Mr. Bolton Corney has sought to controvert the opinion that the tapestry was presented by the Empress Matilda, and maintains that it was executed for the chapter of Bayeux at their own cost.]

⁴ *Hist. Hen. II.* vol. iii. p. 180.

⁵ [The work here cited is in course of editing for the Master of the Rolls' Series by Mr. Furnivall. See notes, p. 75.]

that of his original. Thus the Prologue, [from the northernized Temple MS.]:

Lordynges that be now here !
 If ye wille, listene and lere
 All the story of Inglande,
 Als Robert Mannyng wryten it fand,
 And on Inglysch has it schewed,
 Not for the lerid, bot for the lewed ;
 For tho that in this land[e] wone
 That the Latyn no Frankys cone,
 For to half solace and gamen
 In felawship when thai sitt samen.
 And it is wilddom forto wyttyn
 The state of the land, and haf it wryten,
 What manere of folk first it wan,
 And of what kynde it first began.
 And gude it is for many thynges,
 For to here the dedis of kynges,
 Whilk were foles, and whilk were wyse,
 And whilk of tham couthe moost quantyse ;
 And whylk did wrong, and whilk [did] ryght,
 And whilk maynten[ed] pes and fyght.
 Of thare dedes sall be mi lawe,
 And what tyme, and of what law,
 I sall you schewe fro gre to gre,
 Sen the tyme of Sir Noe :
 Fro Noe unto Eneas,
 And what [thynges] betwixt tham was,
 And fro Eneas till Brutus tyme,
 [That kynd he telles in this ryme.]
 Fro Brutus till Cadwaladres,
 The last Bryton that this lande lees.
 Alle that kynd, and alle the frute
 That come of Brutus that is the Brute ;
 And the ryght Brute is told no more
 Than the Brytons tymè wore.
 After the Bretons the Inglis camen,
 The lordschip of this lande thai namen ;
 South, and north, west, and east,
 That calle men now the Inglis gef.
 When thai first [came] among the Bretons,
 That now ere Inglis than were Saxons :
 ' Saxons ' Inglis hight all oliche.
 Thai aryved up at Sandwyche,
 In the kynges tyme Vortogerne
 That the lande walde tham not werne, &c. (l. 1-44).
 One, mayfter Wace, the Frankes telles ;
 The Brute, all that the Latyn spelles,
 Fro Eneas till Cadwaladre, &c.
 And ryght as mayfter Wacè says,
 I telle myn Inglis the same ways, (l. 57-62) &c.¹

The second part of Robert de Brunne's *Chronicle*, beginning from Cadwallader, and ending with Edward I., is translated in great measure from the second part of a French metrical chronicle, written in five books by Peter Langtoft, an Augustine canon of the monastery of

. ¹ [Furnivall's edit. pp. 1-2.]

Bridlington in Yorkshire, who wrote not many years before his translator. This is mentioned in the prologue preceding the second part :

Frankysche speche ys cald Romaunce,¹
So sey this clerkes and men of Fraunce.
Peres of Langtoft, a chanoun
Schaven y[n] the hous of Brydlyngtoun,
On Romaunce al thys story he wrot
Of Englishe kynges, &c.²

As Langtoft had written his French poem in Alexandrines,³ the translator, Robert de Brunne, has followed him, the prologue excepted, in using the double distich for one line, after the manner of Robert of Gloucester, as in the first part he copied the metre of his author Wace. But I will exhibit a specimen from both parts. In the first, he gives us this dialogue between Merlin's mother and King Vortigern, from Maister Wace :

" Dame," seyde the kyng, " welcom be thou :
Nedlike at the y mot wyte how⁴
Who than gat⁵ thy sone Merlyne,
And on what manere was he thyne."
His moder stod a throwe⁶ and thought
Er sche to the kyng onswered ought :
When scheo had stande a litel wyght,⁷
Sche seyde "by Marye bright,
That I ne sey ne nevere knew
Hym that this child on me few.⁸
Ne wiste neuere, ne y ne herd,
What maner wyght wyth me so ferde ;⁹
Bot this thyng am y wel of graunt,¹⁰
That I was of elde avenaunt :¹¹
On com to my bed, y wyft,
And with force me clipte and kyft :
Als¹² a man y hym felt,
And als a man he me welt ;¹³

¹ The Latin tongue ceased to be spoken in France about the ninth century, and was succeeded by what was called the Romance tongue, a mixture of Frankish and bad Latin. Hence the first poems in that language are called Romans or Romants. *Essay on Pope*, p. 281. In the following passage of this chronicle, where Robert de Brunne mentions Romance, he sometimes means Langtoft's French book, from which he translated : viz. *Chron.* p. 205 :

" This that I have said it is Pers sawe ;
Als he in Romance laid, thereafter gan I drawe."

See Chauc. *Rom. R. v.* 2170. Also *Balades*, p. 554, v. 508. And Crescembín, *Istor. della Volg. Poes.* vol. i. L. v. p. 316, seq.

² [Furnivall's edit., 579, l. 16709-14.]

³ Some are printed by Hollinsh. *Hist.* iii. 469. Others by Hearne, *Chron. Langt. Pref.* p. 58, and in the margin of the pages of the Chronicle. [A portion appears in the *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*, already referred to : it extends from William the Conqueror to Henry I.]

⁴ " I must by all means know of you."

⁵ begot.

⁶ awhile.

⁷ white, while.

⁸ begot.

⁹ assured.

¹⁰ [of a fit age.—*Ritson.*]

¹¹ as.

¹² [fared.—*Ritson.*]

¹³ wielded, moved.

And als a man he spak to me.
Bot what he was, myght y nought se.¹

The following, extracted from the same part, is the speech of the Romans to the Britons, after the former had built a wall against the Piöts, and were leaving Britain :

We haue yow clofed ther most nede was ;
And 3yf ye defende wel that pas
Wyth archers² and wyth mangeneles,³
And wel kepe the carneles ;
Theron ye may bothe scheote and kaste :
Wexeth bold, and fendeþ yow faste !
Thenk, your fadres wonne fraunchise,
Be ye na more in otheres servise,
Bot frely lyves to your lyves ende :
We taken now leve fro you to wende (p. 239, l. 6797-6800).

¹ [Ed. Furnivall, pp. 282-3, l. 8039-58.]

² Not *bowmen*, but apertures in the wall for shooting arrows, viz., in the repairs of Taunton Castle, 1266, *Comp. J. Gerneys, Episc. Wint.* "Tantonia. Expense domorum. In mercede Cementarii pro muro erigendo juxta turrim ex parte orientali cum Kernellis et Archeriis faciendis, xvi. s. vi. d." *Archiv. Wolves. apud Wint.* Kernells mentioned here and in the next verse were much the same thing : or perhaps Battlements. In repairs of the great hall at Wolvesey Palace, I find, "In kyrnillis emptis ad idem, xii. d." *Ibid.* There is a patent granted to the monks of Abingdon, in Berkshire, in the reign of Edward III. "Pro kernellatione monasterii." Pat. an. 4, par. 1.

³ Cotgrave has interpreted this word, an old-fashioned sling. V. *Mangoneau*. See *Rot. Pip.* An. 4 Hen. iii. (A. D. 1219). "Nordhant. Et in expensis regis in obsidione castri de Rockingham, 100*l.* per Br. Reg. Et custodibus ingeniorum (engines) regis ad ea carienda usque Bisham, ad castrum illud obsidendum, 13*s.* 10*d.* per id. Br. Reg. Et pro duobus coriis, emptis apud Northampton ad fundas petrariorum et mangonellorum regis faciendas, 5*s.* 6*d.* per id. Br. Reg."—*Rot. Pip.* 9 Hen. III. (A. D. 1225). "Surr. Comp. de Cnareburc. Et pro vii. cablis emptis ad petraras et mangonellos in eodem castro, 7*s.* 11*d.*" *Rot. Pip.* 5 Hen. III. (A. D. 1220). "Devons. Et in custo posito in 1. petraria et 11. mangonellis cariatas a Nottingham usque Bisham, et it eisdem reductis a Bisham usque Nottingham, 7*l.* 4*s.*" See *infra*. Mangonel also signified what was thrown from the machine so called. Thus Froissart : "Et avoient les Brabançons de tres grans engins devant la ville, qui gettoient pierres de faix et mangoneaux jusques en la ville."—Liv. iii. c. 118. And in the old French *Ovide* cited by Borel, *Treisor*. in v. :

"Onques pour une tor abatre,
Ne oit on Mangoniaux descendre
Plus briement ne du ciel descendre
Foudre pour abatre un clocher."

Chaucer mentions both *Mangonels* and *Kyrnills*, in a castle in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, v. 4195, 6279. Also *archers*, i. e. *archerie*, v. 4191. So in the *Roman de la Rose*, v. 3945 :

"Vous puissiez bien les Mangonneaulx,
Veoir la par-dessus les Creneaulx.
Et aux archieres de la Tour
Sont arbalestres tout entour."

Archieres occur often in this poem. Chaucer, in translating the above passage [if we have his translation,] has introduced guns, which were not known when the original was written, v. 4191. The use of artillery, however, is proved by a curious passage in Petrarch to be older than the period to which it has been commonly referred. The passage is in Petrarch's book *de Remediis utriusque fortune*, undoubtedly written before the year 1334. "G. Habeo machinas et balistas. R. Mirum,

Vortigern, King of the Britons, is thus described meeting the beautiful Princess Rouwen, daughter of Hengist, the Rosamond of the Saxon ages, at a feast of wassail. It is a curious picture of the gallantry of the times, [or, at least, Wace's conception of that gallantry.]

Hengist that day dide his myght,
That all was glad, kyng and knyght,
And als thei were best in gladyng,
And wel cuppe-schoten¹ knyght and kyng,
Fro chaumbre cam Ronewenne so gent,
Byfore the kyng in halle scheo went.
A coupe wyth wyn sche hadde in hande
And hure atyr² was wel farande.³
Byfore the kyng o knes sche hir sette
In hure langage ful faire him grette.
"Wassail, my lord ! Wassail !" seyde sche.
Then, asked the kyng, what that myght be.
On that langage the kyng ne couthe.⁴
Bot a knyght that speche had lered⁵ in youthe.
Breyth highte⁶ that knyght, y-born Bretoun,
That wel spak langage of Saxoun.
Thys Breth was the kynges latynier.⁷
And what scheo seyde teldyt Fortyger.

nisi et glandes æneas, quæ flammis injectis horrifono sonitu jaciuntur.—Erat hæc pestis nuper rara, ut cum ingenti miraculo cerneretur: nunc, ut rerum pessimarum dociles sunt animi, ita communis est, ut quodlibet genus armorum." Lib. i. Dial. 99. See Muratori, *Antiquitat. Med. Æv.* tom. ii. col. 514. Cannons are supposed to have been first used by the English at the battle of Cressy, in the year 1346. It is extraordinary that Froissart, who minutely describes that battle, and is fond of decorating his narrative with wonders, should have wholly omitted this circumstance. Musquets are recited as a weapon of the infantry so early as the year 1475. "Quilibet peditum habeat balistam vel bombardam." Lit. Calimiri III. an. 1475. *Leg. Polon.* tom. i. p. 228. These are generally assigned to the year 1520. I am of opinion that some of the great military battering engines, so frequently mentioned in the histories and other writings of the dark ages, were fetched from the Crusades. See a species of the catapult, used by the Syrian army in the siege of Mecca, about the year 680. *Med. Univ. Hist.* b. i. c. 2, tom. ii. p. 117. These expeditions into the East undoubtedly much improved the European art of war. Tasso's warlike machines, which seem to be the poet's invention, are formed on descriptions of such wonderful machines as he had read of in the Crusade historians, particularly William of Tyre.

¹ [Drunk: *enivré*.—Wace. See Cotgrave under *ivre*.]

² attire.

³ [well facing, fitting, very becoming.—*Ellis*.]

⁴ was not skilled.

⁵ learned.

⁶ was called.

⁷ Interpreter. [Formerly printed *Latimer*. Mr. Wright is quite correct in his surmise, that Latimer is a mere ignorant misreading of the MSS. for *Latiner*.] Thus, in the romance of *King Richard*, Saladin's *Latimer* at the siege of Babylon proclaims a truce to the Christian army from the walls of the city. Signat. M. i.

"The Latemere tho touned his eye
To that other syde of the tounne,
And cryed trues with gret sounne."

In which sense the French word occurs in the *Roman de Garin*, MSS. Bibl. Reg. Paris, Num. 7542. [Printed in 1833-5, 2 vols. by M. Paulin Paris, and again by Du Meril, in 1845:]

"Latimer fu si sot parler Roman,
Englois, Gallois, et Breton, et Norman."

[See Selden's *Table-Talk*, edit. 1860, p. 179.]

"Sire," Breth feyde, "Ronewenne yow gretes,
 And kyng calles, and lord yow letes.¹
 Thys ys ther cultume and ther gefte,
 Whan they arn at ther [ale or] fest.
 Ilk man that loues, ther hym best thynk,
 Schal sey 'Wassail,' and to him drynk.
 He that haldes schal sey, 'Wassail,'
 That other schal seye ageyn, 'Drynk hayl.'
 That seys [Wassail] drynkes of the coppe,
 Kissing his felawe he gyveth hit uppe.
 'Drynk hail,' he seyth, and drinketh ther-of,
 Kyssyng hym in bourde and scof.²
 The kyng seide as the knight gan kenne,³
 "Drynk hayle," smylynge on Ronewenne.
 Ronewenne drank right as hure lyst,
 And gaf the kyng, and syn⁴ hym kist.
 That was the firste wassail in dede,
 That now and evere the fame yede.⁵
 Of that 'wassail' men tolde grete tale,
 And used 'wassail' when they were at th' ale.
 And 'drynk hail' to them that drank,
 Thus was wassail take to thank.
 Ful often thus thys mayden 3yng⁶
 Wassailed and kyfte ther the kyng.
 Of body sche was ful avenaunt,⁷
 Of fair colour, wyth swet semblaunt.⁸
 Hure atir⁹ ful wel hit byfemed,
 Merveillyke¹⁰ the kyng scheo quemed,¹¹
 Out of mesure was he glad,
 Opon that mayden he wax al mad.
 The fend and dronkenesse hit wrought,
 Of that Payen¹² was al his thought.
 As meschaunce that tyme hym spedde;
 He asked that Payen for to wedde;
 And Hengist wernde hym bot lyte,¹³
 Bot graunted hure hym al so tyt.

And again :—

"Un Latinier vieil ferant et benu
 Molt sot de plet, et molt entresnie fu."

And in the *Roman du Rou*, which will again be mentioned :—

"L'archevesque Franches a Jumege's ala,
 A Rou, et a sa gent par Latinier parla."

We find it in Froissart, tom. iv. c. 87, and in other ancient French writers. In the old Norman poem on the subject of King Dermot's expulsion from his kingdom of Ireland, in the Lambeth library [and printed by M. Michel in 1837,] it seems more properly to signify, in a limited sense, the *king's domestic secretary*.

"Parson demeine Latinier
 Que moi conta de luy l'histoire," &c.

See Lyttelton's *Hist. Hen. II.* vol. iv. App. p. 270. We might here render it literally his Latinist, an officer retained by the king to draw up the public instruments in Latin. As in *Domesday-Book*: "Godwinus accipitrarius, Hugo Latinarius, milo portarius." *MS. Excerpt. penes me*. But in both the last instances the word may bear its more general and extensive signification. Camden explains Latimer by Interpreter. *Rem.* p. 158. See also p. 151, edit. 1674.

¹ esteems.

² sport, joke.

³ to [shew.]

⁴ since, afterwards.

⁵ went.

⁶ young.

⁷ handsome, gracefully shaped, &c.

⁸ [appearance.—*Ellis*.]

⁹ attire.

¹⁰ marvellously.

¹¹ pleased.

¹² pagan, heathen.

¹³ [refused him but little.]

And Hors his brother consented sone.
 Hire frendes seyde alle, hit was to done.
 They askede the kyng to gyve hure Kent,
 In dowarye, to take of rent.
 Upon that mayde his herte so kaste,
 What-so they asked, the kyng mad fast.
 I wene the kyng tok hure that day,
 And wedded hure on Payens lay.¹
 Of prest was ther no benisoun,²
 No messe songen, ne orysoun.
 In sesyn the kyng had hure that nyght.
 Of Kent he gaf Hengist the ryght.
 The Erl that tyme that Kent held,
 Sir Gorogon, that bar the scheld,
 Of that gyft no thyng he ne wyfte,³
 Til he was dryuen out wyth⁴ Hengist.⁵

In the second part, [from Langtoft] the attack of Richard I. on a castle held by the Saracens is thus described:—

The dikes were fulle wide that closed the castelle about,
 & depe on ilk a fide, with bankis hie without.
 Was ther non entre that to the castelle gan ligge,⁶
 Bot a streite kauce,⁷ at the end a drauht brigge.
 With grete duple cheynes drauhen ouer the gate,
 And fyfti armed sueynes,⁸ porters at that 3ate.
 With slenges & magneles⁹ thei kaste¹⁰ to kyng Richard;
 Our Cristen by parcelles kasted ageynward.¹¹
 Ten sergeanz of the best his targe gan him bere,
 That egre wer & prest to couere him & to were.¹²
 Himself as a Geant the cheynes in tuo hew,
 The targe was his warant,¹³ that non tille him threw.
 Right unto the 3ate with the targe thei 3ede,
 Fightand on a 3ate, vndir him the slou his stede.
 Ther for ne wild he seffe,¹⁴ alone in to the castele
 Thorgh tham alle wild presse, on fote fau3ht he fulle wele.
 & whan he was withinne, fau3t as a wilde leon,
 He sondred the Sarazins otuynne, & fauht as a dragon.
 Without the Cristen gan crie, allas; R[ichard] is taken,
 Tho Normans were forie, of contenance gan blaken,
 To slo down & to stroye neuer wild thei flint,
 Thei ne left for dede no noye,¹⁵ ne for no wound no dynt,
 That in went alle ther pres, maugre the Sarazins alle,
 And fond R[ichard] on des fightand, & wonne the halle.¹⁶

From these passages it appears that Robert of Brunne has scarcely more poetry than Robert of Gloucester. He has, however, taken care to acquaint his readers that he avoided high description, and

¹ in pagans' law; according to the heathenish custom.

² benediction, blessing.

³ knew not.

⁴ by.

⁵ [ed. Furnivall, pp. 265-268. See the Temple MS. version in] Hearne's *Robert of Glo.* p. 695.

⁶ lying.

⁷ caufey.

⁸ swains, young men, soldiers.

⁹ mangonels.

¹⁰ cast.

¹¹ In Langtoft's French:—

“Dis seriauntz des plus feres e de melz vanez,
 Devaunt le cors le Reis fa targe ount portez.”

¹² ward, defend.

¹³ guard, defence.

¹⁴ “he could not cease.” ¹⁵ annoyance. ¹⁶ *Chron.* ed. Hearne, pp. 182, 183.

that sort of phraeseology which was then used by the minstrels and harpers; that he rather aimed to give information than pleasure, and that he was more studious of truth than ornament. As he intended his chronicle to be sung, at least by parts, at public festivals, he found it expedient to apologise for these deficiencies in the prologue; as he had partly done before in his prologue to [his *Handlyng Synne*, [or the *Manual of Sins* :

I mad noght for no disours,¹
Ne for seggers, no harpours,
Bot for the luf of symple meñ,
That strange Inglis cañ not keñ :²
For many it ere³ that strange Inglis
In ryme wate⁴ never what it is (l. 75-80).
I made it not for to be praysed,
Bot at⁵ the lewed meñ were ayded (l. 83-4).⁶

He next mentions several sorts of verse or prosody, which were then fashionable among the minstrels, and have become long since unknown :

If it were made in ryme *couwée*,
Or in *strangere* or *enterlacè*, (l. 85-6), &c.⁷

¹ tale-tellers, *Narratores*, Lat. : *Conteurs*, Fr. *Segger* in the next line perhaps means the same thing, i.e. Sayers. The writers either of metrical or of prose romances. See *Antholog. Fran.* p. 17, 1765, 8vo. Or *Disours* may signify Discourse, i.e. adventures in prose. We have the "Devils disours," in *P. Plowman*, fol. xxxi. b. edit. 1550. *Disour* precisely signifies a tale-teller at a feast in Gower, *Conf. Amant.* lib. vii. fol. 155, a, edit. 1554. He is speaking of the coronation festival of a Roman emperor :—

"When he was gladdest at his mete,
And every minstrell had plaide
And every *disfour* had faide
Which most was pleasaunt to his ere."

Du Cange says, that *Disours* were judges of the turney. *Disf. Joivv.* p. 179.

² know. ³ it ere, there are. ⁴ knew. ⁵ that. ⁶ eased.

⁷ The rhymes here called by Robert de Brunne *Couwée* [versus caudati, final rhymes, equivalent to the *coda* in music] and *Enterlacée*, were undoubtedly derived from the Latin rhymers of that age, who used versus *caudati* et *interlaqueati*. Brunne here professes to avoid these elegancies of composition, yet he has intermixed many passages in *Rime Couwée*. See his *Chronicle*, pp. 266, 273, &c. &c. [and Guest's *History of English Rhythms*.] Almost all the latter part of his work from the Conquest is written in rhyme *interlacée*, each couplet rhyming in the middle as well as the end. As thus, MSS. Harl. 1002 :

"Plaufus Græcorum | lux cæcis et via claudis
Incola cælorum | virgo dignissima laudis."

The rhyme *Baſton* had its appellation from Robert Baſton, a celebrated Latin rhymers about the year 1315. The rhyme *ſrangere* means uncommon. See *Canterbury Tales*, vol. iv. p. 72, seq. ut infra. The reader, curious on this subject, may receive further information from a MS. in the Bodleian library, in which are specimens of *Metra Leonina*, *crifata*, *cornuta*, *reciproca*, &c. MSS. Laud. K. 3. 4to. In the same library there is a very ancient MS. of Aldheim's Latin poem *De Virginitate et Laude Sanctorum*, written about the year 700, and given by Thomas Allen, with Saxon glosses, and the text almost in semi-saxon characters. These are the first two verses :

"Metrica tyrones nunc promant carmina casti,
Et laudem capiat quadrato carmine Virgo."

[But see Wright's *Biog. Brit. Literaria*, A-S. period, 217.] Langbaine, in reciting

He adds that the old stories of chivalry had been so disguised by foreign terms, by additions and alterations, that they were now become unintelligible to a common audience: and particularly that the tale of *Sir Triftram*,¹ the noblest of all, was much changed from the original composition of its first author:

I see in song in sedgeyng tale^a
Of Erceldoun, and of Kendale,
Non tham says as thai tham wrought,^b
And in ther say[i]ng^c it semes noght:
That may thou here in Sir Triftram;^d
Over gestes^e it has the steem,^f

this MS. thus explains the *quadratum carmen*. "Scil. prima cuiusque versus litera, per Acrostichidem, conficit verbum illum *Metrica tyrones*. Ultima cuiusque versus litera, ab ultimo carmine ordine retrogrado numerando, hunc verbum facit:

"Metrica tyrones nunc promant carmina casti."

(Langb. MSS. v. p. 126.) MSS. Digb. 146. There is a very ancient tract, by one Mico, I believe called also Levita, on Prosody, *De Quantitate Syllabarum*, with examples from the Latin poets, perhaps the first work of the kind. Bib. Bodl. MSS. Bod. A. 7. 9. See Hocker's *Catal. MSS. Bibl. Heidelb.* p. 24, who recites a part of Mico's Preface, in which he appears to have been a grammatical teacher of youth. See also Dacheri *Spicileg.* tom. ii. p. 300, b, edit. ult. [Mr. Wright has observed that the *ryme couruée* occurs both in heroic and elegiac verse.]

¹ [Sir W. Scott and others have endeavoured to prove that the English romance of Triftram was written by Thomas of Erceldoune; but the translator merely alludes to him at the commencement in a fanciful manner; and I think it, with Mr. Wright, most probable, that finding the name *Thomas* in the French original, and not understanding it, he was induced to take a character, then so famous, to add some popularity to the subject.—Halliwell. See *On the Legend of Triftram: its origin in myth, and its development in romance*. By E. T. Leith. Bombay, 1868, 8vo.—F. In all the former editions of Warton, eighteen pages were occupied by a vain discussion of the clearly erroneous opinion of Scott, that the romance, as he has (not very correctly) printed it, is the original cast of the story from the pen of Thomas of Erceldoune. In the edition of Warton, which appeared in 1840, Mr. Garnett thus sums up the evidence: "Upon the whole, then, it appears: 1. That the present *Sir Triftram* is a modernized copy of an old Northumbrian romance, which was probably written between A.D. 1260-1300; 2. That it is not, in the proper sense of the word, an original composition, but derived more or less directly from a Norman or Anglo-Norman source; 3. That there is no direct testimony in favour of Thomas of Erceldoune's claim to the authorship of it, while the internal evidence is, as far as it goes, greatly adverse to that supposition. It is, however, by no means improbable that the author availed himself of the previous labours of Erceldoune on the same theme."]

^a "among the romances that are sung," &c.

^b "none recite them as they were first written."

^c "as they tell them."

^d "this you may see," &c.

^e esteem.

^f Hearne says that Gestes were opposed to Romance. *Chron. Langt.* Pref. p. 37. But this is a mistake. Thus we have the *Geste of kyng Horne*, a very old metrical romance. MSS. Harl. 2253, p. 70. Also in the Prologue of *Rychard Cœur de Lyon*:

"King Richard is the best
That is found in any geste."

And the passage in the text is a proof against his assertion. Chaucer, in the following passage, by Jestours, does not mean jesters in modern signification, but writers of adventures. *House of Fame*, v. 108:

"And Jestours that tellen tales
Both of wepyng and of game."

Over alle that is or was,
 If men it sayd, as made Thomas (l. 93-100).
 Thai sayd in so quante Inglis
 That many one¹ wate not what it is (l. 109-110).
 And forsoth I couth[e] noght
 So strange Inglis as thai wrought (l. 115-116).

On this account, he says, he was persuaded by his friends to write his *Chronicle* in a more popular and easy style, that would be better understood :

And men besoght me many a tyme
 To turne in bot in light[e] ryme.
 Thai sayd if I in strange it turne
 To here it manyon fuld skurne²
 For it ere names fulle felcouth³
 That ere not ufed now in mouth (l. 117-122).
 In the hous of Sixille I was a throwe⁴
 Danz Robert of Meltone,⁵ that ye knowe,
 Did it wryte for felawes sake,
 Wheti thai wild solace make⁶ (l. 141-4).

[Thomas of⁷] Erceldoune and [Thomas of⁸] Kendal are mentioned, in some of these lines of Brunne, as [writers of] old romances

In the *House of Fame* he also places those who wrote "olde gestes," v. 425. It is however obvious to observe from whence the present term *jest* arose. See Fauchet, *Rec.* p. 73. In *P. Plowman*, we have *Job's Jestes*, fol. xlv. b :

"Job the gentyl in his jestes greatly wytnesseth."

That is, "Job in the account of his Life." In the same page we have :

"And japers and judgelers, and jangelers of jestes."

That is, minstrels, reciters of tales. Other illustrations of this word will occur in the course of the work. *Chansons de gestes* were common in France in the thirteenth century among the [trouvères]. See *Mem. concernant les principaux monumens de l'Histoire de France : Mem. Lit.* xv. p. 582 ; by M. de Sainte Palaye. I add the two first lines of a MS. entitled, *Art de Kalender par Rauf*, who lived 1256. *Bibl. Bodl.* J. b. 2. Th. (Langb. MSS. 5. 439):

"De geste ne voil pas chanter,
 Ne veilles estoires el canter."

There is even *Gesta Passionis et Resurrectionis Christi*, in many MSS. libraries. [The *chansons de geste*, as Mr. Wright has shown, do not support Warton here, as they were poems founded on the real or supposed exploits of the earlier kings of France.]

¹ many a one. ² scorn. ³ strange. ⁴ a little while.

⁵ "Sir Robert of Malton." It appears [hence that he caused the work to be written.—Madden.]

⁶ *Pref. Rob. Glouc.* pp. 57, 58.

⁷ [Compare "as made Thomas," l. 100 of Manning's *Chronicle*, with line 94, "tale of Erceldoun and of Kendale," and with "I was at [Erceldoune:] with Tomas spak y there," *Sir Tristram*, l. 1, &c.:

⁸ "When Engle hadde þe lond al þowor,
 He gaf to Scardyng Scardeburghe ;
 Toward þe north, by þe see side,
 An hauene hit is, schipes in to ryde.
 flayn highte his broþer, als seþ þe tale
 þat Thomas made of Kendale ;
 Of Scarthe & flayn, Thomas seys,
 What þey were, how þey dide, what weys."

Manning's *Chronicle*, part i. p. 514.]

or popular tales. Of the latter I can discover no traces in our ancient literature. As to the former, Thomas of Erceldoun or Afhelington is said to have written *Prophecies*, like those of Merlin. Leland, from the *Scale Chronicon*,¹ says that "William Banastre,² and Thomas Erceldoune, spoke words "yn figure as were the prophecies of Merlin." In the library of Lincoln cathedral there is a [poem, which is almost entitled to the name of a romance,] entitled, *Thomas of Erfeldoun*, [slightly imperfect,] which begins with an address [not found in the other MSS. of this piece]:

"Lordynges both great and small"—

[But several other MSS. copies of it are extant.³ The Lincoln MS. has been printed.⁴] In the Bodleian library, among the theological works of John Lawren, monk of Worcester, and student in theology at Oxford about the year 1448, written with his own hand, a fragment of an English poem occurs, which begins thus:

Joly chepert of Askeldowne.⁵

[but is wholly unconnected, except in name, with Erceldoun.] In the British Museum a MS. English poem occurs, with this French title prefixed: *La Countesse de Dunbar, demanda a Thomas Effedoune quant la guerre d'Escoce prendret fyn*.⁶ This was probably our pro-

¹ An ancient French history or chronicle of England never printed, which Leland says was translated out of French rhyme into French prose. *Coll.* vol. i. p. ii. pag. 59, edit. 1770. It was probably written or reduced by Thomas Gray into prose. *Londinens. Antiquitat. Cant.* lib. i. p. 38. Others affirm it to have been the work of John Gray, an eminent churchman, about the year 1212. It begins, in the usual form, with the creation of the world, passes on to Brutus, and closes with Edward III.

² One Gilbert Banestre was a poet and musician. The *Prophecies of Banister of England* are not uncommon among MSS. In the *Scotch Prophecies*, printed at Edinburgh, [1603,] Banaster is mentioned as the author of some of them. "As Berlington's books and Banester tell us," p. 2. Again, "Beid hath briefed in his book and Banester also," p. 18. He seems to be confounded with William Banister, a writer of the reign of Edward III. Berlington is probably John Bridlington, an Augustine canon of Bridlington, who wrote three books of *Carmina Vaticinalia*, in which he pretends to foretell many accidents that should happen to England. MSS. Digb. Bibl. Bodl. 89 and 186. There are also *Verfus Vaticinales* under his name, MSS. Bodl. NE. E. ii. 17, f. 21. He died, aged sixty, in 1379. He was canonised. There are many other *Prophetie*, which seem to have been fashionable at this time, bound up with those of the canon of Bridlington in MSS. Digb. 186.

³ [MSS. Publ. Lib. Camb. Ff. v. 48 (printed by Halliwell in 1845); MS. Cotton. Vitell. E, x; MS. Lanfd. 762; MS. Sloane 2578. Of these the first is damaged, the second is a copy of no great importance or antiquity, and the third and fourth are imperfect. A later transcript is in MS. Rawl. c. 258.]

⁴ [Laing's *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*, 1822.]

⁵ MSS. Bodl. 692, fol.

[“Joly chepte of Aschell downe
Can more on love than al the town.”—*Price*.

Ritson could, of course, make out no more, because there is no more to make out, the leaf being torn off here.—*Madden*.]

⁶ MSS. Harl. 2253, f. 127. It begins thus:

“When man as mad a kingge of a capped man
When mon is lever other monnes thynges then ys owen.”

phesier Thomas of Erceldown. One of his predictions is mentioned in a Scottish poem entitled [*ane new zeir gift*] written in the year 1562 by Alexander Scot.¹ One Thomas [of] Leirmouth, or [the] Rhymer, was also a prophetic bard, and lived at Erlingtoun, sometimes perhaps pronounced Erfeldoun. This is therefore probably the same person. One who personates him, says :

In Erlingtoun I dwell at hame,
Thomas Rymer men call me.

He has left vaticinal rhymes, in which he predicted the union of Scotland with England, about the year 1279.² Fordun mentions several of his prophecies concerning the future state of Scotland.³

Robert de Brunne [perhaps] translated into English rhymes the treatise of Cardinal Bonaventura, his cotemporary,⁴ *De cœna et passione domini et pœnis S. Mariæ Virginis*, with the following title : *Medytaciuns of the Soper of our Lorde Jhesu, and also of his Passyun, and eke of the Peynes of his swete Medyr mayden Marye, the whiche made yn Latyn Bonaventure Cardynall*.⁵ But I forbear to give further extracts from this writer, who appears to have possessed much more industry than genius,⁶ and cannot at present be read with much

¹ [Alex. Scot's *Poems*, ed. 1821, p. 5.]

² See *Scotch Prophecies*, [ed. 1680], pp. 11, 13, 18, 19, 36, viz. *The Prophecy of Thomas Rymer*. Pr. "Stille on my wayes as I went."

³ Lib. x. cap. 43, 44. I think he is also mentioned by Spottiswood. See *Dempst.* xi. 810.

⁴ He died 1272. Many of Bonaventura's tracts were at this time translated into English. We have, "The Treatis that is kallid *Prickynge of Love*, made bi a Frere menour Bonaventure, that was Cardinall of the courte of Rome." Harl. MS. 2254, i. f. 1. This book belonged to Dame Alys Braintwat "the worchypfull prioras of Dartforde." This is not an uncommon MS. [Bonaventura] flourished in Italy, about the year 1270. The enormous magnificence of his funeral deserves notice more than any anecdote of his life; as it paints the high devotion of the times, and the attention formerly paid to theological literature. There were present Pope Gregory X., the emperor of Greece by several Greek noblemen his proxies, Baldwin II., the Latin eastern emperor, James, king of Arragon, the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch, all the cardinals, five hundred bishops and archbishops, sixty abbots, more than a thousand prelates and priests of lower rank, the ambassadors of many kings and potentates, the deputies of the Tartars and other nations, and an innumerable concourse of people of all orders and degrees. The sepulchral ceremonies were celebrated with the most consummate pomp, and the funeral oration was pronounced by a future pope. *Miræi Auzar. Script. Eccles.* p. 72, edit. Fabric.

⁵ MSS. Harl. 1701, f. 84. The first line is,

"Almighti god in trinite."

[In the two best MSS. known to us of Manning's complete *Handlyng synne*, the *Medytaciuns* follow it, after a break. Mr. Bowes, of Streatham castle, Durham, has a later MS. of the *Handlyng synne*, not yet examined.—F. Caxton printed a compilation from the Latin of Bonaventura under the title of *Speculum vite Cristi*. See *Blades*, ii. 194-7.]

⁶ [Sir F. Madden and Mr. Furnivall are of opinion that Warton has done scanty justice to De Brunne. They consider him the best poet before Chaucer, anterior to 1330, and very superior to the later Hampole and Naffyngton, though not to the writer of *The Pearl* in the Early English Alliterative Poems, edited by Mr. R. Morris for the Early English Text Society in 1864, or the composer of the allitera-

pleasure. Yet it should be remembered, that even such a writer as Robert de Brunne, uncouth and unpleasing as he naturally seems, and [partly] employed in turning the theology of his age into rhyme, contributed to form a style, to teach expression, and to polish his native tongue. In the infancy of language and composition, nothing is wanted but writers: at that period even the most artless have their use.

Robert [Grosseteste,] bishop of Lincoln,¹ who died in 1253, is said in some verses of Robert de Brunne, quoted above, to have been fond of the metre and music of the minstrels. He was most attached to the French minstrels, in whose language he [is said to have] left a poem of some length. This was translated into English rhyme probably about the reign of Edward [II. or III.] It is called by Leland *Chateau d'Amour*.² But in one of the Bodleian MSS. of this book we have the following title: *Romance par Mestre Robert Grosseteste*.³ In another it is called, *Ce est la vie de D. Jhū de sa*

tive Morte Arthure in the Thornton MS., assuming that that spirited poem was written some seventy or eighty years before the date of the MS. it is in (1440 A.D.).]

¹ See Disa. ii.—The author and translator are often thus confounded in manuscripts. To an old English religious poem on the holy Virgin, we find the following title: *Incipit quidam cantus quem composuit frater Thomas de Hales de ordine fratrum minorum*, &c. MSS. Coll. Jes. Oxon. [29,] *supr. citat.* [It is hard to tell whether this de Hales is the same as Tanner assigns (by mistake) to the fourteenth century, or a different person.] But this is the title of our friar's original, a Latin hymn de B. Maria Virgine, improperly adopted in the translation. Thomas de Hales was a Franciscan friar, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and flourished about the year 1340. We shall see other proofs of this.

² *Script. Brit.* p. 285. [The English version was printed for the Philological Society.]

³ MSS. Bodl. NE. D. 69. [It has been shown in a former note, that Grosseteste's claim to the authorship of the French *Manuel Peche*—at least to the work at present known by that name—cannot be made good]. The following extract from the *Chateau d'Amour*, ascribed to him by Leland and others, [shows that the poem was also ascribed to him in early times; for in it he is called "Saint Robert de Nichole" (the French name for Lincoln), just as he is called "Seynt Robert," whose surname is "Grosstest of Lynkolne," by Robert of Brunne in the *Handyng Synne*, l. 4743-5, p. 64 above. Price, seemingly ignorant of *Nichole* meaning Lincoln, thought that St. Robert de Nichole could not be Grosseteste.]

"Ici comence un escrit,
Ke Seint Robert de Nichole fist.
Romanze de romanze est apelé,
Tel num a dreit li est assigné;
Kar de ceo livre la materie,
Est estre de haut clergie,
E pur ceo ke il pasco (surpasse) altre romanz
Apelé est romanz de romanz.
Les chapitres ben conuz serunt
Par les titres ke siverunt
Les titres ne voil pas rimer
Kar leur matiere ne volt suffrer.
Primis sera le prologe mis
E puz les titres tuz assis."

MSS. Reg. 20 B. xiv.

[It is just possible that both the present poem and the *Manuel Peche* are founded on similar works of Grosseteste written in the Latin language; and that the tran-

humanite fet a ordine de Saint Robert Groffeteste ke fut eveque de Nichole; ¹ and in this copy a very curious apology to the clergy is prefixed to the poem for the language in which it is written. ² "Et quamvis lingua romana [romance] coram clericis saporem suavitatis non habeat, tamen pro laicis qui minus intelligunt opusculum illud aptum est." ³ This piece professes to treat of the creation, the redemption, the day of judgment, the joys of heaven, and the torments of hell: but the whole is a religious allegory, and under the ideas of chivalry the fundamental articles of Christian belief are represented. It has the air of a system of divinity written by a troubadour. The poet, in describing the advent of Christ, supposes that he entered into a magnificent castle, which is the body of the immaculate virgin. The structure of this castle is conceived with some imagination, and drawn with the pencil of romance. The poem begins with these lines:

Ki pense ben, ben peut dire :
Sanz penser ne poet suffise :
De nul bon oure commencer
Deu nos dont de li penser
De ki par ki, en ki, sont
Tos les biens ki font en el mond.

But I hasten to the translation, which is more immediately connected with our present subject, and has this title :

Her bygenet a tretys that ys yclept *Castel of Love*
that biſcop Groſteſyt made ywis for lewde mennes by-hove.⁴

Then follows the prologue or introduction, [from which an extract may suffice, as the work has been printed three times:]

scribers, either from ignorance, or a desire of giving a fictitious value to their own labours, have inscribed his name upon the copies. His *Templum Domini*, a copious system of mystical divinity, abounding in pious raptures and scholastic subtleties, may have afforded the materials for the former poem; and his treatise, *De septem vitiis et remediis*—if we except the *Contes devots*, which Wadington may have gleaned from another source—possibly supplied the doctrines of the latter. The title adopted by Leland and the English translator has been taken from the following passage of the French work:

"En un chastel bel e grant,
Bien fourme et avenant,
Ceo est le chastel d'amour,
E de folaz e de socour."

Harl. MSS. No. 1121.—*Price.*]

¹ F 16, Laud. The word *Nicole* is perfectly French for *Lincoln*. See likewise MSS. Bodl. E. 4, 14. [A parliament was held at Nicole in 1300-1. Riley's *Chronicles of Old London*, p. 245, ed. 1863.—F.]

² In the hand-writing of the poem itself, which is very ancient.

³ f. 1. So also in MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 232. In MSS. Harl. 1121, 5. "[Ici demouſtre] Robert Groſſeteste eveſque de Nichole un tretis en Franceis, del commencement du monde," &c. f. 156. Cod. membran.

⁴ Bibl. Bodl. MS. Vernon, f. 292. This translation [has been printed from a later copy in a MS. of the 14th century, differing greatly from the Vernon in its language and dialect, in private hands, by Mr. Halliwell, 1849, 4to. The Vernon MSS. and Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 22283, were edited for the Philological Society in 1864 by Mr. Weymouth.]

On Engliſch¹ I chul mi reſun ſchowen
 For him that con not i-knowen
 Nouthur French ne Latyn :
 On Engliſch I chulle tullen him
 Wherefore the world was i-wrouht,
 And aftur how he was bi-tauht,
 Adam vre fader to ben his,
 With al the merthe of paradys,
 To wonen and welden to ſuch ende
 Til that he ſcholde to heuene wende ;
 And hou ſone he hit for-les
 And ſeththen hou hit for-bouht wes
 Thorw the heiȝe kynges ſone,
 That here on eorthe wolde come,
 For his ſuftren that were to-boren,
 And for a priſon that was forloren ;
 And hou he made as ȝe ſchul heeren
 That heo i-cuſte and ſauht weren ;
 And to wȝuche a Caſtel he alihte, &c.

The moſt poetical paſſages of this poem [are thoſe which deſcribe the caſtle. Of theſe we quote a few lines :]

This Caſtel is fiker and feir abouten,²
 And is al depeynted withouten
 With threo heowes that wel beth ſene,³
 So is the foundement al grene,
 That to the roche faſte lith.
 Wel is that ther murthe i-fiht,
 For the grenſchipe laſteth euere,
 And his heuh ne leofeth neuere,
 Seththen abouten that other heuȝ
 So is inde and eke bleu.⁴
 That the midel heuȝ we clepeth ariht,
 And ſchyneth ſo feire and ſo briȝt.

The thridde heuȝ an ouemaſt
 Ouer-wriȝeth al and ſo is i-caſt
 That withinnen and withouten
 The caſtel lihteth al abouten,
 And is raddore then euere eny roſe ſchal
 That thuncheth as hit barnde⁵ al.⁶
 Withinne the Caſtel is whit ſchinyng
 So⁷ the ſnowȝ that is ſneuwynge,
 And caſteth that liȝt ſo wyde
 After-long the tour and be-ſyde,
 That never cometh ther wo ne wouȝ,
 Ac ſwetneſſe ther is cuer i-nouȝ.

¹ [*Caſtel off Love*, edit. Weymouth, p. 3.]

² [Edit. Weymouth, p. 31.]

³ ["Li chasteaus est bel e bon
 De hors depeint enuiron,
 De iii. colurs diuerſement."]—*Fr. Orig.*

⁴ "Si reſte ynde ſi blui."—*Fr. Orig.*

⁵ burned, on fire.

⁶ "Plus est vermaille qui neſt roſe
 E piert vne ardante choſe."—*Fr. Orig.*

⁷ as.

Amidde¹ the heiȝe tour is springynge
 A welle that euere is eornynge²
 With foure ſtremes that ſtriketh wel,
 And erneth vpon the grauel,
 And fulleth the diche a-boute the wal;
 Muche bliſſe ther is ouer-al,
 Ne dar he ſeche non other leche
 That mai riht of this water cleche.

In³ thulke derworth feire tour
 Ther ſtont a trone with muche honour,
 Of whit iuori, and feirre of liht
 Then the ſomeres day whon hee is briht,
 With cumpas i-throwen, and with gin al i-do.
 Seuene ſteppes ther beoth ther-to, &c.
 The⁴ foure ſmale toures abouten,
 That [witeth] the heiȝe tour with-uten,
 Foure hed thewes that aboute hire i-feoth,
 Foure vertues cardinals [that] beoth, &c.
 And⁵ whyche beoth the threo bayles ȝet,
 That with the carnels beth ſo wel i-ſet,
 And i-caſt with cumpas and walled abouten,
 That witeth the heiȝe tour with-uten?
 Bote the inemaſte bayle, I wot,
 Bi-tokeneth hire holy maidenhod, &c.
 The⁶ middel bayle, that wite ȝe,
 Bi-tokeneth hire holy chaſtite
 And ſeththen the [outemaſte] bayle
 Bi-tokeneth hire holy ſpoſayle, &c.
 The ſeue [barbicans] abouten,
 That with gret gin beon i-wrouȝt withouten,
 And witeth this Caſtel ſo wel,
 With arwe and with qwarel,⁷
 That beth the ſeuen vertues with winne
 To ouercome the ſeuen dedly ſinne, &c.⁸

¹ "In mi la tur plus hauteine
 Eſt ſurdant une funtaine
 Dunt iſſent quater ruiſſell.
 Ki bruinet par le gravel," &c.—*Fr. Orig.*

² running.

³ "En cele bel tur a bone
 A de yvoire un trone
 Ke pluſa eiſſi blanchor
 Ci en mi eſte la beau jur
 Par engin eſt compaſſez," &c.—*Fr. Orig.*

⁴ [Edit. Weymouth, p. 37.]

⁵ [*Ibid.* p. 38.]

"Les treis bailles du chaſtel
 Ki ſunt overt au kernel
 Qui a compas ſunt en virun
 E defendent le dungun."—*Fr. Orig.*

⁶ [*Ibid.*]

⁷ "Les barbicanes ſcet
 Kis hors de bailles ſunt fait,
 Ki bien gardent le chaſtel,
 E de ſecte e de quarrel."—*Fr. Orig.*

⁸ [*Ibid.* 38-9.] Afterwards the fountain is explained to be God's grace: Charity is conſtable of the caſtle, &c. &c.

It was undoubtedly a great impediment to the cultivation and progressive improvement of the English language at these early periods, that the best authors chose to write in French. Many of Robert [Grosseteste's] pieces are indeed in Latin; yet where the subject was popular, and not immediately addressed to learned readers, he adopted the Romance or French language, in preference to his native English. Of this, as we have already seen, his *Chateau d'Amour* is sufficient proof; and his example and authority must have had considerable influence in encouraging the practice. Peter Langtoft not only composed the large chronicle of England, above recited, in French, but even translated Herbert Boscam's Latin *Life of Thomas Becket* into French rhymes.¹ John [de] Hoveden, a native of London, doctor of divinity, and chaplain to Queen Eleanor, mother of Edward I. wrote in French rhymes a book entitled, *Rosarium de Nativitate, Passione, Ascensione, Jesu Christi*.² Various other proofs have before occurred. [There is in] the Lambeth library [an imperfect] poem in [Anglo-] Norman verse on the subject of King Dermot's expulsion from Ireland and the recovery of his kingdom.³ I could mention many others. Anonymous French pieces, both in prose and verse, and written about this time, are innumerable in our manuscript repositories.⁴ Yet this fashion proceeded rather from necessity and

¹ Pits, p. 890. Append. He with great probability supposes him to have been an Englishman.

² MSS. Bibl. C. C. C. Cant. G. 16. where it is also called *The Nightingale*. Pr. "Alme fesse lit de pereffe."

In this MS. the whole title is this: *Le Rossignol, ou la pensee Jehan de Hovedene clerc la roine d'Engleterre mere le roi Edward, de la naissance et de la mort et du relievement et de l'ascension Jesu Crisi et de l'assumption nostre dame*. This MS. was written in the 14th century.

Our author, John [de] Hoveden, was also skilled in sacred music, and a great writer of Latin hymns. He died, and was buried, at Hoveden, 1275. Pits, p. 356, Bale, v. 79.

There is an old French metrical life of Tobiah, which the author, most probably an Englishman, says he undertook at the request of William, Prior of Kenilworth in Warwickshire. MSS. Jes. Coll. Oxon. 85, *supr. citat.*

"Le prior Gwilleyme me prie
De l'eglyse seynte Marie
De Kenelworth an Ardenne,
Ki porte le plus haute peyne
De charite, ke nul eglyse
Del reaume a devye
Ke jeo liz en romaunz le vie
De kelui ki ont nun Tobie," &c.

³ [MS. Lamb. 96. See Todd's *Cat.* 1812, p. 94. The poem, which wants beginning and end, has been printed by Michel, 1837, 12mo. An incorrect analysis of it, made by Sir George Carew, to whom it once belonged, is in Harris's *Hibernica*, 1757.] It was probably written about 1190. See Ware, p. 56, and compare Walpole's *Anecd. Paint.* i. 28, Notes. [The original Latin of this has been already noticed as a production of the reign of Edward I., to whose queen John de Hoveden was chaplain. In the Observations on the *Lai de Lauzic*, the error of identifying an English translation of de Hoveden's tract with the lay is pointed out.]

⁴ Among the learned Englishmen who now wrote in French, Tyrwhitt mentions Helis de Guineestre, or Winchester, a translator of Cato into French. (See vol. ii.

a principle of convenience, than from affectation. The vernacular English, as I have before remarked, was rough and unpolished : and although these writers possessed but few ideas of taste and elegance, they embraced a foreign tongue almost equally familiar, and in which they could convey their sentiments with greater ease, grace, and propriety. It should also be considered, that our most eminent scholars received a part of their education at the university of Paris. Another and a very material circumstance concurred to countenance this fashionable practice of composing in French. It procured them readers of rank and distinction. The English court, for more than two hundred years after the Conquest, was totally French : and our kings, either from birth, kindred, or marriage, and from a perpetual intercourse, seem to have been more closely connected with France than with England.¹ It was however fortunate that these French pieces were written, as some of them met with their translators who, perhaps, unable to aspire to the praise of original writers, at least by this means contributed to adorn their native tongue : and who very

sect. xxvii.) And Hue de Roteland [or rather, according to Sir F. Madden, Walter de Bibleworth] author of the Romance, in French verse, called *Ipomidon*. MSS. Cott. Vesp. A. vii. [Hugh] is supposed to have written a French Dialogue in metre, MSS. Bodl. 3904. *La plainte par entre mis Sire Henry de Lacy Counte de Nichole, et Sire Wauter de Bybleworth pur la croiserie en la terre seinte*. And a French romantic poem on a knight called *Capaneus*, perhaps Statius's Capaneus. MSS. Cott. Vesp. A. vii. *ut sup.* It begins :

“ Que bons countes viel entendre.”

I have before hinted that it was sometimes customary to intermix Latin with French. As thus, MSS. Harl. 2253, f. 137, b. :

“ Dieu roy de Mageste,
Ob personas trinas,
Nostre roy es meyne
Ne perire finas,” &c.

Again, *ibid.* f. 76, where a lover, an Englishman, addresses his mistress who was of Paris :

“ *Dum ludis floribus velut lacinia,*
Le dieu d'amour moi tient en tiel *Angustia*,” &c.

Sometimes their poetry was half French and half English. As in a song to the holy virgin on our Saviour's passion. *Ibid.* f. 83.

“ Mayden moder milde, oyez cel oreyfoun,
From shome thou me shilde, e de ly mal feloun :
For love of thine childe me menez de tresfoun,
Ich wes wod and wilde, ore su en prifoun,” &c.

In the same MS. I find a French poem probably written by an Englishman, and in the year 1300, containing the adventures of Gilote and Johanne, two ladies of gallantry, in various parts of England and Ireland ; particularly at Winchester and Pontefract, f. 66, b. The curious reader is also referred to a French poem, in which the poet supposes that a minstrel, *jugelour*, travelling from London, clothed in a rich tabard, met the king and his retinue. The king asks him many questions, particularly his lord's name and the price of his horse. The minstrel evades all the king's questions by impertinent answers ; and at last presumes to give his majesty advice. *Ibid.* f. 107, b.

¹ [It is very certain that many French poems were written during this period by Englishmen ; but it is probable that several were also composed by Normans.—*Douce.*]

probably would not have written at all, had not original writers, I mean their cotemporaries who wrote in French, furnished them with models and materials.

Hearne, to whose diligence even the poetical antiquarian is much obliged, but whose conjectures are generally wrong, imagines that the old English metrical romance, called *Rychard cuer de Lyon*, was written by Robert de Brunne. It is at least probable, that the leisure of monastic life produced many rhymers. From proofs here given we may fairly conclude, that the monks often wrote for the minstrels: and although our Gilbertine brother of Brunne chose to relate true stories in plain language, yet it is reasonable to suppose, that many of our ancient tales in verse containing fictitious adventures were written, although not invented, in the religious houses. The romantic history of *Guy Earl of Warwick* is expressly said, on good authority, to have been written by Walter of Exeter, a Franciscan friar of Carocus in Cornwall, about the year 1292.¹ The libraries of the monasteries were full of romances. *Bevis of Southampton*, in French, was in the library of the abbey of Leicester.² In that of the abbey of Glastonbury, we find *Liber de Excidio Trojæ*, *Gesta Ricardi Regis*, and *Gesta Alexandri Regis*, in the year 1247.³ These were some of the most favourite subjects of romance, as I shall shew hereafter. In a catalogue of the library of the abbey of Peterborough are recited *Amys and Amelon*,⁴ *Sir Tristram*, *Guy de*

¹ Carew's *Surv. Cornw.* p. 59, edit. *ut supr.* I suppose Carew means the metrical Romance of *Guy*. But Bale says that Walter wrote *Vita Guidonis*, which seems to imply a prose history. x. 78. [Gerard of Cornwall, a very obscure writer, in the eleventh chapter of his lost work, *De Gestis regum West-Saxonum*, introduced] *Guy's* history. Hearne has printed an *Historia Guidonis de Warwik: Append. ad Annal. Dunstaple*, num. xi. It was extracted from Girald. Cambrens. *Hist. Reg. West-Sax.*, capit. xi. by Girardus Cornubiensis. Lydgate's *Life of Guy*, never printed, is translated from this Girardus, as Lydgate himself informs us at the end. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. D 31, f. 64, Tit. *Here gynneth the liff of Guy of Warwyk:*

"Out of the Latyn made by the Chronycler

Called of old Girard Cornubyeunce:

Which wrote the dedis, with grete diligence,

Of them that were in Westsex crowned kynges," &c.

See Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* i. p. 89.

² See *Registrum Librorum omnium et focalium in monasterio S. Marie de Pratis prope Leycestriam*. f. 132, b. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. I 75. This catalogue was written by Will. Charite, one of the monks, A.D. 1517, f. 139.

³ Hearne's *Joann. Glaston. Catal. Bibl. Glaston.* p. 435. One of the books of Troy is called *bonus et magnus*. There is also *Liber de Captione Antiochia Gallice legibilis*, *ibid.*

⁴ The same Romance is in MSS. Harl.

[The Harl. MS. is a bad copy of about one half of the poem. This Romance was translated into German verse by Conrad of Würzburg, who flourished about the year 1300. He chose to name the heroes Engelhard and Engeldrud.—Weber. See Du Cang. *Gloss. Lat. i. Ind. Auctor*, p. 193. There is an old French Morality on this subject—"Comment Amille tue ses deux enfans pour guerir Amis son compaignon," &c. Beauchamps, *Rech. Theatr. Fr.* p. 109. There is a French metrical romance, *Histoire d'Amy et Amilion*, MSS. Reg. 12, C xii. 9, and at Bennet College, Num. L. 1. It begins,

"Ki veut oir chauncoun damur."

Burgoyne, and *Gesta Ofuelis* [*Otuelis*],¹ all in French : together with *Merlin's Prophecies*, *Turpin's Charlemagne*, and the *Destruction of Troy*.² Among the books given to Winchester college by the founder William of Wykeham, a prelate of high rank, about the year 1387, we have *Chronicon Trojæ*.³ In the library of Windsor college, in the reign of Henry VIII., were discovered, in the midst of missals, psalters and homilies, *Duo libri Gallici de Romanes, de quibus unus liber de Rose, et alius difficilis materiæ*.⁴ This is the language of the king's commissioners, who searched the archives of the college : the first of these two French romances is perhaps [Guillaume de Lorris]'s *Roman de la Rose*. A friar, in *Pierre Plouman*, is said to be much better acquainted with the *Rimes of Robin Hood* and *Randal Erle of Chester* than with his Pater-noster.⁵ The monks, who very naturally sought all opportunities of amusement in their retired and confined situations, were fond of admitting the minstrels to their festivals, and were hence familiarised to romantic stories. Seventy shillings were expended on minstrels, who accompanied their songs with the harp, at the feast of the installation of Ralph abbot of Saint Augustin's at Canterbury, in the year 1309. At this magnificent solemnity, six thousand guests were present in and about the hall of the abbey.⁶ It was not deemed an occurrence unworthy to be recorded, that when Adam de Orleton, bishop of Winchester, visited his cathedral priory of Saint Swithin in that city, a minstrel named Herbert was introduced, who sang the *Song*

[In the Pipe-roll, 34 and 36 Hen. III. is mentioned, "liber magnus, Gallico ydioniate scriptus, in quo continentur Gesta Antiochie et regum et etiam aliorum." —Mr. Wright's inform. Sir F. Madden conjectures this to have been a version of the *Antiochis* of Joseph of Exeter. Mr. Wright also refers us to a very curious list of romances given by Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, to the abbey of Bardesley, printed from the original deed in M. Michel's *Tristan*.

¹ There is a romance called *Otuel*, MSS. Bibl. Adv. Edinb. W 4, l. xxviii. I think he is mentioned in Charlemagne's story. He is converted to Christianity, and marries Charlemagne's daughter. [Analysed by Mr. Ellis: vol. ii. p. 324. It has been printed entire for the Abbotsford Club, with the romance of *Rowland and Vernagu*, 1836.

But as to the signification of the word *romance* in early documents, it is extremely difficult, after all, to come to any conclusion. In a Close-roll of 6 John (1205), *Romancium de historia Angliæ* evidently means merely a narrative of English history.]

² Gunton's *Peterb.* p. 108, *seq.* I will give some of the titles as they stand in the catalogue. *Dares Phrygius de Excidio Trojæ*, bis, p. 180. *Prophetiæ Merlini versificæ*, p. 182. *Gesta Caroli secundum Turpinum*, p. 187. *Gesta Æneæ post destructionem Trojæ*, p. 198. *Bellum contra Runcivallum*, p. 202. There are also the two following articles, viz., *Certamen inter regem Johannem et Barones, versificæ*, per H. de Davench, p. 188. This I have never seen, nor know anything of the author. *Versus de ludo scaccorum*, p. 195.

³ Ex archivis Coll. Wint.

⁴ Dugd. *Man.* iii. *Eccles. Collegiat.* p. 80.

⁵ Fol. xxvi. b, edit. 1550. [See the *Erles of Cheffre* in the *Percy Folio*, Ballads and Romances.]

⁶ *Dec. Script.* p. 2011.

of Colbrond, a Danish giant, and the tale of *Queen Emma delivered from the plough/hares*, in the hall of the prior Alexander de Herriard, in the year 1338. I will give this very curious article, as it appears in an ancient register of the priory: "Et cantabat Jocolator quidam nomine Herebertus canticum Colbrondi, necnon Gestum Emme regine a judicio ignis liberate, in aula prioris."¹ In an annual account-roll of the Augustine priory of Bicester in Oxfordshire, for the year 1431, the following entries relating to this subject occur, which I choose to exhibit in the words of the original: "Dona Prioris. Et in datis cuidam citharizatori in die sancti Jeronimi, viii. d. Et in datis alteri citharizatori in Festo Apostolorum Simonis et Jude cognomine Hendy, xii. d. Et in datis cuidam ministrallo domini le Talbot infra natale domini, xii. d. Et in datis ministrallis domini le Straunge in die Epiphanie, xx. d. Et in datis duobus ministrallis domini Lovell in crastino S. Marci evangeliste, xvi. d. Et in datis ministrallis ducis Glocestrie in Festo nativitatis beate Marie, iii. s. iv. d." I must add, as it likewise paints the manners of the monks, "Et in datis cuidam Urfario, iii. d."² In the Prior's accounts of the Augustine canons of Maxtoke in Warwickshire, of various years in the reign of Henry VI., one of the styles or general heads is *De Jocolatoribus et Mimis*. I will without apology produce some of the particular articles, not distinguishing between *Mimi*, *Jocolatores*, *Jocatores*, *Lufores*, and *Citharista*, who all seem alternately, and at different times, to have exercised the same arts of popular entertainment: "Jocolatori in septimana S. Michaelis, iv. d. Cithariste tempore natalis domini et aliis jocatoribus, iv. d. Mimis de Solihull, vi. d. Mimis de Coventry, xx. d. Mimo domini Ferrers, vi. d. Luforibus de Eton, viii. d. Luforibus de Coventry, viii. d. Luforibus de Daventry, xii. d. Mimis de Coventry, xii. d. Mimis domini de Asteley, xii. d. Item iii. mimis domini de Warewyck, x. d. Mimo ceco, ii. d. Sex mimis domini de Clynton. Duobus Mimis de Rugeby, x. d. Cuidam cithariste, vi. d. Mimis domini de Asteley, xx. d. Cuidam cithariste, vi. d. Citha-

¹ *Registr. Priorat. S. Swithini Winton.* MSS. Archiv. de Wolvesey Wint. These were local stories. Guy fought and conquered Colbrond, a Danish champion, just without the northern walls of the city of Winchester, in a meadow to this day called Danemarch: and Colbrond's battle-axe was kept in the treasury of St. Swithin's priory till the Dissolution. Th. Rudb. apud Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* i. 211. This history remained in rude painting against the walls of the north transept of the cathedral till within my memory. Queen Emma was a patroness of this church, in which she underwent the trial of walking blindfold over nine red-hot plough/hares. Colbrond is mentioned in the *Squyr of Lowe Degre*. [Hazlitt's *Pop. Poetry*, ii. 26:]

"Or els so doughty of my hande
As was the gyaunte fyr Colbrande."

[See Turnbull's edit. of *Guy of Warwick*, 1840, Introd.]

² *Computus dni Ricardi Parentyn Prioris, et fratris Ric. Albon canonici, bursarii ibidem, de omnibus bonis per eisdem receptis et liberatis a crastino Michaelis anno Henrici Sexti post Conquestum octavo usque in idem crastinum anno R. Henrici predicti anno.* In *Thesaurar. Coll. SS. Trin. Oxon.* Bishop Kennet has printed a *Computus* of the same monastery under the same reign, in which three or four entries of the same sort occur. *Paroch. Antiq.* p. 578.

riste de Coventry, vi. d. Duobus citharistis de Coventry, viii. d. Mimis de Rugeby, viii. d. Mimis domini de Buckeridge, xx. d. Mimis domini de Stafford, ii. s. Lusoribus de Coleshille, viii. d.”¹ Here we may observe, that the minstrels of the nobility, in whose families they were constantly retained, travelled about the county to the neighbouring monasteries; and that they generally received better gratuities for these occasional performances than the others. Solihull, Rugby, Colehill, Eton or Nun-Eton, and Coventry, are all towns situated at no great distance from the priory.² Nor must I omit that two minstrels from Coventry made part of the festivity at the consecration of John, prior of this convent, in the year 1432, viz. “*Dat. duobus mimis de Coventry in die consecrationis prioris, xii. d.*”³ Nor is it improbable, that some of our great monasteries kept minstrels of their own in regular pay. So early as the year 1180, in the reign of Henry II., *Jeffrey the harper* received a corrody or

¹ *Ex orig. penes me.*

² In the ancient annual rolls of account of Winchester College, there are many articles of this sort. The few following, extracted from a great number, may serve as a specimen. They are chiefly in the reign of Edward IV. viz. in the year 1481: “Et in fol. ministrallis dom. Regis venientibus ad collegium xv. die Aprilis, cum 12d. solut. ministrallis dom. Episcopi Wynton. venientibus ad collegium primo die junii, iii s. iii d.—Et in dat. ministrallis dom. Arundell ven. ad Coll. cum viii d. dat. ministrallis dom. de Lawarr, ii s. iii d.”—In the year 1483: “Sol. ministrallis dom. Regis ven. ad Coll. iii s. iiiii d.”—In the year 1472: “Et in dat. ministrallis dom. Regis cum viii d. dat. duobus Berewardis ducis Clarencie, xx d. Et in dat. Johanni *Stuko* quondam dom. de Warewyco, cum iiiii d. dat. Thome Nevyle taborario.—Et in dat. duobus ministrallis ducis Glocestrie, cum iiiii d. dat. uni ministrallo ducis de Northumberland, viii d. Et in dat. duobus citharatoribus ad vices venient. ad collegium viii d.”—In the year 1479: “Et in dat. satrapis Wynton venientibus ad coll. festo Epiphanie, cum xii d. dat. ministrallis dom. episcopi venient. ad coll. infra octavas epiphanie, iii s.”—In the year 1477: “Et in dat. ministrallis dom. Principis venient. ad coll. festo Ascensionis Domini, cum xx d. dat. ministrallis dom. Regis, vs.”—In the year 1464: “Et in dat. ministrallis comitis Kancie venient. ad Coll. in mense julii, iii s. iiiii d.”—In the year 1467: “Et in dat. quatuor mimis dom. de Arundell venient. ad Coll. xiii. die Febr. ex curialitate dom. Custodis, ii s.”—In the year 1466: “Et in dat. satrapis, [ut *supr.*] cum ii s. dat. iiiii. interludentibus et J. Meke citharistæ eodem festo, iii s.”—In the year 1484: “Et in dat. uni ministrallo dom. principis, et in aliis ministrallis ducis Glocestrie v. die julii, xx d.” The minstrels of the bishop, of lord Arundel, and the Duke of Gloucester, occur very frequently. In domo muniment. coll. prædict. in cista ex orientali latere.

In rolls of the reign of Henry VI. the countess of Westmoreland, sister of cardinal Beaufort, is mentioned as being entertained in the college; and in her retinue were the minstrels of her household, who received gratuities. *Ex Rot. Comp. orig.*

In these rolls there is an entry, which seems to prove that the *Lusores* were a sort of actors in dumb show or masquerade. *Rot. ann.* 1467. “Dat. lusoribus de civitate Winton. venientibus ad collegium in apparatu suo mens. julii, v s. vii d.” This is a large reward. I will add from the same rolls, *ann.* 1479. “In dat. Joh. Pontifbery and focio ludentibus in aula in die circumcissionis, ii s.”

³ *Ibid.* It appears that the Coventry-men were in high repute for their performances of this sort. In the entertainment presented to Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth castle in 1575, the Coventry-men exhibited “their old storiall sheaw.” *Laneham's Narrative*, &c. p. 32. Minstrels were hired from Coventry to perform at Holy Croffe feast at Abingdon, Berks, 1422. *Hearne's Lib. Nig. Scacc.* ii. p. 598. See an account of their play on Corpus Christi day, in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, by Stevens, i. p. 138, and Hearne's *Fordun*, p. 1450, *sub ann.* 1492.

annuity from the Benedictine abbey of Hyde near Winchester; ¹ undoubtedly on condition that he should serve the monks in the profession of a harper on public occasions. The abbey of Conway and Stratflur in Wales respectively maintained a bard: ² and the Welsh monasteries in general were the grand repositories of the poetry of the British bards. ³

In the statutes of New College at Oxford, given about the year 1380, the founder, William of Wykeham, orders his scholars, for their recreation on festival days in the hall after dinner and supper, to entertain themselves with songs and other diversions consistent with decency: and to recite poems, chronicles of kingdoms, the wonders of the world, together with the like compositions, not misbecoming the clerical character. ⁴ The latter part of this injunction seems to be an explication of the former: and on the whole it appears that the *Cantilenæ*, which the scholars should sing on these occasions, were a sort of *Pœmata* or poetical Chronicles, containing general histories of kingdoms. ⁵ It is natural to conclude that they preferred pieces of English history, [such as the *Brut* already described, of a somewhat amplified version of which (of the reign of Edward III.) some fragments occur among Hearne's MSS.] ⁶

Although we have taken our leave of Robert de Brunne, yet as the subject is remarkable, and affords a striking portraiture of ancient manners, I am tempted to transcribe that chronicler's description of the presents received by King Athelstane from the king of France; especially as it contains some new circumstances, and supplies the

¹ Madox, *Hist. Exchequer*, p. 251. Where he is styled, "Galfridus citharœdus."

² Powel's *Cambria. To the Reader*, pag. 1, edit. 1584.

³ Evans's *Disj. de Bardis. Specimens of Welsh Poetry*, p. 92. Wood relates a story of two itinerant priests coming, towards night, to a cell of Benedictines near Oxford, where, on a supposition of their being mimes or minstrels, they gained admittance. But the cellarer, sacrist, and others of the brethren, hoping to have been entertained with their *gesticulatores ludicrisque artibus*, and finding them to be nothing more than two indigent ecclesiastics who could only administer spiritual consolation, and being consequently disappointed of their mirth, beat them and turned them out of the monastery.—*Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* i. 67. Under the year 1224.

⁴ I will transcribe his words: "Quando ob dei reverentiam aut sue matris, vel alterius sancti cujuscunque, tempore yemali, ignis in aula sociis ministratur; tunc scolaribus et sociis post tempus prandii aut cene liceat gracia recreationis in aula, in Cantilenis et aliis solaciis honestis, moram facere condecens; et Pœmata, regnorum Chronica, et mundi hujus Mirabilia, ac cetera que statum clericalem condecorant, serius pertractare."—*Rubric.* xviii. The same thing is enjoined in the statutes of Winchester College, *Rubr.* xv. I do not remember any such passage in the statutes of preceding colleges in either university. But this injunction is afterwards adopted in the statutes of Magdalene College, and thence, if I recollect right, was copied into those of Corpus Christi, Oxford.

⁵ Hearne thus understood the passage: "The wise founder of New College permitted them [metrical chronicles] to be sung by the fellows and scholars upon extraordinary days."—Heming, *Chartul.* ii. Append. Numb. ix. § vi. p. 662.

⁶ Given to him by Mr. Murray. See Heming, *Chartul.* ii. p. 654. And *Rob. Glouc.* ii. p. 731. Nunc MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. *Ravulins.* Cod. 4to. (E. Pr. 87.) [Ritson has printed these fragments entire in his *Metrical Romances*, 1802; and the editor could not perceive the advantage of quoting them to the extent that Warton, not knowing what they were, has done.]

defects of [the *Brut*]. It is from his version of Peter Langtoft's chronicle above mentioned :

At the feste of oure lady the Assumpcion,
Went the kyng fro London toward Abindon.
Thider out of France, fro Charles kyng of fame,
Com the duke of Boloyn, Adulphus was his name,
& the duke of Burgoyn, Edmonde sonne Reynere.
The brouht kyng Athelston present withouten pere :
Fro Charles kyng sanz faile thei brouht a gonfaynoun
That Saynt Morice bare in batayle befor the legioun ;
& the scharp lance that thrilled Jhesu fide ;
& a suerd of golde,—in the hilde did men hide
Tuo of tho nayles that war thorch Jhesu fete
Tached¹ on the croyce ; the blode thei out lete ;
& som of the thornes that don were on his heued,
& a fair pece that of the croyce leued,²
That saynt Heleyn sonne at the batayle wan
Of the Soudan Askalone, his name was Madan.
Than blewe the trumpes fulle loud & fulle schille,
The kyng com in to the halle that hardy was of wille.
Than spak Reyner, Edmunde sonne, for he was messengere :
“ Athelstan, my lord, the gretes, Charles that has no pere ;
He sende the this present, and fais, he wille hym bynde
To the thorch³ Ilde thi suster, & tille alle thi kynde.”
Befor the messengers was the maiden brouht,
Of body so gentill was non in erthe wrouht ;
No non so faire of face, ne non of spech so luffy.
Scho granted befor tham all to Charles hir body :
& so did the kyng, & alle the baronage,
Mykelle was the richeffe thei purveied [in] hir passage.⁴

[One of Hearne's fragments is added here, because it defends and explains the derivation of the name Ynglond from maiden Ynge, of whom Robert Manning declares twice⁵ that he had never heard. She is the later representative of Ronwen or Rowenna. This fragment] begins with the martyrdom of Saint Alban, and passes on to the introduction of Walfail, and to the names and division of England :

And now he ys alle so hole yfonde,
As whan he was yleyde on grounde.
And 3yf 3e wille not trow⁶ me,
Goth to Westmystere, and 3e mow se.
In that tyme Seynt Albon
For Goddys loue tholed⁷ martirdome,
And xl. 3ere with schame & schonde⁸
Was drowen⁹ oute of England.

¹ Tacked, fastened.

² Remained.

³ “Thee through.”

⁴ *Chron.* pp. 29, 30, [edit. 1810, *ut supra*.] Afterwards follows the combat of Guy with “a hogge (huge) geant, hight Colibrant.” As in our fragment, p. 31. See Will. Malms. *Gest. Angl.* ii. 6. The lance of Charlemagne is to this day shewn among the relics of St. Denis in France.—Carpentier, *Suppl. Gloss. Lat. Ducange* tom. ii. p. 994, edit. 1766.

⁵ [*Chronicle*, Part i. pp. 265, 515.]

“Bot this lewed men sey and synge,
And telle that hit was mayden Inge.
Wryten of Inge, no clerk may kenne,
Bot of Hengiste doughter, Ronewenne.”]

⁶ Believe.

⁷ Suffered.

⁸ Confusion.

⁹ Driven, drawn.

In that tyme wete¹ the welle,
 Cam ferst waffayle & drynkehayl
 In to this londe, with owte wene,²
 Thurghe a mayde brygh³ and schene.⁴
 Sche was cleput⁵ mayde ynge.
 For hur many dothe rede & synge,
 Lordyngys gent⁶ & free.
 This lond hath hadde namys thre.
 Ferst hit was cleput Albyon
 And syth,⁷ for Brute, Bretayne anon,
 And now ynglond clepyd hit ys,
 Aftir mayde ynge ywyffe.
 Thilke ynge fro Saxone was come,
 And with here many a moder sonne,
 For gret hungure y underfonde
 ynge went oute of hure londe.
 And thorow leue of oure kyng
 In this lande sche hadde restyng.
 As meche lande of the kyng sche bade,⁸
 As with a hole hyde me my3th⁹ sprede.
 The kyng graunted [t]he bonne:¹⁰
 A strong castel sche made sone,
 And when the castel was al made,
 The kyng to the mete sche bade.¹¹
 The kyng graunted here anone.
 He wyft not what thay wolde done.

And sayde to ham¹² in this manere,
 "The kyng to morrow schal ete here,
 He and alle hys men,
 Euer¹³ one of vs and one of them,
 To geder schal sitte at the mete.
 And when thay haue al most yete,
 I wole say waffayle to the kyng,
 And sle hym with oute any lefyng.¹⁴
 And loke that 3e in this manere
 Eche of 3ow sle his fere."¹⁵
 And so sche dede thenne,
 Slowe the kyng and alle hys men.
 And thus, thorowgh here queyntyse,¹⁶
 This londe was wonne in this wyse.
 Syth¹⁷ anon sone an swythe¹⁸
 Was Englond deled¹⁹ on fyue,
 To fyue kynggys trewelyche,
 That were nobyl and swythe ryche.
 That one hadde alle the londe of Kente,
 That ys free and swythe gente.
 And in hys lond byfshopus tweye.
 Worthy men where²⁰ theye.
 The archebyfshop of Caunturbery,
 And of Rochestere that ys mery.
 The kyng of Essex of renon²¹

¹ know ye.⁴ fair.⁷ [afterwards.]¹⁰ granted her request.¹³ every.¹⁶ stratagem.¹⁹ divided.² doubt.⁸ called.⁹ requested, desired.¹¹ bid.¹⁴ lye.¹⁷ after.²⁰ were.³ bright.⁶ gentle.⁹ men might.¹² them.¹⁵ companion.¹⁸ [quickly].²¹ renown.

He hadde to his portion
 Westschire, Barkschire,
 Soufex, Southampthire.
 And ther-to Dorsetthire,
 All Cornewalle & Deuenshire,
 All thys were of hys anypre.¹
 The kyng hadde on his bond
 Fyue Byshopes starke & strong,
 Of Salusbury was that on.²



As to the *Mirabilia Mundi*, mentioned in the statutes of New College at Oxford, in conjunction with these *Poemata* and *Regnorum Chronica*, the immigrations of the Arabians into Europe and the Crusades produced numberless accounts, partly true and partly fabulous, of the wonders seen in the eastern countries; which, falling into the hands of the monks, grew into various treatises under the title of *Mirabilia Mundi*. There were also some professed travellers into the East in the dark ages, who surprised the western world with their marvellous narratives which, could they have been contradicted, would not have been believed.³ At the court of the grand Khan, persons of all nations and religions, if they discovered any distinguished degree of abilities, were kindly entertained and often preferred.

In the Bodleian Library we have a superb vellum MS. [of Marco Polo, in French,] decorated with ancient descriptive paintings and illuminations, entitled, *Histoire de Graunt Kaan et des Merveilles du Monde*.⁴ The same work is among the royal MSS.⁵ A [spurious] Latin epistle, said to be translated from the Greek by Cornelius Nepos, is an extremely common manuscript, entitled, *De situ et Mirabilibus Indiae*.⁶

¹ empire.

² [Robert of Gloucester, edit. 1810, 731-3.]

³ The first European traveller who went far Eastward, is Benjamin, a Jew of Tudela in Navarre. He penetrated from Constantinople through Alexandria in Ægypt and Persia to the frontiers of Tsin, now China. His travels end in 1173. He mentions the immense wealth of Constantinople, and says that its port swarmed with ships from all countries. He exaggerates in speaking of the prodigious number of Jews in that city. He is full of marvellous and romantic stories. William de Rubruquis, a monk, was sent into Persia and Tartary, and by the command of S. Louis, King of France, about the year 1245; as was also Carpini, by Pope Innocent IV. Marco Polo, a Venetian nobleman, travelled eastward into Syria and Persia to the country constantly called in the dark ages Cathay, which proves to be the northern part of China. This was about the year [1280.] His book is [sometimes] entitled *De Regionibus Orientis*. He mentions the immense and opulent city of Cambalu, undoubtedly Pekin. Hakluyt cites a friar, named Oderick, who travelled to Cambalu in Cathay, and whose description of that city corresponds exactly with Pekin. Friar Bacon, about 1280, from these travels formed his geography of this part of the globe, as may be collected from what he relates of the Tartars. See Purchas, *Pilgr.* iii. 52, and *Bac. Op. Maj.* 228, 235.

⁴ MSS. Bodl. F. 10 [264] ad calc. Cod. The handwriting is about the reign of Edward III. [1380-1400].

⁵ MSS. Bibl. Reg. 19, D i. 3. [The royal MS. is a magnificent copy of the French translation of Marco Polo's travels, which it affirms to have been made in the year 1298.—*Price*.]

⁶ [Maittaire cites an edition of the Latin translation as printed at Venice in 1499, but see Brunet, *dern.* edit. i. 163. The Greek has been often printed. Sir F. Madden refers to a Saxon translation in Cotton. MS. Vitell. A. xv.]

It is from Alexander the Great to his preceptor Aristotle; and the Greek original was moſt probably drawn from ſome of the fabulous authors of Alexander's ſtory.

There is a MS. containing *La Chartre que Preſtre Jehan maunda a Fredewik l'Empereur de Mervailles de ſa Terre*.¹ This was Frederic Barbaroffa, emperor of Germany, or his ſucceſſor, both of whom were celebrated for their many ſucceſſful enterpriſes in the Holy Land before the year 1230. Preſter John, a Chriſtian, was emperor of India. I find another tract, *De Mirabilibus Terræ Sanctæ*.² A book of Sir John Mandeville, a famous traveller into the Eaſt about the year 1340, is under the title of *Mirabilia Mundi*.³ His *Itinerary* might indeed have the ſame title.⁴ [A copy of his famous book] in the Cotton Library is, "The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeſſe knight, which treateth of the way to Hieruſaleme and of the *Marveyles* of Inde with other ilands and countreyes;"⁵ [but in the edition by Wynkyn de Worde in 1499 the title is ſomewhat more elaborate.]⁶ In the Cotton Library there is a piece with the title, *Sanctorum Loca, Mirabilia Mundi, &c.*⁷ Afterwards the wonders of other countries were added: and when this ſort of reading began to grow fashionable, Gyraldus Cambrenſis compoſed his book *De Mirabilibus Hiberniæ*.⁸ There is alſo another *De Mirabilibus Angliæ*,⁹ [a very common MS., of which a copy is attached to Hearne's edition of *Robert of Glouceſter*.] At length the ſuperſtitious

¹ MSS. Reg. 20, A xii. 3. And in Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. E 4. 3. "Literæ Joannis Preſbiteri ad Fredericum Imperatorem," &c.

² MSS. Reg. 14, C xiii. 3.

³ MSS. C. C. C. Cant. A iv. 69. We find *De Mirabilibus Mundi Liber*, MSS. Reg. 13, E ix. 5. And again, *De Mirabilibus Mundi et Viris illuſtribus Tractatus* 14, C vi. 3.

⁴ His book is ſuppoſed to have been interpolated by the monks. Leland obſerves that Aſia and Africa were parts of the world at this time, "Anglis de ſola fere nominis umbra cognitæ." *Script. Br.* p. 366. He wrote his *Itinerary* in French, Engliſh, and Latin. It extends to Cathay or China before mentioned. Leland ſays that he gave to Becket's ſhrine in Canterbury cathedral a glaſs globe enclosing an apple, which he probably brought from the Eaſt. Leland ſaw this curioſity, in which the apple remained freſh and undecayed. *Ubi ſupr.* Mandeville, on returning from his travels, gave to the high altar of St. Albans abbey church a ſort of patera brought from Ægypt, [formerly] in the hands of an ingenious antiquary in London. He was a native of the town of St. Albans, and a phyſician. He ſays that he left many Mervayles unwritten, and refers the curious reader to [the] *Mappa Mundi*, chap. cviii, cix. A hiſtory of the Tartars became popular in Europe about the year 1310, written or dictated by Aiton, [kinſman to] a king of Armenia who, having traversed the moſt remarkable countries of the Eaſt, turned monk at Cyprus, and publiſhed his travels which, on account of the rank of the author, and his amazing adventures, gained great eſteem. [A competent and critical edition of Sir John Mandeville's *Travels* is ſtill a want. It has been long on the liſt of intended re-editions by the Early Engliſh Text Society.]

⁵ [Printed in 1725, again in 1839, and thirdly in 1866.]

⁶ [See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Mandeville*.]

⁷ Galb. A xxi. 3.

⁸ It is printed among the *Scriptores Hiſt. Angl.* 1602, 692. Written about the year 1200. It was ſo favourite a title that we have even *De Mirabilibus Veteris et Novi Teſtamenti*. MSS. Coll. Æn. Nas. Oxon. Cod. 12, f. 190, a.

⁹ Bibl. Bodl. MSS. C 6.

curiosity of the times was gratified with compilations under the comprehensive title of *Mirabilia Hiberniæ, Angliæ, et Orientis*.¹ But enough has been said of these infatuations. Yet the history of human credulity is a necessary speculation to those who trace the gradations of human knowledge. Let me add, that a spirit of rational enquiry into the topographical state of foreign countries, the parent of commerce and of a thousand improvements, took its rise from these visions.

[There is a French elegy on the death of Edward I. in 1307, written in the succeeding reign, and also an English version, which is supposed to be taken from it, as it is substantially identical. As the whole has been printed,² a specimen will probably be sufficient:]

The messager to the pope com
 And seyde that oure kynge was ded :³
 Ys oune hond the lettre he nom,
 Y-wis his herte wes ful gret :
 The Pope himself the lettre redde,
 And spec a word of gret honour.
 Alas, he seide, is Edward ded ?
 Of Cristendome he ber the flour.
 The pope to is chaumbre wende
 For del ne mihte he speke na more ;
 Ant after cardinals he sende
 That muche couthen of Cristes lore.
 Both the lasse ant eke the more
 Bed hem both rede ant syngre :
 Gret deol me myhte se thore,
 Many mon is honde wryngre.
 The pope of Peyters stod at is masse
 With ful gret solempnete,
 Ther me con the soule bleffe :
 Kyng Edward, honoured thou be :
 God leue thi sone come after the
 Bringre to ende that thou hast bygonne,
 The holy crois y-mad of tre
 So fain thou woldest hit han y-wonne, &c.⁴

¹ As in MSS. Reg. 13 D, i. 11. I must not forget that the *Polyhistor* of Julius Solinus appears in many MSS. under the title of Solinus *de Mirabilibus Mundi*. This was so favourite a book as to be translated into hexameters by some monk in the twelfth century, according to Voss. *Hist. Lat.* iii. p. 721.

² [Wright's *Political Songs*, 1839, 241-50.]

³ He died in Scotland, July 7, 1307. The chronicles pretend that the Pope knew of his death the next day by a vision or some miraculous information. So Robert of Brunne, who recommends this tragical vent to those who "Singre and fay in romance and ryme."—*Chron.* p. 340, edit. *u. sup.* :

"The Pope the tother day wist it in the court of Rome.
 The Pope on the morn bifor the clergi cam
 And tolde tham bifor, the floure of Cristendom
 Was ded and lay on bere, Edward of Ingeland.
 He said with hevy chere, in spirit he it fond."

He adds, that the Pope granted five years of pardon to those who would pray for his soul.

⁴ MSS. Harl. 2253, f. 73. In [Mrs. Cooper's] *Muses Library*, 1737, there is an elegy on the death of Henry I., "wrote immediately after his death, the author

That the Pope should here pronounce the funeral panegyric of Edward I. is by no means surprising, if we consider the predominant ideas of the age. And in the true spirit of these ideas, the poet makes this illustrious monarch's achievements in the Holy Land his principal and leading topic. But there is a particular circumstance alluded to in these stanzas, relating to the crusading character of Edward,¹ together with its consequences, which needs explanation. Edward, in the decline of life, had vowed a second expedition to Jerusalem; but finding his end approach, in his last moments he devoted the prodigious sum of thirty thousand pounds to provide one hundred and forty knights,² who should carry his heart into Palestine. But this appointment of the dying king was never executed. Our elegist and the chroniclers impute the crime of withholding so pious a legacy to the advice of the king of France, whose daughter Isabel was married to the succeeding king. But it is more probable to suppose that Edward II. and his profligate minion Piers Gaveston dissipated the money in their luxurious and expensive pleasures.

SECTION III.



WE have seen, in the preceding section, that the character of our poetical composition began to be changed about the reign of the first [or second] Edward: that either fictitious adventures were substituted by the minstrels in the place of historical and traditionary facts, or reality disguised by the misrepresentations of invention; and that a taste for ornamental and even exotic expression gradually prevailed over the rude simplicity of the native English phraseology. This change, which with our language affected our poetry, had been growing for some time, and among other causes was occasioned by the introduction and increase of the tales of chivalry.

The ideas of chivalry, in an imperfect degree, had been of old established among the Gothic tribes. The fashion of challenging to single combat, the pride of seeking dangerous adventures, and the

unknown," p. 4. [It has been remarked by Ritson, that the elegy printed by Mrs. Cooper was the composition of Fabyan the chronicler, who died in 1511: but then it is a translation from the original Latin, preserved by Knighton, of the twelfth century.—*Park.*]

¹ It appears that King Edward I. about the year 1271, took his harper with him to the Holy Land. This officer was a close and constant attendant of his master: for when Edward was wounded with a poisoned knife at Ptolemais, the harper, *cithareda suus*, hearing the struggle, rushed into the royal apartment, and killed the assassin. *Chron. Hemingford*, cap. xxxv. p. 591. (*V. Hystor. Anglic. Scriptor.* vol. ii. 1687.) [After the king himself had slain the assassin his harper had the singular courage to brain a dead man with a trivet or tripod, for which act of heroism he was justly reprimanded by Edward.—*Ritson.*]

² The poet says eighty.

spirit of avenging and protecting the fair sex, seem to have been peculiar to the Northern nations in the most uncultivated state of Europe. All these customs were afterwards encouraged and confirmed by corresponding circumstances in the feudal constitution. At length the Crusades excited a new spirit of enterprise, and introduced into the courts and ceremonies of European princes a higher degree of splendour and parade, caught from the riches and magnificence of eastern cities.¹ These oriental expeditions established a taste for hyperbolical description, and propagated an infinity of marvellous tales, which men returning from distant countries easily imposed on credulous and ignorant minds. The unparalleled emulation with which the nations of Christendom universally embraced this holy cause, the pride with which emperors, kings, barons, earls, bishops, and knights, strove to excel each other on this interesting occasion, not only in prowess and heroism, but in sumptuous equipages, gorgeous banners, armorial cognisances, splendid pavilions, and other expensive articles of a similar nature, diffused a love of war and a fondness for military pomp. Hence their very diversions became warlike, and the martial enthusiasm of the times appeared in tilts and tournaments. These practices and opinions co-operated with the kindred superstitions of dragons,² dwarfs, fairies, giants, and enchanters, which the traditions of the Gothic scalds had already planted; and produced that extraordinary species of composition which has been called Romance.

Before these expeditions into the East became fashionable, the principal and leading subjects of the old fablers were the achievements of King Arthur with his knights of the round table, and of Charlemagne with his twelve peers. But in the romances written after the holy war, a new set of champions, of conquests and of countries were introduced. Trebizond took place of Roncevalles, and Godfrey of Bulloigne, Solyman, Nouraddin, the caliphs, the foldans, and the cities of Ægypt and Syria, became the favourite topics.³ The

¹ I cannot help transcribing here a curious passage from old Fauchet. He is speaking of Louis the young king of France about the year 1150. "Le quel fut le premier roy de sa maison, qui monstra dehors ses richesses allant en Jerusalem. Aussi la France commença de son temps a s'embellir de bastimens plus magnifiques: prendre plaisir a pierrieres et autres delicateesses goustus en Levant par luy, ou les seigneurs qui avoient ja fait ce voyage. De sorte qu'on peut dire qu'il a este le premier tenant Cour de grand Roy: estant si magnifique, que sa femme, dedaignant la simplicité de ses predecesseurs, luy fit elever une sepulture d'argent, au lieu de pierre." *Recueil de la Lang. et Poes. Fr.* ch. viii. p. 6. edit. 1581. He adds, that a great number of French romances were composed about this period.

² See Kircher's *Mund. Subterr.* viii. § 4. He mentions a knight of Rhodes made grand master of the order for killing a dragon, 1345.

³ [Though this passage has been the subject of severe animadversion, and characterized as containing nothing but "random assertion, falsehood and imposition," there are few of its positions which a more temperate spirit of criticism might not reconcile with the truth. The popularity of Arthur's story, anterior to the first Crusade, is abundantly manifested by the language of William of Malmesbury and Alanus de Insulis, who refer to it as a fable of common notoriety and general belief among the people. Had it arisen within their own days, we may be certain

troubadours of Provence, an idle and unsettled race of men, took up arms, and followed their barons in prodigious multitudes to the conquest of Jerusalem. They made a considerable part of the household of the nobility of France. Louis VII., king of France, not only entertained them at his court very liberally, but commanded a considerable company of them into his retinue, when he took ship for Palestine, that they might solace him with their songs during the dangers and inconveniences of so long a voyage.¹ The ancient chronicles of France mention *Legions de poëtes* as embarking in this wonderful enterprise.² Here a new and more copious source of fabling was opened: in these expeditions they picked up numberless extravagant stories, and at their return enriched romance with an infinite variety of oriental scenes and fictions. Thus these later wonders in some measure supplanted the former: they had the recommendation of novelty, and gained still more attention, as they came from a greater distance.³

that Malmesbury, who rejected it as beneath the dignity of history, would not have suffered an objection so well founded as the novelty of its appearance to have escaped his censure; nor can the narrative of Alanus be reconciled with the general progress of traditional faith—a plant of tardy growth—if we limit its first publicity to the period thus prescribed (1096-1142). With regard to Charlemagne and his peers, as their deeds were chaunted by Tallieser at the battle of Hastings (1066), it would be needless to offer further demonstrations of their early popularity; nor in fact does the accuracy of this part of Warton's statement appear to be called in question by the writer alluded to. It would be more difficult to define the degree in which these romances were superseded by similar poems on the achievements of the Crusaders; or, to use the more cautious language of the text, to state how far "Trebizond took place of Roncevalles." But it will be recollected that in consequence of the Crusades, the action of several romances was transferred to the Holy Land, such as Sir Bevis, Sir Guy, Sir Isumbras, the King of Tara, &c.: and that most of these were "favorite topics" in high esteem, is clear from the declaration of Chaucer, who catalogued them among the "romances of Priz." In short, if we omit the names of the caliphs, and confine ourselves to the Soldans—a generic name used by our early writers for every successive ruler of the East—and the cities of Egypt and Syria, this rhapsody, as it has been termed, will contain nothing which is not strictly demonstrable by historical evidence or the language of the old romancers. The Life of Godfrey of Boulogne was written in French verse by Gregory Bechada, about the year 1130. It is usually supposed to have perished; unless, indeed, it exist in a poem upon the same subject by Wolfram Von Eschenbach, who generally founded his romances upon a French or Provençal original.—*Price.*]

¹ Velley, *Hist. Fr.* sub an. 1178.

² Maffieu, *Hist. Poes. Fr.* p. 105. Many of the troubadours, whose works now exist, and whose names are recorded, accompanied their lords to the holy war. Some of the French nobility of the first rank were troubadours about the eleventh century: and the French critics with much triumph observe, that it is the glory of the French poetry to number counts and dukes, that is sovereigns, among its professors, from its commencement. What a glory! The worshipful company of Merchant-tailors in London, if I recollect right, boast the names of many dukes, earls, and princes, enrolled in their community. [Herbert's *Hist. of the 12 Livery-Companies*, ii. 384.] This is indeed an honour to that otherwise respectable society. But poets can derive no lustre from counts and dukes, or even princes, who have been enrolled in their lists; only in proportion as they have adorned the art by the excellence of their compositions.

³ The old French historian Mezeray goes so far as to derive the origin of the French poetry and romances from the Crusades. *Hist.* pp. 416, 417. Geoffrey Vine-

In the mean time we should recollect that the Saracens or Arabians, the same people which were the object of the Crusades, had acquired an establishment in Spain about the ninth century : and that by means of this earlier intercourse many of their fictions and fables, together with their literature, must have been known in Europe before the Christian armies invaded Asia. It is for this reason the elder Spanish romances have professedly more Arabian allusions than any other. Cervantes makes the imagined writer of *Don Quixote's* history an Arabian. Yet, exclusively of their domestic and more immediate connection with this eastern people, the Spaniards from temper and constitution were extravagantly fond of chivalrous exercises. Some critics have supposed that Spain, having learned the art or fashion of romance-writing from their naturalised guests the Arabians, communicated it, at an early period, to the rest of Europe.¹

It has been imagined that the first romances were composed in metre, and sung to the harp by the poets of Provence at festive solemnities : but an ingenious Frenchman, who has made deep researches into this sort of literature, attempts to prove that this mode of reciting romantic adventures was in high reputation among the natives of Normandy above a century before the troubadours of Provence, who are generally supposed to have led the way to the poets of Italy, Spain and France, and that it commenced about the year 1162.² If the critic means to insinuate, that the French troubadours acquired their art of versifying from these Norman bards, this reasoning will favour the system of those who contend that metrical romances lineally took their rise from the historical odes of the Scandinavian scalds ; for the Normans were a branch of the Scandinavian stock. But Fauchet, at the same time that he allows the Normans to have been fond of chanting the praises of their heroes in verse, expressly pronounces that they borrowed this practice from the Franks or French.³

sauf says, that when King Richard I. arrived at the Christian camp before Ptolemais, he was received with *populares Cantiones*, which recited *Antiquorum Preclara Gesta*. *It. Hierosol.* cap. ii. p. 332, *ibid.*

¹ Huet in some measure adopts this opinion. But that learned man was a very incompetent judge of these matters. Under the common term Romance, he confounds romances of chivalry, romances of gallantry, and all the fables of the Provençal poets. What can we think of a writer who, having touched upon the gothic romances, at whose fictions and barbarisms he is much shocked, talks of the consummate degree of art and elegance to which the French are at present arrived in romances ? He adds, that the superior refinement and politesse of the French gallantry has happily given them an advantage of shining in this species of composition. *Hist. Rom.* p. 138. But the sophistry and ignorance of Huet's Treatise has been already detected and exposed by a critic of another cast in the *Supplement to Jarvis's Preface*, prefixed to the Translation of *Don Quixote*.

² Mons. L'Eveque de la Ravalierre, in his *Revolutions de la Langue Française, à la suite des Poésies du Roi de Navarre*. [2 vols. 12mo., Paris, 1743.]

³ "Ce que les Normans avoyent pris des François." *Rec.* liv. i. p. 70. edit. 1581. [Mr. Wright very properly animadverts on the temerity of seeking the origin of romance in any one source, or of tracing the progress of romance from one people to another, and illustrates his position by pointing out that, while there

It is not my business, nor is it of much consequence, to discuss this obscure point, which properly belongs to the French antiquaries. I therefore proceed to observe, that [William Bishop of Ely, chancellor to] our Richard I., who [was] a distinguished hero of the Crusades, a most magnificent patron of chivalry, and a Provençal poet,¹ invited to his [master's] court many minstrels or troubadours from France, whom he loaded with honours and rewards.² These

is no nation which has not probably borrowed some of its romantic literature from other nations, there is also none which has not a certain share of home-grown romance. He thinks that the Teutonic tribes possessed many of the *fabliaux*, before they were known to Western Europe.]

¹ See *Observations on Spenser*, i. § i. pp. 28, 29. And Mr. Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, i. 5. See also Rymer's *Short View of Tragedy*, ch. vii. p. 73. [Guilhem le Breton,] one of the Provençal poets, said of Richard:—

“Coblas a teira faire adroitement
Pou voz oillez enten dompna gentiltz.”

“He could make stanzas on the eyes of gentle ladies.” Rymer, *ibid.* p. 74. There is a curious [but most probably apocryphal] story recorded by the French chroniclers concerning Richard's skill in the minstrel art. [Here, in all the editions, follows the absurd story of Blondel, which is not worth repeating, especially as it is to be found in so many books. It may, however, be worth while to refer the reader to M. de la Rue, *Essais sur les Jongleurs*, ii. 325-9, where Guillaume Blondel, an Anglo-Norman, is said to have been the real Blondel, and to have been rewarded with estates, which were restored to his descendant by Henry III.—Mr. Thoms' inform.] See also Fauchet, *Rec.* p. 93. Richard lived long in Provence, where he acquired a taste for their poetry.

[There is too much reason to believe the story of Blondel and his illustrious patron to be purely apocryphal. The poem published by Walpole is written in the Provençal language, and a Norman version of it is given by M. Siffrondi, in his *Littérature du Midi*, vol. i. p. 149. In which of these languages it was originally composed remains a matter of dispute among the French antiquaries.—*Price.*]

² “De regno Francorum cantores et joculariores muneribus allexerat.” *Rog. Hoved.* Ric. i. p. 340. These gratuities were chiefly arms, clothes, horses, and sometimes money.

It appears to have been William bishop of Ely, chancellor to Richard I. who thus invited minstrels from France, whom he loaded with favours and presents to sing his praises in the streets. This passage is in a letter of Hugh bishop of Coventry, which see also in Hearne's *Benedictus Abbas*, vol. ii. p. 704, *sub ann.* 1191. It appears from this letter, that he was totally ignorant of the English language, *ibid.* p. 708. By his cotemporary Gyraldus Cambrensis he is represented as a monster of injustice, impiety, intemperance, and lust. Gyraldus has left these anecdotes of his character, which shew the scandalous grossness of the times. “Sed taceo quod ruminare solet, nunc clamitat Anglia tota, qualiter puella, matris industria tam coma quam cultu puerum professa, simulansque virum verbis et vultu, ad cubiculum bellæ istius est perducta. Sed statim ut exosi illius sexus est inventa, quamquam in se pulcherrima, thalamique thorique deliciis valde idonea, repudiata tamen est et abjecta. Unde et in crastino, matri filia, tam flagitiosi facinoris conscia, cum Petitionis effectû, terrique non modicis eandem jure hæreditario contingentibus, virgo, ut venerat, est restituta. Tantæ nimirum intemperantiæ, et petulantæ fuerat tam immoderatæ, quod quotidie in prandio circa finem, pretiosis tam potionibus quam cibariis ventre distento, virga aliquantulum longa in capite aculeum præferente pueros nobiles ad mensam ministrantes, eique propter multimodam quaungebatur potestatem in omnibus ad nutum obsequentes, pungere vicissim consueverit: ut eo indicio, quasi signo quodam secretiore, quem fortius, inter alios, atque frequentius sic quasi ludicro pungebat,” &c. &c. *De Vit. Galfrid. Archiepiscop.* Ebor. apud Whart. *Angl.*

poets imported into England a great multitude of their tales and songs; which before or about the reign of Edward II. became familiar and popular among our ancestors, who were sufficiently acquainted with the French language. The most early notice of a professed book of chivalry in England, as it should seem, appears under the reign of Henry III., and is a curious and evident proof of the reputation and esteem in which this sort of composition was held at that period. In the revenue roll of the twenty-first year of that king, there is an

Sacr. vol. ii. p. 406. But Wharton endeavours to prove, that the character of this great prelate and statesman in many particulars had been misrepresented through prejudice and envy. *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 632.

[Two metrical reliques by Richard I. were first printed in *La Tour ténébreuse*, &c. 1705. The first of these, in mixed *Romance* and Provençal, professes to be the veritable *chanson* of Blondel; the other is a love-song in Norman French. The sonnet cited by Mr. Walpole was exhibited with an English version in Dr. Burney's *History of Music*, but has since received a more graceful illustration from the pen of Mr. George Ellis, in the last edition of *Royal and Noble Authors*.—*Park*. The whole has been published by M. Raynouard, in the fourth volume of his *Choix des Poesies originales des Troubadours*, a volume which had not reached me when the note, to which this is a supplement, was sent to the press. Another poem by Richard I. will be found in the *Parnasse Occitanien*, Toulouse, 1819, a publication from which the following remark has been thought worth extracting: "Crescimbeni avait dit qu'il existait des poésies du roi Richard dans le manuscrit 3204; et la-dessus Horace Walpole le taxe d'inexactitude. Cependant le surnent se trouve au fol. 170, Ro. et 171 Ro. C'est donc l'Anglois qui se trompe en disant: there is no work of King Richard."—*Price*. Mr. Thoms adds, that there may be some foundation for the statement in the preface to *La Tour Tenebreuse*, that the basis of the work was a MS. communicated by the then possessor, and called *Chronique et Fabliaux de la composition de Richard Roy d'Angleterre recueillis tot a nouvel et conjoints ensemblement, par le labour de Jean de Sorels l'an 1308*. These fabliaux are the two which Richard is alleged to have written during his imprisonment in *La Tour Tenebreuse*.]

It seems the French minstrels, with whom the Song of Roland originated, were famous about this period. Muratori cites an old history of Bologna, under the year 1288, by which it appears that they swarmed in the streets of Italy. "Ut Cantatores Francigenarum in plateis comunis ad cantandum morari non possent." On which words Horace Walpole he observes, "Colle quale parole sembra verisimile, che sieno designati i cantatori del favole romanze, che specialmente della Francia erano portate in Italia." *Dissert. Antichit. Ital.* tom. ii. c. xxix. p. 16. He adds, that the minstrels were so numerous in France as to become a pest to the community, and that an edict was issued, about the year 1200, to suppress them in that kingdom. Muratori, in further proof of this point, quotes the above passage from Hoveden, which he [also] misapplies to our Richard I. But, in either sense, it equally suits his argument. In the year 1334, at a feast on Easter Sunday, celebrated at Rimini, on occasion of some noble Italians receiving the honour of knighthood, more than one thousand five hundred minstrelles are said to have attended. "Triumphus quidem maximus fuit ibidem, &c.—Fuit etiam multitudo Minstrionum circa mille quingentos et ultra." *Annal. Casanat.* tom. xiv. *Rer. Ital. Scriptor.* col. 1141. But their countries are not specified. In the year 1227, at a feast in the palace of the archbishop of Genoa, a sumptuous banquet and vestments without number were given to the minstrels or Jocolatores then present, who came from Lombardy, Provence, Tuscany, and other countries. Caffari *Annal. Genuens.* lib. vi. p. 449, D. *apud* tom. vi. *ut sup.* In the year 774, when Charlemagne entered Italy and found his passage impeded, he was met by a minstrel of Lombardy, whose song promised him success and victory. "Contigit Jocolatorem ex Longobardorum gente ad Carolum venire, et Cantiunculam a se compositam, rotando in conspectu suorum, cantare." Tom. ii. p. 2, *ut sup.* *Chron. Monast. Noval.* lib. iii. cap. x. p. 717, D.

entry of the expense of silver clasps and studs for the king's great book of romances. This was in the year 1237. But I will give the article in its original dress: "Et in firmaculis haphis et clavis argenteis ad magnum librum Romancis regis."¹ That this superb volume was in French, may be partly collected from the title which they gave it: and it is highly probable that it contained [some of the *Round Table* romances or the *Brut*. An earlier instance may be pointed out in the Close Rolls of King John, in 1205, where Reginald Cornhill is ordered to send to the king *Romancium de Historia Angliæ*.² The victorious achievements of Richard I. were so famous in the reign of Henry III. as to be made the subject of a picture in the royal palace of Clarendon near Salisbury. A circumstance which likewise appears from the same ancient record, under the year 1246: "Et in camera regis subtus capellam regis apud Clarendon lambruscanda, et muro ex transverso illius cameræ amovendo et hystoria Antiochiæ in eadem depingenda cum duello regis Ricardi."³ To these anecdotes we may add that in the Royal library at Paris there is, *Lancelot du Lac mis en François par [Walter Mapes,] du commandement d'Henri roi de Angleterre avec figures*;⁴ and the same MS. occurs twice again in that library in three and in four volumes of the largest folio.⁵ Which of our Henries it was who thus commanded the romance of *Lancelot au Lac* to be translated [out of Latin, as is pretended,] into French, is indeed uncertain: but most probably it was Henry [II.]⁶

¹ *Rot. Pip. an. 21, Hen. III.* [Although Warton has himself stated frequently enough that the word *romance* in early writers need mean nothing but French, yet he is continually arguing on the supposition that it must mean romance in our present acceptation of the term. The above-mentioned book was not necessarily a book of romances. However, the following entry in the Close Roll of the 34th of the same reign (March 17) may refer to the same book, in which case it would seem to countenance Warton's supposition:—"De quodam libro liberato ad opus regine. Mandatum est fratri R. de Sanforde, magistro milicie Templi in Anglia, quod faciat habere Henrico de Warderoba, latori prefencium, ad opus Regine, quendam librum magnum, qui est in domo sua Londoniis, Gallico ydiomate scriptum, in quo continentur Gesta Antiochie et regum et etiam aliorum." Teste ut supra.—Wright.]

² [Sir F. Madden's correction. It by no means follows that the contents of this book were romances of chivalry. Any collection of French pieces, especially in verse, would at this time be called romances; and this from the language, not the subject.—Douce.]

³ *Rot. Pip. an. 36, Henr. III.* Richard I. performed great feats at the siege of Antioch in the Crusade. The Duellum was another of his exploits among the Saracens. Compare Walpole's *Anecd. Paint.* i. 10. Who mentions [the *Gesta Antiochiæ* above referred to]. He adds, that there was a chamber in the old palace of Westminster painted with this history in the reign of Henry III., and therefore called the Antioch Chamber: and another in the Tower.

⁴ Cod. 6783, fol. max. See Montfauc. *Cat. MSS.* p. 785 a.

⁵ The old *Guiron le Courtois* is said to be translated by "Luce chevalier seigneur du chasteau du Gal, [perhaps Sal., an abbreviation for Salisbury,] voisin prochain du Sablieres, par le commandement de tres noble et tres puissant prince M. le roy Henry jadis roy d'Angleterre."—*Bibl. Reg. Paris. Cod.* 7526.

⁶ [With regard to the period when the prose romances of the *Round Table* were compiled, and whether by order of King Henry II. or III., has long been a subject of discussion; but the writers on it have generally been too little acquainted with the subject to attempt to draw any certain or reasonable conclusions. A recent

From an ingenious correspondent, who has not given me the honour of his name, and who appears to be well acquainted with the manners and literature of Spain, I have received the following notices relating to the Spanish Trovadores, of which other particulars may be seen in the old French history of Languedoc. "At the end of the second volume of Mayan's *Origines de la Lingua Espanola*, 1737, is an extract from a MS. entitled, *Libro de la Arte de Trovar, o Gaya Sciencia, por Don Enrique de Villena*, said to exist in the library of the cathedral of Toledo, and perhaps to be found in other libraries of Spain. It has these particulars. The Trovadores had their origin at Toulouse, about the middle of the twelfth century. A Consistorio de la Gaya Sciencia was there founded by Ramon Vidal de Besalin, containing more than one hundred and twenty celebrated poets, and among these, princes, kings, and emperors. Their art was extended throughout Europe, and gave rise to the Italian and Spanish poetry, *servio el Garona de Hippocrene*. To Ramon Vidal de Besalin succeeded Jofre de Foxa, Monge negro, who enlarged the plan, and wrote what he called *Continuacion de trovar*. After him Belenguer de Troya came from Majorca, and compiled a treatise de *Figuras y Colores Rhetoricos*. And next Gul. Vedal of Majorca wrote *La Suma Vitulina*. To support the Gaya Sciencia at the poetical college of Toulouse, the King of France appropriated privileges and revenues: appointing seven Mantenedores, *que licieffen Leyes*. These constituted the Laws of Love, which were afterwards abridged by Guill. Moluier under the title *Tratado de las Flores*. Next Fray Ramon framed a system called Doctrinal, which was censured by Castilnon. From thence nothing was written in Spanish on the subject till the time of Don Enrique de Villena. So great was the credit of the Gay Science, that Don Juan, the first king of Arragon, who died 1393, sent an embassy to the king of France requesting that some Troubadours might be transmitted to teach this art in his kingdom. Accordingly two Mantenedores were dispatched from Toulouse, who founded a college for poetry in Barcelona, consisting of four Mantenedores, a cavalier, a master in theology, a master in laws, and an honourable citizen. Disputes about Don Juan's successor occasioned the removal of the college to Tortosa. But Don Ferdinand being elected king, Don Enrique de Villena was taken into his service; who restored the college, and was chosen principal. The subjects he proposed were sometimes the Praises of the Holy Virgin, of Arms, of Love, *y de buenas Costumbres*. An account of the ceremonies of their public acts then follows, in which

writer, however, M. Paulin Paris, in his account of the French MSS. preserved in the Bibliothèque du Roi, 8vo. Par. 1836, more critically considered the history of these remarkable compositions, and has produced a passage from the Chronicle of Helinand, (who brings down his work to the year 1204, and died in 1227,) which proves satisfactorily that the prose romance of the *Saint Graal* was composed in the twelfth century, a fact confirmed by the lines quoted by Warton from Fauchet. Now as Robert de Borron, who composed the *Saint Graal*, wrote also the romance of *Merlin* and the first part of *Lancelot*, we must necessarily refer the period of their composition to the reign of Henry II.—M.]

every composition was recited, being written 'en papeles Damasquinos dediverfos colores, con letras de oro y de platau, et illuminaduras formosas, lo major qua cada una podio.' The best performance had a crown of gold placed upon it; and the author, being presented with a *joya* or prize, received a licence to *cantar y decir in publico*. He was afterwards conducted home in form, escorted among others by two Mantenedores, and preceded by minstrels and trumpets, where he gave an entertainment of confections and wine."

There seems to have been a similar establishment at Amsterdam, called Rhederiicker camer, or the Chamber of Rhetoricians, mentioned by Isaacus Pontanus, who adds, "Sunt autem hi rhetores viri amœni et poetici spiritus, qui lingua vernacula, aut prosa aut versa oratione, comœdias, tragœdias, subindeque et mutas personas, et facta maiorum notantes, magna spectantium voluptate exhibent." In the preceding chapter, he says that this fraternity of rhetoricians erected a temporary theatre at the solemn entry of Prince Maurice into Amsterdam in 1594, where they exhibited in dumb show the history of David and Goliath.² Meteranus, in his Belgic history, speaks largely of the annual prizes, assemblies, and contests of the guilds or colleges of the rhetoricians in Holland and the Low Countries. They answered in rhyme questions proposed by the Dukes of Burgundy and Brabant. At Ghent, in 1539, twenty of these colleges met with great pomp, to discuss an ethical question, and each gave a solution in a moral comedy, magnificently presented in the public theatre. In 1561, the rhetorical guild of Antwerp, called the Violet, challenged all the neighbouring cities to a decision of the same sort. On this occasion, three hundred and forty rhetoricians of Brussels appeared on horseback, richly but fantastically habited, accompanied with an infinite variety of pageantries, sports and shows. These had a garland, as a reward for the superior splendour of their entry. Many days were spent in determining the grand questions: during which there were feastings, bonfires, farces, tumbling, and every popular diversion.³

In Benet College Library at Cambridge, there is [part of] an English poem on the Sangreal and [Merlin], containing forty thousand verses.⁴ The MS. is imperfect both at the beginning and at the end.

¹ *Rer. et Urb. Amst.* lib. ii. c. xvi. p. 118, ed. 1611, fol.

² *Ibid.* c. xv. p. 117.

³ *Belg. Hist. Universal.* fol. 1597, lib. i. pp. 31, 32.

⁴ MS. lxxx. Edited by F. J. Furnivall for the Roxburghe Club, 1862-6, 2 vols. The reader, who is desirous of forming more correct opinions upon the subject, is referred to M. Raynouard's *Poésies des Troubadours* (*Lexique Roman*, 1838, i.) a work which has done more towards forming a just understanding of the merits of Provençal poetry, and the extent and value of Provençal literature, than any publication which has hitherto appeared. The mass of evidence there adduced in favour of the early efforts of the Provençal muse must effectually silence every theory attempting to confine song and romantic fiction to any particular age or country.—*Price*. Mr. R. Taylor also refers us to M. Rochemont's *Parnasse Occitanien*, 1819, Mr. E. Taylor's *Lays of the Minnefingers*, 1825, and to De la Rue's *Hist. of Northern French Poetry*.]

The title at the head of the first page is *Aba Arthuri Regis*, written probably by Joceline, chaplain and secretary to Archbishop Parker. The narrative, which appears to be on one continued subject, is divided into books or sections of unequal length. It is a translation made from Robert [de] Borron's French romance[s of the *Saint Graal* and *Merlin*] by Henry Lonelich, Skinner, a name which I never remember to have seen among those of the English poets. The diction is of the age of Henry VI. Borel, in his *Treſor de Recherches et Antiquitez Gaubioises et Francoises*, says, "Il y'a un Roman ancien intitule le Conqueste de Sangreall," &c. [In the recent edition of the *Saint Graal*] Robert [de] Borron's French [prose] romance [is printed in parallel columns with Lonelich's translation]. The diligence and accuracy of Mr. Nasmith have furnished me with the following transcript from Lonelich's translation in Benet College Library:—

Thanne passeth forth this storye with al,
That is cleped of som men Seynt Graal;
Also the Sank Ryall iclepid it is
Of mochel peple with owten mys.

Now of al this storie have I mad an ende
That is schwede of Celidoigne, and now forthere to wend,
And of anothir brawnche most we begynne,
Of the storye that we clepen prophet Merlynne,
Wiche that Maister Robert of Borron
Owt of Latyn it transletted hol and soun;
Onlich into the langage of Frawnce
This storie he drowgh be adventure and chaunce;
And doth Merlynne insten with Sank Ryall,
For the ton storie the tothir medlyth withal,
After the satting of the forſeid Robert
That somtym is transletted in Middilerd.
And I, as an unkonng man trewely,
Into Engliſch have drawn this storye;
And though that to 3ow not plesyng it be,
3it that ful excused 3e wolde haven me
Of my neclegence and unkonngenge,
On me to taken swich a thinge,
Into owre modris tonge for to endite,
The swettere to sowne to more and lyte,
And more cler to 3oure undirſtondyng
Thanne owthir Frensh other Latyn to my supposing.
And therefore atte the ende of this storye
A pater noster 3e wolden for me preye,
For me that Herry Lonelich hyhte;
And greteth owre lady ful of myhte.
Hartelich with an ave that 3e hir bede,
This processe the bettere I myhte procede,
And bringen this book to a good ende:
Now thereto Jesu Crist grace me sende,
And than an ende there offen myhte be,
Now good Lord graunt me for charite.

Thanne Merlyn to Blasye cam anon,
And there to hym he seide thus son:
"Blasye, thou schalt suffren gret peyne

This storye to an ende to bringen certeyne ;
 And 3it schall I suffren mochel more."
 How so, Merlyn, quod Blafye there.
 "I shall be sowht," quod Merlyne tho,
 "Owt from the west with messengeris mo,
 And they that scholen comen to seken me,
 They have maad sewrawnce, I telle the,
 Me forto slen for any thing,
 This sewrawnce hav they mad to her kyng.
 But whanne they me sen, and with me speke,
 No power they schol hav on me to ben awreke,
 For with hem hens moſte I gon,
 And thou into othir partyes schalt wel fon,
 To hem that hav the holy vessel
 Which that is icleped the Seynt Graal ;
 And wete thow wel and ek forsothe,
 That thow and ek this storye bothe
 Ful wel beherd now schall it be,
 And also beloved in many contre ;
 And has that will knowen in fertaygne
 What kynges that weren in grete Bretaygne
 Sithan that Christendom thedyr was browht,
 They scholen hem fynde has so that it sawht
 In the storye of Brwttes book ;
 There scholen 3e it fynde and 3e weten look,
 Which that Martyn de Bewre tranſlated here
 From Latyn into Romaunce in his manere.
 But leve me now of Brwttes book,
 And aftyr this storye now lete us look.

After this latter extract, which is to be found nearly in the middle of the MS., [the romance of *Merlin* begins, and] the scene and personages of the poem are changed ; and King Evalach, King Mordreins, Sir Nafciens, Joseph of Arimathea, and the other heroes of the former part, give place to King Arthur, King Brangors, King Loth, and the monarchs and champions of the British line. In a paragraph, very similar to the second of these extracts, the following note is written in the hand of the text, "Henry Lonelich, Skynner, that translated this boke out of Frenshe into Englyshe, at the instaunce of Harry Barton."

The *Quest of the Sangreal*, as it is called, in which devotion and necromancy are equally concerned, makes a considerable part of King Arthur's romantic history, and was one grand object of the knights of the Round Table. He who achieved this hazardous adventure was to be placed there in the "siege perillous," or seat of danger. "When Merlyn had ordayne the rounde table, he said, by them that be fellowes of the rounde table the truthe of the Sangreall shall be well knowne, &c.—They which heard Merlyn say soe, said thus to Merlyn, Sithence there shall be such a knight, thou shouldest ordayne by thy craft a siege that no man should sitte therein, but he onlie which shall passe all other knights.—Then Merlyn made the siege perillous," &c.¹ Sir Lancelot, "who is come but of the eighth degree from our Lord Jesus Christ," is represented as the chief adventurer in this honourable expedition.² At a celebration of the

¹ [Malory's] *Mort d'Arthur*, B. xiv. c. 2.

² *Ibid.* B. iii. c. 35.

feast of Pentecost at Camelot by King Arthur, the Sangreal suddenly enters the hall, "but there was no man might see it nor who bare it," and the knights, as by some invisible power, are instantly supplied with a feast of the choicest dishes.¹ Originally *Le Brut*, *Lancelot*, *Tristan*, and the *Saint Greal* were separate histories; but they were [subsequently brought into a certain degree of connection—perhaps at a very early date, and some confusion may also have arisen from the carelessness or ignorance of copyists]. The book of the *Sangreal*, a separate work, is referred to in *Morte Arthur*. "Now after that the quest of the *Sanggreall* was fulfilled, and that all the knyghtes that were leste alive were come agayne to the Rounde Table, as the booke of the *Sanggreall* makethe mencion, than was there grete joye in the courte. And especiallie King Arthur and quene Guenever made grete joye of the remnaunt that were come home. And passynge glad was the kinge and quene of syr Launcelot and syr Bors, for they had been passynge longe awaye in the quest of the *Sanggreall*. Then, as the Frenche booke sayeth, syr Lancelot," &c.² And again, in the same romance: "Whan syr Bors had tolde him [Arthur] of the adventures of the *Sanggreall*, such as had befallen hym and his felawes,—all this was made in grete bookes, and put in almyres at Salisbury."³ The former part of this passage is almost literally translated from one in the French romance of *Tristan*.⁴ "Quant Boort ot conte laventure del Saint Graal teles com eles estoient avenues, eles furent mises en escrit, gardees en lamere de Salisbieres, dont Mestre Galtier Map l'estrest a faist son liure du Saint Graal por lamor du roy Herri son sengor, qui fist lestoire tralater del Latin en romanz."⁵ In the Royal Library at Paris there is *Le Roman de Tristan et Iseult, traduit de Latin en François, par Lucas, Chevalier du Gast près de Sarisberi, Anglois, avec figures*.⁶ And again,⁷ *Liveres de Tristan mis en François par Lucas chevalier sieur de chateau du Gat*.⁸ *Almyres* in the English, and *l'Amere*, properly *aumoire* in the French, mean, I believe, *Presses*, *Chests*, or *Archives*. *Ambry*, in this sense, is not an uncommon old English word. From the second part of the first

¹ [Malory's] *Mort d'Arthur*, B. iii. c. 35.

² B. xviii. cap. 1.

³ B. xvii. c. 23. The romance says that King Arthur "made grete clerkes com before him that they should cronicle the adventures of these goode knyghtes." [See *infra*, Section xi.]

⁴ Bibl. Reg. MSS. 20 D. ii. fol. antep.

⁵ See *infra*, sect. xxviii. note. [No doubt the "chastel de Gast près de Salisberi" is referred to here as well as in the next paragraph; it appears to have been in the canton of St. Severe, in the department of Calvados.—De la Rue, *Essais sur les Bardes*, &c., vol. ii. p. 231, quoted by Sir F. Madden. See especially M. Paulin Paris's introduction to his *Romans de la Table Ronde mis en nouveau Langage*, Paris, 1868.—F.]

⁶ Montfauc. Catal. MSS. Cod. Reg. Paris, Cod. 6776, fol. max.

⁷ Cod. 6956, fol. max.

⁸ There is printed, *Le Roman du noble et vaillant Chevalier Tristan fils du noble roy Meliadus de Leonnoys, par Luce, chevalier, seigneur du chasteau de Gast*. Rouen, 1489, fol. [But see Brunet, *dern.* edit. v. 955. All the poems relating to this hero were collected by M. Michel, 3 vols. 12mo.]

French quotation which I have distinguished by italics, it appears that Walter Mapes,¹ a learned archdeacon in England, under the reign of Henry II., wrote a French *Sangreal*, which he translated from Latin, by the command of that monarch. Under the idea that Walter Mapes was a writer on this subject, and in the fabulous way, some critics may be induced to think, that the Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, from whom Geoffrey of Monmouth professes to have received the materials of his history, was this Walter Mapes, and not Walter Calenius, who was also an eminent scholar, and an archdeacon of Oxford. Geoffrey says in his Dedication to Robert Earl of Gloucester, "Finding nothing said in Bede or Gildas of King Arthur and his successors, although their actions highly deserved to be recorded in writing, and are orally celebrated by the British bards, I was much surprised at so strange an omission. At length Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, a man of great eloquence, and learned in foreign histories, offered me an ancient book in the British or Armorican tongue which, in one unbroken story and an elegant diction, related the deeds of the British kings from Brutus to Cadwallader. At his request, although unused to rhetorical flourishes, and contented with the simplicity of my own plain language, I undertook the translation of that book into Latin."² Some writers suppose that Geoffrey pretended to have received his materials from Archdeacon Walter, by way of authenticating his romantic history. These notices seem to disprove that suspicion. In the year 1488, a French romance was published, in two magnificent folio volumes, entitled *Histoire de Roy Artus et des Chevaliers de la Table Ronde*. The first volume was printed at Rouen, the second at Paris. It contains in four detached parts the Birth and Achievements of King Arthur, the Life of Sir Launcelot, the Adventure of the Sangreal, and the Death of Arthur and his Knights. In the body of the work, this romance more than once is said to be written by Walter Map or Mapes, and by the command of his master King Henry. For instance :³ "Cy fine Maistre Gualtier Map son traittie du Saint Graal." Again :⁴ "Après ce que Maistre Gualtier Map eut traictie des aventures du Saint Graal assez soufifamment, sicomme il luy sembloit, il fut ad adviz au roy Henry son seigneur, que ce quil avoit fait ne debuit souffrire sil ne racontoys la fin de ceulx dont il fait mention.—Et commence Maistre Gualtier en telle manier ceste derniere partie." This derniere partie treats of the death of King Arthur and his knights. At the end of the second tome there is this colophon : "Cy fine le dernier volume de La Table Ronde,

¹ [From a passage in the French romance of *Lancelot du Lac*, M. Roquefort is of opinion that there were two persons of this name. In that he is styled "messire Gautier Map qui fut chevalier le roi." But so much confusion prevails upon this subject, that it is almost impossible to name the author of any prose romance.—*Price*.]

² B. i. ch. i. See also B. xii. ch. xx.

³ Tom. ii. sign. Dd i. end of *Partie du Saint Graal*.

⁴ Tom. ii. ch. i. sign. Dd ii. (*La derniere partie*).

faissant mencion des fais et proesses de monseigneur Launcelot du Lac et dautres plusieurs nobles et vaillans hommes ses compagnons. Compile et extraiet precisement et au juste des vrayes hystoires faisantes de ce mencion par tresnotable et trefexpert historien Maistre Gualtier Map," &c. The passage quoted above from the royal MS. in the British Museum, where King Arthur orders the adventures of the Sangreal to be chronicled, is thus represented in this romance: "Et quant Boort eut compte depuis le commencement jusques a la fin les avantures du Saint Graal telles comme il les avoit veues, &c. Si fist le roy Artus rediger et mettre par escript aus dictz clers tout ci que Boort avoit compte," &c.¹ At the end of the royal MS. at Paris,² entitled *Lancelot du Lac mis en François par Robert de Borron par le commandement de Henri roi d'Angleterre*, it is said that Messire Robert de Borron translated into French not only Lancelot, but also the story of the *Saint Graal*: "Li tout du Latin du Gautier Mappe." The French antiquaries in this sort of literature are of opinion that the word Latin here signifies Italian, and that by this Latin of Gualtier Mapes we are to understand English versions of those romances made from the Italian language; [but such a notion seems scarcely deserving of serious discussion.] The French history of the *Sangreal*, printed at Paris in 1516, is said in the title to be translated from Latin into French rhymes, and from thence into French prose by Robert [de] Borron. This romance was reprinted in 1523.

[Malory's] *Morte Arthur*, finished in the year 1469, [is an abstract of certain old French Arthur romances.]³ But the matter of the whole is so much of the same sort, and the heroes and adventures of one story are so mutually and perpetually blended with those of another, that no real unity or distinction is preserved. It consists of twenty-one books. The first seven books treat of King Arthur. The eighth, ninth, and tenth, of Sir Tristram. The eleventh and twelfth, of Sir Lancelot.⁴ The thirteenth of the Saingral, which is also called Sir Lancelot's book. The fourteenth, of Sir Percival. The fifteenth, again, of Sir Launcelot. The sixteenth, of Sir Gawaine. The seventeenth, of Sir Galahad. [But all the four last-mentioned books are also called the *hystorie of the holy Sanggreall*.] The eighteenth and nineteenth, of miscellaneous adventures. The two last, of

¹ *Ibid.* tom. ii. *La Partie du Saint Graal*, ch. ult. Just before it is said, "Le roy Artus fist venir les clerks qui les aventures aux chevallieres mettoient en escript" — as in *Mort d'Arthur*.

² *Cod.* 6783.

³ [The only MS. exhibiting in French the story of *Balin and Balan*, which Sir Thomas Malory has in his English, (printed by Caxton in 1485,) is at present in the possession of Mr. Henry Huth. It is a folio volume on vellum, with initial letters, but no miniatures. Three or four leaves, including the first, are deficient. It exhibits in those parts where it covers the same ground as the English work, marked variations from the latter. This MS. is in preparation for the press by Mr. Furnivall.]

⁴ But at the end, this twelfth book is called "the second booke of Syr Trystram." And it is added, "But here is no reherfall of the thyrd booke [of *Sir Tristram*."]

King Arthur and all the knights. Lwhyd mentions a Welsh Sangreall which, he says, contains various fables of King Arthur and his knights, &c.¹ *Morte Arthur* is often literally translated² from various and very ancient detached histories of the heroes of the round table, which I have examined; and on the whole, it nearly resembles Walter Map's romance above mentioned, printed at Rouen and Paris, both in matter and disposition.

I take this opportunity of observing, that a very valuable vellum fragment of *Le Brut*, of which the writing is uncommonly beautiful and of high antiquity, containing part of the story of Merlin and King Vortigern, covers a MS. of Chaucer's *Astrolabe*, presented, together with several Oriental MSS., to the Bodleian library by Thomas Hedges, of Alderton in Wiltshire; a gentleman possessed of many curious MSS. and Greek and Roman coins, and most liberal in his communications.

But not only the pieces of the French minstrels, written in French, were circulated in England about this time, but translations of these pieces were made into English which, containing much of the French idiom, together with a sort of poetical phraseology before unknown, produced various innovations in our style. These translations, it is probable, were enlarged with additions, or improved with alterations of the story. Hence it was that Robert de Brunne, as we have already seen, complained of strange and quaint English, of the changes made in the story of *Sir Tristram*, and of the liberties assumed by his cotemporary minstrels in altering facts and coining new phrases. Yet these circumstances enriched our tongue, and extended the circle of our poetry. And for what reason these fables were so much admired and encouraged, in preference to the languid poetical chronicles of Robert of Gloucester and Robert of Brunne, it is obvious to conjecture. The gallantries of chivalry were exhibited with new splendour, and the times were growing more refined. The Norman fashions were adopted even in Wales. In the year 1176, a splendid carousal, after the manner of the Normans, was given by a Welsh prince. This was Rhees ap Gryffyth king of South Wales, who at Christmas made a great feast in the castle of Cardigan, then called Aber-Teify, which he ordered to be proclaimed throughout all Britain; and to "which came many strangers, who were honourably received and worthily entertained, so that no man departed discontented. And among deeds of arms and other shewes, Rhees caused all the poets of Wales³ to come thither; and provided chairs for them to be set in

¹ *Archæolog. Brit.* Tit. vii. p. 265, col. 2. [It is only a translation of Map's French *Queste del Saint Graal*.]

² [In Hoffmann's *Hore Belgice*, 1830, according to Mr. R. Taylor, is an account of various Flemish versions of these romances.]

³ In illustration of the argument pursued in the text we may observe, that about this time the English minstrels flourished with new honours and rewards. At the magnificent marriage of [Joan Plantagenet, grand-daughter of Edward I., every king minstrel received xl. shillings. See Anstis, *Ord. Gart.* ii. p. 303; and Dugd. *Mon.* i. 355. In the same reign a multitude of minstrels attended the ceremony of knighting Prince Edward on the Feast of Pentecost. They entered the hall, while

his hall, where they should dispute together to try their cunning and gift in their several faculties, where great rewards and rich gifts were appointed for the overcomers.¹ Tilts and tournaments, after a long disuse, revived with superior lustre in the reign of Edward I. Roger [de] Mortimer, a magnificent baron of that reign, erected in his stately castle of Kenilworth a Round Table, at which he restored the rites of King Arthur. He entertained in this castle the constant retinue of one hundred knights and as many ladies, and invited thither adventurers in chivalry from every part of Christendom.² These fables were therefore an image of the manners, customs, mode of life, and favourite amusements, which now prevailed not only in France but in England, accompanied with all the decorations which fancy could invent, and recommended by the graces of romantic fiction. They complimented the ruling passion of the times, and cherished in a high degree the fashionable sentiments of ideal honour and fantastic fortitude.

Among Richard's French minstrels, the names only of three are recorded. I have already mentioned Blondel de Nesle. Fouquet of Marseilles³ and [Gauç]elme Fayditt,⁴ many of whose compositions

the king was sitting at dinner surrounded with the new knights. Nic. Trivet. *Annal.* p. 342, edit. Oxon. The whole number knighted was two hundred and sixty-seven. Dugd. *Bar.* i. 80, b. Robert de Brunne says this was the greatest royal feast since King Arthur's at Carleon, concerning which he adds, "thereof yit men rime," p. 332. In the wardrobe-roll of the same prince, under the year 1306, we have this entry: "Will. Fox et Cradoco socio suo cantatoribus cantantibus coram Principe et aliis magnatibus in comitiva sua existente apud London, &c. xx s." Again, "Willo Ffox et Cradoco socio suo cantantibus in presentia principis et al. Magnatum apud London de dono ejusdem dni per manus Johis de Ringwode, &c. 8 die jan. xx s." Afterwards, in the same roll, four shillings are given, "Ministrallo comitis Marechal. facienti menestralciam suam coram principe, &c. in comitiva sua existent. apud Penreth." *Comp. Garderob. Edw. Princip. Wall.* ann. 35 Edw. I. This I chiefly cite to shew the greatness of the gratuity. Minstrels were part of the establishment of the households of our nobility before the year 1307. Thomas Earl of Lancaster allows at Christmas cloth, or *vestis liberata*, to his household minstrels at a great expence, in the year 1314. Stow's *Surv. Lond.* p. 134, edit. 1618. See *supr.* Soon afterwards the minstrels claimed such privileges that it was thought necessary to reform them by an edict in 1315. See Hearne's *Append. Leiland. Collesian.* vi. 36. Yet, as I have formerly remarked in *Observations on Spenser's Faerie Queene*, we find a person in the character of a minstrel entering Westminster-hall on horseback while Edward I. was solemnizing the feast of Pentecost as above, and presenting a letter to the king. See Walsing. *Hist. Angl. Franc.* p. 109.

¹ Powell's *Wales*, 237, edit. 1584. Who adds, that the bards of "Northwales won the prize, and amongst the musicians Rees's owne household men were counted best." Rhees was one of the Welsh princes who, the preceding year, attended the Parliament at Oxford, and were magnificently entertained in the castle of that city by Henry II. Lord Lyttelton's *Hist. Hen. II.* edit. iii. p. 302. It may not be foreign to our present purpose to mention here, that Henry II., in the year 1179, was entertained by Welsh bards at Pembroke castle in Wales, in his passage into Ireland. Powell, *ut supr.* p. 238. The subject of their songs was the history of King Arthur. See Selden on *Polyalb.* s. iii. p. 53.

² Drayton's *Heroic. Epist.* Mort. Isabel. v. 53. And Notes *ibid.* from Walsingham.

³ Mr. Thoms refers us to Diez (*Leben und Werke der Troubadours*, f. 234-51) for

still remain, were also among the poets patronised and entertained in England by Richard. They are both celebrated and sometimes imitated by Dante and Petrarch. Fayditt, a native of Avignon, united the professions of music and verse; and the Provençals used to call his poetry *de bon mots e de bon son*. Petrarch is supposed to have copied, in his *Triumph d'Amore*, many strokes of high imagination from a poem written by Fayditt on a similar subject; particularly in his description of the Palace of Love. But Petrarch has not left Fayditt without his due panegyric: he says that Fayditt's tongue was shield, helmet, sword, and spear.¹ He is likewise in Dante's *Paradiso*. Fayditt was extremely profuse and voluptuous. On the death of King Richard, he travelled on foot for nearly twenty years, seeking his fortune; and during this long pilgrimage he married a nun of Aix in Provence, who was young and lively, and could accompany her husband's tales and sonnets with her voice. Fouquet de Marfeilles had a beautiful person, a ready wit, and a talent for singing; these popular accomplishments recommended him to the courts of King Richard, Raymond, count of Toulouse, and Beral de Baulx; where, as the French would say, *il fit les delices de cour*. He fell in love with Adelfia the wife of Beral, whom he celebrated in his songs. One of his poems is entitled, *Las complanchas de Beral*. On the death of all his lords, he received absolution for his sin of poetry, turned monk, and at length was made Archbishop of Toulouse.² But among the

an account of Fouquet. Twenty-five of his songs are extant, of which two are printed in Raynouard's *Lexique Romain*, i. 341-5.)

[⁴ See Raynouard, *Lexique*, ed. 1838, i. 368. Mr. Thoms remarks that the object of Fayditt's admiration and poetical ardour was Maria de Ventadour, daughter of Boso II. and wife of Ebles IV. Vicomte de Ventadour, "a lady of refined taste in poetry, and celebrated by the troubadours and their historians as the noblest of her sex." A considerable number of Fayditt's pieces is extant.]

¹ Triumf. Am. c. iv.

² See Beauchamps, *Recherch. Theatr. Fr.* 1735, pp. 7, 9. It was Jeffrey, Richard's brother, who patronised Jeffrey Rudell, a famous troubadour of Provence, who is also celebrated by Petrarch. This poet had heard, from the adventurers in the Crusades, the beauty of a Countess of Tripoli highly extolled. He became enamoured from imagination; embarked for Tripoli, fell sick in the voyage through the fever of expectation, and was brought on shore at Tripoli half expiring. The countess, having received the news of the arrival of this gallant stranger, hastened to the shore and took him by the hand. He opened his eyes, and, at once overpowered by his disease and her kindness, had just time to say inarticulately that, having seen her, he died satisfied. The countess made him a most splendid funeral, and erected to his memory a tomb of porphyry, inscribed with an epitaph in Arabian verse. She commanded his sonnets to be richly copied and illuminated with letters of gold; was seized with a profound melancholy, and turned nun. I will endeavour to translate one of the sonnets which he made on his voyage. *Yrat et dolent m'en partray*, &c. It has some pathos and sentiment, "I should depart pensive, but for this love of mine *so far away*; for I know not what difficulties I have to encounter, my native land being *so far away*. Thou who hast made all things, and who formed this love of mine *so far away*, give me strength of body, and then I may hope to see this love of mine *so far away*. Surely my love must be founded on true merit, as I love one *so far away*! If I am easy for a moment, yet I feel a thousand pains for her who is *so far away*. No other love ever touched my heart than this for her *so*

many French minstrels invited into England by Richard, it is natural to suppose, that some of them made their magnificent and heroic patron a principal subject of their compositions.¹ And this subject, by means of the constant communication between both nations, probably became no less fashionable in France; especially if we take into the account the general popularity of Richard's character, his love of chivalry, his gallantry in the Crusades, and the favours which he so liberally conferred on the minstrels of that country. We have a romance now remaining in English rhyme, which celebrates the achievements of this illustrious monarch. It is entitled *Richard Guer de Lyon*, and was probably translated from the French about the [reign of Edward I.] That it was, at least, translated from the French, appears from the prologue:

In Fraunce these rymes were wroght,
Every Englyshe ne knew it not.

From which also we may gather the popularity of his story, in these lines:

King Richard is the beste
That is found in any geste.

[It was printed by W. de Worde in 1509 and 1528.]² That this romance, either in French or English, existed before the year 1300, is evident from its being cited by Robert of Gloucester, in his relation of Richard's reign:

In Romance of him imade me it may finde iwrite.³

This tale is also mentioned as a romance of some antiquity among other famous romances, in the prologue of a voluminous metrical translation of Guido de Colonna, [wrongly] attributed to Lidgate.⁴

far away. A fairer than she never touched any heart, either near, or *far away*." Every fourth line ends with *du luench*. See Nostradamus, &c.

[The original poem, of which the above is only a fragment, will be found in the third volume of M. Raynouard's *Choix des Poésies Originales des Troubadours*. [*Lexique Roman*, 1838, i. 341.] The seeming inaccuracies of Warton's translation may have arisen from the varied readings of his original text. The fragment published by M. Sismondi differs essentially from the larger poem given by M. Raynouard.—*Price*.]

¹ Fayditt is said to have written a *Chant funèbre* on his death. Beauchamps, *ibid.* p. 10.

[For specimens of the poetry of Fouquet de Marbeilles and Gauçelm Faidit the reader is referred to the first volume of M. Raynouard's excellent work already noticed. The second volume of the old edition contains a prose translation of Faidit's *Planh* on the death of Richard I.—*Price*.]

² There is a MS. copy of it in Caius College, Cambridge.

³ *Chron.* p. 487.

⁴ "Many speken of men that romaunces rede," &c.

"Of Bevys, Gy, and Gawayne,
Of Kyng Rychard, and Owayne,
Of Trifram, and Percyvayle,
Of Rowland ris, and Aglavaule,
Of Archeroun, and of Octavian,
Of Charles, and of Cassibelan,
Of K[H]eveloke, Horne, and of Wade,
In romances that of hem bi made

It is likewise frequently quoted by Robert de Brunne, who wrote much about the same time with Robert of Gloucester :

Whan Philip tille Acres cam, litelle was his dede,
The Romance fais gret sham who so that pas¹ will rede.
The Romancer it fais Richard did make a pele.²—
The Romance of Richard fais he wan the toun.³—

That gestours dos of him gestes
At mangeres and at great festes,
Here dedis ben in remembraunce
In many fair romaunce.
But of the worthiest wyght in wede,
That ever bystrode any fiede,
Spekes no man, ne in romaunce redes,
Off his battayle ne of his dedes ;
Off that battayle spekes no man,
There all prowes of knyghtes began,
Thet was forsothe of the batayle
Thet at Troye was faunfayle,
Of swythe a fyght as ther was one, &c.
For ther were in thet on fide,
Sixti kynges and dukes of pride.—
And there was the best bodi in dede
That ever yit wered wede,
Sithen the world was made so ferre,
That was Ector in eche werre," &c.

Laud. K 76 [595], f. 1, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Cod. membr. [There is no authority, as Sir F. Madden has stated, for attributing this to Lydgate.] Whether this poem was written by Lidgate, I shall not enquire at present. I shall only say here, that it is totally different from either of Lidgate's two poems on the Theban and Trojan Wars; and that the manuscript, which is beautifully written, appears to be of the age of Henry VI.

By the way, it appears from this quotation that there was an old romance called *Wade*. Wade's *Bote* is mentioned in Chaucer's *Marchaunts Tale*, v. 940 :

"And eke these olde wivis, god it wote,
They connin so much crafte in Wadis bote."

Again *Troil. Crefs.* iii. 615 :

"He songe, the plaide, he tolde a tale of Wade."

Where, says the glossarist, "A romantick story, famous at that time, of one Wade, who performed many strange exploits, and met with many wonderful adventures in his boat *Guiglot*." Speght says that Wade's history was *long and fabulous*.

[The story of Wade is also alluded to in the following passage taken from the romance of Sir Bevis :

"Swiche bataille ded neuer non
Cristene man of flesch and bon—
Of a dragoun thar befide,
That Beues slough ther in that tide,
Sawe Sire Launcelot de Lake,
He faught with a fur-drake,
And Wade dede also,
And neuer knyghtes bouthe thai to."—*Price*.

A personage of similar name occurs in the *Vilkinsa Saga* and in the *Scöp, or Gleeman's Tale*, l. 46. The English myth is referred to in the metrical *Morte Arthure*, edited by Halliwell, 1847, and again for the Early English Text Society. M. Michel has published a *brochure*, entitled *Wade: Lettre a M. Henri Ternaux-Compans, &c. sur une Tradition Angloise du Moyen Age*. Paris, 1837. 8vo.]

¹ Passus. Compare Percy's *Reliques*, ii. 66, 398, edit. 1767.

² Percy's *Rel.* ii. p. 157. ³ *Ibid.*

He tellis in the Romance sen Acres wonnen was
 How God gaf him fair chance at the bataile of Caifas.¹—
 Sithen at Japhet was slayn fauelle his stede
 The Romans tellis gret pas of his douhty dede.²—
 Soudan so curteys never drank no wyne,
 The same the Romans fais that is of Richardyn.³
 In prifoun was he bounden, as the Romance fais,
 In cheynes and lede wonden, that hevy was of peis.⁴

I am not indeed quite certain, whether or no in some of these instances, Robert de Brunne may not mean his French original Peter Langtoft. But in the following lines he manifestly refers to our romance of *Richard*, between which and Langtoft's chronicle he expressly makes a distinction. And in the conclusion of the reign:

I knowe no more to ryme of dedes of kyng Richard:
 Who so wille his dedes all the sothe se,
 The romance that men reden, ther is propirte.
 This that I have said it is Pers sawe.⁵
 Als he in romance⁶ lad, ther after gan I drawe.⁷

It is not improbable that both these rhyming chroniclers cite from the English translation: if so, we may fairly suppose that this romance was translated in the reign of Edward I. This circumstance throws the French original to a still higher period.

In the Royal Library at Paris there is *Histoire de Richard Roi d'Angleterre et de Maquemoire d'Irlande en rime*.⁸ Richard is the last of our monarchs whose achievements were adorned by fiction and fable. If not a superstitious belief of the times, it was an hyperbolical invention started by the minstrels, which soon grew into a tradition, and is gravely recorded by the chroniclers, that Richard carried with him to the Crusades King Arthur's celebrated sword Caliburn, and that he presented it as a gift or relic of inestimable value, to Tancred King of Sicily, in the year 1191.⁹ Robert of Brunne calls this sword a *jewel*.¹⁰

And Richard at that time gaf him a faire juelle,
 The gude swerd Caliburne which Arthur luffed so well.¹¹

¹ p. 175. [Warton's conjecture is perfectly correct in most of these instances. They contain allusions to circumstances which are unnoticed by Langtoft.—*Price*.]

² Percy's *Rel.* ii. p. 175.

³ *Ibid.* p. 188.

⁴ p. 198.

⁵ "The words of my original *Peter Langtoft*."

⁶ In French.

⁷ p. 205. Du Cange recites an old French MS. prose romance, entitled *Histoire de la Mort de Richard Roy d'Angleterre. Gloſſ. Lat. Ind. Auſt.* i. p. cxcii. [But this is upon the deposition of Richard II.] There was one, perhaps the same, among the MSS. of Martin of Palgrave.

⁸ Num. 7532. [An account of this historical poem will be found in Mr. Strutt's *Regal Antiquities*. It relates entirely to the Irish wars of Richard II. and the latter part of the reign of that unfortunate monarch.—*Price*. The poem is printed entire in *Archæologia*, xx.]

⁹ In return for several vessels of gold and silver, horses, bales of silk, four great ships, and fifteen galleys, given by Tancred. Benediſt. Abb. p. 642, edit. Heame.

¹⁰ *Jocale*. In the general and true sense of the word. Robert de Brunne, in another place, calls a rich pavilion a *jowelle*, p. 152.

¹¹ *Chron.* p. 153. [Sir F. Madden refers for an account of *Caliburne* to M. Michel's *Tristan*, lxxv.]

Indeed the Arabian writer of the life of the Sultan Saladin mentions some exploits of Richard almost incredible. But, as Lord Lyttelton justly observes, this historian is highly valuable on account of the knowledge he had of the facts which he relates. It is from this writer we learn, in the most authentic manner, the actions and negotiations of Richard in the course of the enterprise for the recovery of the Holy Land, and all the particulars of that memorable war.¹

But before I produce a specimen of Richard's English romance, I stand still to give some more extracts from its prologues, which contain matter much to our present purpose: as they have very fortunately preserved the subjects of many romances, perhaps metrical, then fashionable both in France and England. And on these therefore, and their origin, I shall take this opportunity of offering some remarks:

Fele romanfes men make newe
Of good knyghtes strong and trewe:
Of hey dedys men rede romance,
Bothe in England and in Fraunce;
Of Rowelond and of Olyver,
And of everie Doseper,²
Of Alyfander and Charlemain,
Of Kyng Arthor and of Gawayn;
How they wer knyghtes good and curteys,
Of Turpyn and of Ocier Daneys.
Of Troye men rede in ryme,
What werre ther was in olde tyme;
Of Ector and of Achylles,
What folk they flewe in that pres, &c.³

And again, in a second prologue, after a pause has been made by the minstrel in the course of singing the poem:

Now hearken to my tale sothe,
Though I were yow an othe
I wole reden romaunces non
Of Paris,⁴ ne of Ypomydone,
Of Alisaundre, ne Charlemagne,
Of Arthour, ne of fere Gawain,
Nor of fere Launcelot the Lake,
Of Beffs, ne Guy, ne fere Sydrake,
Ne of Ury, ne of Octavian,
Ne of Hektor the strong man,
Ne of Jafon, neither of Hercules,
Ne of Eneas, neither Achilles.⁵

¹ See *Hist. of Hen. II.* vol. iv. p. 361, App.

² Charlemagne's twelve peers. *Douze Pairs.* Fr.

³ [The text has been corrected by Mr. Weber's edition of this romance, in his *Metrical Romances*, 1810.—*Price.*]

⁴ [The old printed copy reads Pertonafe,] perhaps Parthenope, or Parthenopeus.

⁵ Line 6657. To some of these romances the author of the MSS. *Lives of the Saints*, written about the year 1300, and cited above at large, alludes in a sort of prologue. See sect. i. *supr.*

“Wel auht we loug Cristendom that is so dere y bou3t,
With oure lordes herte blode that the spere hath y-sou3t.

Here, among others, some of the most capital and favourite stories of romance are mentioned, Arthur, Charlemagne, the Siege of Troy with its appendages, and Alexander the Great: and there are four authors of high esteem in the dark ages, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Turpin, Guido di Colonna, and Callisthenes, whose books were the grand repositories of these subjects, and contained most of the traditional fictions, whether of Arabian or classical origin, which constantly supplied materials to the writers of romance.

Men wilnethe more yhere of batayle of kyngis,
And of kny3tis hardy, that mochel is lefyngis.
Of Rouland and of Olyvere, and Gy of Warwyk,
Of Wawayen and Triftram that ne founde here y-like.
Who so loveth to here tales of fuche thinge,
Here he may y-here thyng that nys no lefyng,
Of poftoles and marteres that hardi kny3ttes were,
And ftedfaft were in bataile and fledde no3t for no fere," &c.

The anonymous author of *The boke of Stories called Curfor Mundi*, translated from the French, seems to have been of the same opinion. His work [is a history of the two Testaments]: but in the prologue he takes occasion to mention many tales of another kind, which were more agreeable to the generality of readers. MSS. Laud, K 53, f. 177, Bibl. Bodl.

"Men lykyn Jettis for to here
And romans rede in divers manere:
Of Alexandre the conquerour,
Of Julius Cesar the emperour,
Of Greece and Troy the strong stryf,
Ther many a man lost his lyf:
Of Brut, that baron bold of hand,
The first conquerour of Englonde;
Of kyng Artour that was so ryche,
Was non in hys tyme so ilyche:
Of wonders that among his knyghts felle,
And auntyrs dedyn, as men her telle,
As Gaweyn and othir full abyll,
Which that kept the round tabyll.
How kyng Charles and Rowland fawght
With Sarazins, nold thei be cawght;
Of Tryfram and Yfoude the swete,
How thei with love first gan mete.
Of kyng John and Isenbras,
Of Ydoyne and Amadas.
Stories of divers thynges,
Of princes, prelates and kynges:
Many songs of divers ryme,
As Engliih, French, and Latyne, &c.
This ylke boke is tranflate
Into Engliih tong to rede
For the love of Engliih lede,
For comyn folk of Englonde, &c.
Syldyn yt ys for any chaunce
Engliih tong preched is in Fraunce," &c.

See Montf. Par. MSS. 7540, and p. 123, *supr.* [Sir F. Madden cites other MSS. of the *Curfor Mundi* in the Bodleian, Adv. Lib. Edinb., at Göttingen, *et alibi*. The work is to be printed from MSS. in the Br. Mus. and at Cambridge by the Early English Text Society. Mr. Furnivall notes, that the MS. Cotton Vesp. A. iii. is the best in the Northern dialect: that at Trinity College, in a Midland one.]

But I do not mean to repeat here what has been already observed¹ concerning the writings of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Turpin. It will be sufficient to say at present, that these two fabulous historians recorded the achievements of Charlemagne and of Arthur: and that Turpin's history was artfully forged under the name of that archbishop about the year 1110, with a design of giving countenance to the Crusades from the example of so high an authority as Charlemagne, whose pretended visit to the holy sepulchre is described in the twentieth chapter.

As to the siege of Troy, it appears that both Homer's poems were unknown, at least not understood, in Europe from the abolition of literature by the Goths in the fourth century to the fourteenth. Geoffrey of Monmouth indeed, who wrote about the year 11[28], a man of learning for that age, produces Homer in attestation of a fact asserted in his history: but in such a manner as shows that he knew little more than Homer's name, and was but imperfectly acquainted with Homer's subject. Geoffrey says that Brutus, having ravaged the province of Aquitaine with fire and sword, came to a place where the city of Tours now stands, as Homer testifies.² But the Trojan story was still kept alive in two Latin pieces, which passed under the names of Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis. Dares' history of the destruction of Troy, as it was called, which purports to have been translated from the Greek of Dares Phrygius into Latin prose by Cornelius Nepos, is a wretched performance, and was forged under those specious names in the decline of Latin literature.³ Dictys Cretensis is a prose Latin history of the Trojan war, in six books, paraphrased about the reign of Dioclesian or Constantine by one Septimius from some Grecian history on the same subject, said to be discovered under a sepulchre by means of an earthquake in the city of Cnossus about the time of Nero, and to have been composed by Dictys, a Cretan and a soldier in the Trojan war. The fraud so frequently practised, of discovering copies of books in this extraordinary manner, in order to infer thence their high and indubitable antiquity, betrays itself. But that the present Latin Dictys had a Greek original, now lost, appears from the numerous grecisms with which it abounds, and from the literal correspondence of many passages with the Greek fragments of one Dictys cited by ancient authors. The Greek original was very probably forged under the

¹ See Dis. i.

² L. i. ch. 14.

³ In the Epistle prefixed, the pretended translator Nepos says, that he found this work at Athens in the handwriting of Dares. He adds, speaking of the controverted authenticity of Homer, "De ea re Athenis judicium fuit, cum pro infano Homerus haberetur, quod deos cum hominibus belligerasse descripsit." In which words he does not refer to any public decree of the Athenian judges, but to Plato's opinion in his *Republic*. Dares, with Dictys Cretensis next mentioned in the text, was first printed at Milan in 1477. Mabillon says, that a manuscript of the Pseudo-Dares occurs in the Laurentian library at Florence, upwards of eight hundred years old. *Mus. Ital.* i. p. 169. This work was abridged by Vincentius Bellovacensis, a friar of Burgundy, about the year 1244. See his *Specul. Histor.* lib. iii. 63.

name of Dictys, a traditional writer on the subject, in the reign of Nero, who is said to have been fond of the Trojan story.¹ On the whole, the work appears to have been an arbitrary paraphrase of Homer, with many fabulous interpolations. At length Guido di Colonna, a native of Messina in Sicily, a learned civilian, and no contemptible Italian poet, about the year 1260, engrafting on Dares and Dictys many new romantic inventions, which the taste of his age dictated, and which the connection between Grecian and Gothic fiction easily admitted, at the same time comprehending in his plan the Theban and Argonautic stories from Ovid, Statius, and Valerius Flaccus,² compiled a grand prose romance in Latin, containing fifteen books, and entitled in most manuscripts *Historia de Bello Trojano*.³ It was written at the request of Matteo di Porta, Archbishop of Salerno. Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis seem to have been in some measure superseded by this improved and comprehensive history of the Grecian heroes, [for, of course, Colonna cannot be regarded as the first popularizer of the subject ;] and from this period Achilles, Jason and Hercules were adopted into romance, and celebrated in common with Lancelot, Rowland, Gawain, Oliver, and other Christian champions, whom they so nearly resembled in the extravagance of their adventures.⁴ This work abounds with Ori-

¹ See Perizon. *Dissertat. de Dict. Cretens.* sect. xxix. Constantinus Lascaris, a learned monk of Constantinople, one of the restorers of Grecian literature in Europe near four hundred years ago, says that Dictys Cretensis in Greek was lost. This writer is not once mentioned by Eustathius, who lived about the year 1170, in his elaborate and extensive commentary on Homer.

² The *Argonautics* of Valerius Flaccus are cited in Chaucer's *Hyppolyte and Medea*. "Let him read the boke Argonauticon," v. 90. But Guido is afterwards cited as a writer on that subject, *ibid.* 97. [Only two MSS. appear to be known : in Queen's Coll. Oxford, and at Holkham. It seems to be almost open to question, whether Chaucer refers to Valerius Flaccus.]

³ It was first printed [at Cologne, 1477, and there are many later edits.] The work was finished, as appears by a note at the end, in 1287. It was translated into Italian by Philip or Christopher Ceffio, a Florentine, and this translation was first printed at Venice in 1481, 4to. It has also been translated into German. See Lambec. ii. 948. The purity of our author's Italian style has been much commended. For his Italian poetry, see Mongitor, *ubi. infra*, p. 167. Compare also, *Diar. Eruditor. Ital.* xiii. 258. Montfaucon mentions, in the royal library at Paris, *Le Roman de Thebes qui futracine de Troye la grande. Catal. MSS.* ii. p. 923—198. [This *Roman de Thebes* is in reality one of those works on the story of the siege of Troy, engrafted either on that of Columna or on his materials.—*Douce.*]

⁴ Bale says, that Edward I. having met with our author in Sicily, in returning from Asia, invited him into England, xiii. 36. This prince was interested in the Trojan story, as we shall see below. Our historians relate, that he wintered in Sicily in the year 1270. *Chron. Rob. Brun.* p. 227. A writer quoted by Hearne, supposed to be John Stow the chronicler, says that "Guido de Columna arriving in England at the commandment of king Edward the First, made scholies and annotations upon Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrygius. Besides these, he writ at large the Battayle of Troye." Heming. *Cartul.* ii. 649. Among his works is recited *Historia de Regibus Rebusque Anglie*. It is quoted by many writers under the title of *Chronicum Britannorum*. He is said also to have written *Chronicum Magnum libris xxxvi.* See Mongitor. *Bibl. Sic.* i. 265.

[Eichhorn has stated these "Scholies" of Guido to have been published in the year 1216; a manifest mistake,—since it leaves seventy-one years between this

ental imagery, of which the subject was extremely susceptible. It has also some traits of Arabian literature. The Trojan horse is a horse of brass; and Hercules is taught astronomy and the seven liberal sciences. But I forbear to enter at present into a more par-

date and the period to which he assigns the first appearance of the *Historia Trojana*. But whatever may have been Guido's merit in thus affording a common text-book for subsequent writers, his work could have contained little of novelty, either in matter or manner, for his contemporaries; and it may be reasonably doubted, whether his labours extended beyond the humble task of reducing into prose the metrical compilations of his predecessors. It is true, this circumstance will not admit of absolute proof, till the several poems upon the Trojan story extant in our own and various continental libraries shall be given to the world; but the following notices of some of these productions, though scanty and imperfect, will perhaps justify the opinion which has been expressed. The history of the Anglo-Saxon kings by Geoffri Gaimar, a poet antecedent to Wace (1155), is but a fragment of a larger work, which the author assures us commenced with an account of Jason and the Argonautic expedition. This was doubtless continued through the whole cycle of Grecian fabulous history, till the siege of Troy connected Brutus, the founder of the British dynasty, with the heroes of the ancient world. The voluminous work of Benoit de Saint More (noticed by Warton below) is confessedly taken from Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis, and is adorned with all those fictions of romance and chivalric costume, which these writers are supposed to have received from the interpolations of Guido. Among the romances enumerated by Melis Stoke, as the productions of earlier writers in Holland, and still (1300) held in general esteem, we find "The Conflict of Troy" (*De Stryd van Troyen*); and we know upon the authority of Jakob van Maerlant (1370), the translator of Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*, that this was a version of Benoit's poem. It is not so certain whence Conrad of Wurzburg, a contemporary of Guido, derived his German Iliad; but he professes to have taken it from a French original, and his poem, like Gaimar's, commences with Jason and the Argonautic expedition. Upon the same principle that Conrad conceived it necessary to preface his Iliad with the story of the Golden Fleece, his countryman Henry von Veldeck embraced the whole of the Trojan war, its origin and consequences, in his version of the *Æneis*. This, however, is usually believed to be a translation from the *Enide* of Chretien de Troyes; and, if the date (*ante* 1186) assumed for its appearance by Von der Hagen be correct, would place the French original in an earlier period than is given it by the French antiquaries. In the year 1210, Albrecht von Halberstadt published a metrical version of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. See Von der Hagen's *Grundriss zur Geschichte der Deutschen Poesie*, Berlin, 1812; and Henrik van Wyn's *Historische Avondstonden*, Amsterdam, 1800.—*Price*.]

[Sir F. Madden refers us to Hoffmann's *Hora Belgica*, 1830, p. 30. Mr. Wright speaks of a history of the siege of Troy in Latin prose, attributed to the eleventh century, and executed in France (Arundel MSS. Br. Mus. No. 375).]

[The popularity of the *Historia Trojana* in Britain is well attested by the number of versions of it in English that have come down to us. Besides Lydgate's *Troy Book* and the metrical version in the Bodleian Library, noticed by Warton, there is an Alliterative version in the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, which the Early English Text Society is now publishing; and in a MS. copy of Lydgate in the University Library, Cambridge, there are two considerable fragments of another version by Barbour, author of the *Brus*, discovered by Mr. Bradshaw in 1866. These versions are independent translations from Guido de Colonna, belong to the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, and must have been made within a period of fifty years. Probably the earliest was that by Barbour, then the Alliterative, then Lydgate's, and last of all, the Bodleian. Yet there is abundant evidence that Lydgate had read the Alliterative version, for many of his interpolations and renderings are the same as, or expansions of those given in that version; the same may be affirmed of the author of the Bodleian version. Indeed, it may be to the Alliterative version that the author refers as the

ticular examination of this history, as it must often occasionally be cited hereafter. I shall here only further observe in general, that this work is the chief source from which Chaucer derived his ideas about the Trojan story; that it was professedly paraphrased by Lydgate [between the years 1414 and 1420] into a prolix English poem, called the *Boke of Troye*,¹ at the command of Henry V.; that it became the ground-work of a new compilation in French on the same subject ["out of dyuerce bookes of latyn"] by Raoul le Feure, chaplain to the Duke of Burgundy, in the year 1464 and partly translated into English prose in the year 1471 by Caxton, under the title of the [recuyell of the historyes of Troye,] at the request of Margaret, duchess of Burgundy: and that from Caxton's book, afterwards modernised, Shakespeare [may have] borrowed his drama of *Troilus and Cressida*.²

Romana that the "sothe telles,"—a phrase that occurs very frequently in the Alliterative version.

Besides these metrical renderings, the third book of Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, is a prose translation of the greater portion of the *Historia Trojana*, omitting the story of Jason and Medea.

That the Bodleian MS. is probably a popular rendering of the Alliterative, compare the passages given by Warton with those in the Early English Text Society, vol. i. pp. 12*.15. All the passages from the Bodleian MS. that I have compared, and they were many, show the same peculiarities: some of them are even more striking.—*Donaldson*.]

¹ Who mentions it in a French as well as Latin romance: edit. 1555, signat. B i. pag. 2:

"As in the latyn and the frenshe yt is."

It occurs in French, MSS. Bibl. Reg. Brit. Mus. 16 F. ix. This MS. was probably written not long after the year 1300. In Lincoln's-inn Library there is a poem entitled *Bellum Trojanum*. Num. 150. Pr.

"Sithen god hade this worlde wrought."

² The western nations, in early times, have been fond of deducing their origin from Troy. This tradition seems to be couched under Odin's original emigration from that part of Asia which is connected with Phrygia. Asgard, or Asia's fortress, was the city from which Odin led his colony; and by some it is called Troy. To this place also they supposed Odin to return after his death, where he was to receive those who died in battle, in a hall roofed with glittering shields. See Bartholin. l. ii. cap. 8, pp. 402, 403. *seq.* This hall, says the Edda, is in the city of Asgard, which is called the Field of Ida. Bartholin. *ibid.* In the very sublime ode on the Dissolution of the World, cited by Bartholinus, it is said, that after the twilight of the gods should be ended, and the new world appear, "the Ase shall meet in the field of Ida, and tell of the destroyed habitations." Barthol. l. ii. cap. 14, p. 597. Compare Arngrim. Jon. *Crymog.* l. i. c. 4, pp. 45, 46. See also Edda, fab. 5. In the poem to Resenius's Edda it is said, "Odin appointed twelve judges or princes at Sigtune in Scandinavia, as at Troy; and established there all the laws of Troy and the customs of the Trojans." See Hicke, *Thesaur.* i. Dissertat. Epist. p. 39. See also Mallet's *Hist. Dannem.* ii. p. 34. Bartholinus thinks that the compiler of the Eddic mythology, who lived A. D. 1070, finding that the Britons and Franks drew their descent from Troy, was ambitious of assigning the same boasted origin to Odin. But this tradition appears to have been older than the Edda. And it is more probable that the Britons and Franks borrowed it from the Scandinavian Goths, and adapted it to themselves; unless we suppose that these nations, I mean the former, were branches of the Gothic stem, which gave them a sort of inherent right to the claim. This reasoning

Proofs have been given in the two prologues just cited of the general popularity of Alexander's story, another branch of Grecian history famous in the dark ages. To these we may add the evidence of Chaucer :

Alisaundes storie is so commune,
That everie wight that hath discrecioun
Hath herde somewhat or al of his fortune.¹

In the *House of Fame*, Alexander is placed with Hercules.² I have already remarked that he was celebrated in a Latin poem by Gualtier de Chatillon, in the year 1212.³ Other proofs will occur in their proper places.⁴ The truth is, Alexander was the most eminent knight errant of Grecian antiquity. He could not therefore be long without his romance. Callisthenes, an Olynthian, educated under Aristotle with Alexander, wrote an authentic life of Alexander.⁵ This history,

may perhaps account for the early existence and extraordinary popularity of the Trojan story among nations ignorant and illiterate, who could only have received it by tradition. Geoffrey of Monmouth took this descent of the Britons from Troy from the Welsh or Armorican bards, and they perhaps had it in common with the Scandinavian scalds. There is not a syllable of it in the authentic historians of England, who wrote before him; particularly those ancient ones, Bede, Gildas, and the uninterpolated Nennius. Henry of Huntingdon began his history from Cæsar; and it was only on further information that he added Brute. But this information was from a manuscript found by him in his way to Rome in the abbey of Bec in Normandy, [which, says Sir F. Madden, is, however, merely a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Latin work.] H. Hunt. *Epistol. ad Warin*. MSS. Cantabr. Bibl. publ. cod. 251. I have mentioned in another place, that Witlaf, a king of the West Saxons, grants in his charter, dated A.D. 833, among other things to Croyland-abbey his robe of tiffue, on which was embroidered "The destruction of Troy." *Obs. on Spenser's Fairy Queen*, i. sect. v. p. 176. This proves the story to have been in high veneration even long before that period: and it should at the same time be remembered, that the Saxons came from Scandinavia.

This fable of the descent of the Britons from the Trojans was solemnly alleged as an authentic and undeniable proof in a controversy of great national importance, by Edward I. and his nobility, without the least objection from the opposite party. It was in the famous dispute concerning the subjection of the crown of England to that of Scotland, about the year 1301. The allegations are in a letter to Pope Boniface, signed and sealed by the king and his lords. *Ypodigm. Neustr.* apud Camd. *Angl. Norman.* p. 492. Here is a curious instance of the implicit faith with which this tradition continued to be believed even in a more enlightened age, and an evidence that it was equally credited in Scotland.

¹ V. 656.

² V. 323.

³ See Second Dissertation.

⁴ In the reign of Henry I. the sheriff of Nottinghamshire is ordered to procure the queen's chamber at Nottingham to be painted with the History of Alexander. Madox, *Hist. Exch.* pp. 249-259. "Depingi facias historiam Alexandri undiqueaque." In the Romance of Richard, the minstrel says of an army assembled at a siege in the Holy Land, sign. Q iii :

"Covered is both mount and playne
Kyng Alysaunder and Charlemayne
He never had halfe the route
As is the city now aboute."

By the way, this is much like a passage in Milton, *Par. Reg.* iii. 337 :

"Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,
When Agrican," &c.

⁵ See *Recherch. sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Callisthene*. Par M. l'Abbe Sevin.

which is frequently referred to by ancient writers, has been long since lost. But a Greek life of this hero, under the adopted name of Callisthenes, at present exists, and is no uncommon manuscript in good libraries.¹ It is entitled, Βίος Αλεξάνδρου του Μακεδονος και Πραξεις. That is, *The Life and Actions of Alexander the Macedonian*.² This piece was written in Greek, being a translation from the Persian, by Simeon Seth, styled *Magister*, and protoveftiary or wardrobe keeper of the Palace of Antiochus at Constantinople,³ about the year 1070 under the Emperor Michael Ducas.⁴ It was most probably very

Mem. de Lit. viii. p. 126, 4to. But many very ancient Greek writers had corrupted Alexander's history with fabulous narratives, such as Orthagoras, Onesicritus, &c.

[Julian Africanus, who lived in the third century, records the fable of Neftanabus, king of Egypt, the presumptive father of Alexander, who figures so conspicuously in the later romances. It is also presumed, that similar fictions were introduced into the poems of Arrian, Hadrian, and Soterichus. See *Görres Volksbücher*, p. 58, a translation of whose observations upon this subject will be found in the *Retro-spectivus Review*, No. vi. For an account of Arabic, Turkish, and Persian versions of this story, see Herbelot, i. 144, and Weber's *Metrical Romances*, vol. i. xx.—Price.]

¹ Particularly Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. MSS. Barocc. Cod. xvii. And Bibl. Reg. Paris. Cod. 2064. See Montfaucon, *Catal. MSS.* p. 733. See passages cited from this manuscript, in Steph. Byzant. Abr. Berckel. V. Βασταλμα. Cæsar Bulenger de Circo, c. xiii. 30, &c. and Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* xiv. 148, 149, 150. It is adduced by Du Cange, *Glossar. Gr.* ubi vid. tom. ii. *Catal. Scriptur.* p. 24.

² Undoubtedly many smaller histories now in our libraries were formed from this greater work.

³ Πρωτοβεστιαριος, *Protoveftiarius*. See Du Cange, *Constantinop. Christ.* lib. ii. § 16. n. 3. Et ad Zonar. p. 46.

⁴ Allat. de Simeonibus, p. 181. And Labb. *Bibl. nov. MSS.* p. 115. Simeon Seth translated many Persian and Arabic books into Greek. Allat. *ubi sup.* p. 182; *seq.* Among them he translated from Arabic into Greek, about the year 1100, for the use of or at the request of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, the celebrated Indian Fables now commonly called the *Fables of Bidpay*. This work he entitled, Συναγωγὴ καὶ ἱστορίαι, and divided it into fifteen books. It was printed at Berlin, A.D. 1697, under the title, Συμμετρίαι καὶ φιλοσοφίαι των Σὺν Κωλὶ καὶ Δαμῶν. These are the names of two African or Asiatic animals, called in Latin *Yves*, a sort of [jackall,] the principal interlocutors in the fables. Sect. i-ii. This curious monument of a species of instruction peculiar to the Orientals is upwards of two thousand years old. It has passed under a great variety of names. Khosru a king of Persia, in whose reign Mahomet was born, sent his physician named Burzvisch into India, on purpose to obtain this book, which was carefully preserved among the treasures of the kings of India, and commanded it to be translated out of the Indian language into the ancient Persian. Herbelot, *Diß. Oriental.* p. 456. It was soon afterwards turned into Syriac, under the title *Calaleg* and *Dammag*. Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* vi. p. 463. About the year of Christ 750, one of the caliphs ordered it to be translated from the ancient Persian into Arabic, under the name *Kalila ve Damna*. Herbel. *ubi sup.* In the year 920, the Sultan Ahmed, of the dynasty of the Samanides, procured a translation into more modern Persian: which was soon afterwards put into verse by a celebrated Persian poet named Roudaki. Herbel. *ibid.* Fabric. *ibid.* p. 462. About the year 1130, the Sultan Bahram, not satisfied with this Persian version, ordered another to be executed by Nafrallah, the most eloquent man of his age, from the Arabic text of Mocanna: and this Persian version is what is now extant under the title *Kalila ve Damna*. Herbel. *ibid.* See also Herbel. p. 118. But as even this last-mentioned version had too many Arabic idioms and obsolete phrases, in the reign of Sultan Hafein Mirza, it was thrown into a more modern and intelligible style, under the name of *Annar Soheli*. Fraser's *Hist. Nadir-Shah. Catal. MSS.* pp. 19, 20. Nor must it

soon afterwards translated from the Greek into Latin, and at length from thence into French, Italian, and German.¹ The Latin trans-

be forgotten, that about the year 1100, the Emir Sohail, general of the armies of Hufain, Sultan of Khorassan of the posterity of Timur, caused a new translation to be made by the Dr. Hufien Vaez, which exceeded all others in elegance and perspicuity. It was named *Arwair Sokaili*, Splendor *Canopi*, from the Emir who was called after the name of that star. Herbel. pp. 118, 245. It would be tedious to mention every new title and improvement which it has passed through among the eastern people. It has been translated into the Turkish language both in prose and verse; particularly for the use of Bajazet II. and Solymn II. Herbel. p. 118. It has been also translated into Hebrew by Rabbi Joel; and into Latin, under the title *Direktorium Vitæ humane*, by Johannes of Capua [about 1480.] From thence [in 1498] it got into Castilian; and from the Spanish was made an Italian version, printed at Ferrara, A.D. 1583, viz. *Lelo Damno* [for *Calilah u Damnah*] *del Governo de regni, sotto morali*, &c. A second edition appeared at Ferrara in 1610, viz. *Philosophia morale del doni*, &c. But there was an Italian edition at Venice, under the last-mentioned title, with old rude cuts, 1552. From the Latin version [also] it was translated into German, by the command of Ebelhard first Duke of Wirtenberg; and this translation was printed at Ulm [1485. There are several later editions by David Sahid d'Isphahan which appeared at Paris in 1644, of which Gilbert Gaulmin is believed to have been in great part the author.] But this is rather a paraphrase, and was reprinted in Holland. See Starchius, *ubi sup.* præf. § 19, 20, 22. Fabric. *ubi sup.* p. 463, seq. Another translation was printed at Paris, viz. *Contes et Fables Indiennes de Bidpai et De Lokman traduits d'Alî Tchelchi-Bengalek auteur Turc, par M. Galland* [1724, and again, 1778.] Fabricius says, that Mons. Galland had procured a Turkish copy of this book four times larger than the printed copies, being a version from the original Persic, and entitled *Humagoun Nameh*, that is, *The royal or imperial book*, so called by the Orientals, who are of opinion that it contains the whole art of government. See Fabric. *ubi sup.* p. 465. Herbel. p. 456. A translation into English from the French of the four first books was printed at London in 1747, under the title of *Pilpay's Fables*; [but all the earlier English versions are singularly indifferent. The best translation is that by Eastwick in 1854.] As to the name of the author of this book, Herbelot says that Bidpai was an Indian philosopher, and that his name signifies the merciful physician. See Herbelot, pp. 206, 456, and *Bibl. Lugdun. Catal.* p. 301. [Sir Wm. Jones, who derives this name from a Sanscrit word, interprets it the beloved or favourite physician.—Price.] Others relate, that it was composed by the Brahmins of India, under the title *Kuruk Dumnik*. Frazer, *ubi sup.* p. 19. It is also said to have been written by Isame fifth king of the Indians, and translated into Arabic from the Indian tongue three hundred years before Alexander the Macedonian. Abraham Ecchelus, *Not. ad Catal. Ebed Jesu*, p. 87.—The Indians reckon this book among the three things in which they surpass all other nations, viz. "Liber Culila et Dimna. Iudus Shatangri, et novem figuræ numerariæ." Saphad. *Comment. ad Carm. Tograi*. apud Hyde, *prolegom. ad lib. de lud. Oriental.* d. 3. Hyde intended an edition of the Arabic version. *Præfat. ad lib. de lud. Oriental.* vol. ii. 1767, edit. ad calc. I cannot forsake this subject without remarking, that the Persians have another book, which they esteem older than any writings of Zoroaster, entitled *Javidan Chrad*, that is, *æterna Sapientia*. Hyde *Præfat. Relig. Vet. Perfarum*. This has been also one of the titles of Bidpai's Fables.

See Wolfii *Bibl. Hebr.* i. 468, ii. 931, iii. 350, iv. 934.

[The Indian origin of these fables is now placed beyond the possibility of dispute. Mr. Colebrooke has published a Sanscrit version of them, under the title of *Hitopadesa*, and they have been translated, from the same language, by Sir Wm. Jones and Dr. Wilkins.—Price. See *supra*.]

¹ Casaub. *Epist. ad Jos. Scaliger.* 402, 413. Scalig. *Epist. ad Casaubon*, 113, 115; who mentions also a translation of this work from the Latin into Hebrew, by one who adopted the name of Jos. Gorionides, called Pseudo-Gorionides. This Latin history was translated into German by John Hartlieb Moller, a German

lation was printed at Cologne in 1489.¹ [Among Rawlinson's books at Oxford is a MS. copy of the *Gesta Alexandri Metricè Compofita*, which once belonged to Hearne.] It is faid to have been [written in Greek by Æfopus, and to have been thence turned into Latin] by Julius Valerius :² fupposititious names, which feem to have been forged by the artifice, or introduced through the ignorance, of fcribes and librarians. This Latin tranflation, however, is of high antiquity in the middle age of learning : for it is quoted by Giraldus Cambrenfis, who flourifhed about the year 1190.³ About the year 1236, the fubftance of it was thrown into a long Latin poem, written in elegiac verfe⁴ by Aretinus Quilichinus.⁵ This fabulous narrative of Alexander's life and achievements is full of prodigies and extravagances.⁶ But we fhould remember its origin. The Arabian books

phyfician, at the command of Albert Duke of Bavaria, and publifhed Auguft. Vindel. A.D. 1478, fol. [This edition was preceded by two others from the prefs of Bâmler, dated 1472 and 1473. Thefe and the Strafburg edition of 1488 call the tranflator Dr. John Hartlieb of Munich.—*Price*.] See Lambecc. lib. ii. *de Bibl. Vindobon.* p. 949. Labbe mentions a fabulous hiftory of Alexander, written, as he fays, in 1217, and tranfcribed in 1455. Undoubtedly this is the text. Londenfis quotes “pervetustum quendam librum manufcriptum de actibus Alexandri.” Hearne's T. Caius *ut infr.* p. 82. See alfo pp. 86, 258.

¹ Lenglet mentions *Hiftoria fabulofa incerti authoris de Alexandri Magni præliis*, 1494. He adds, that it is printed in the laft edition of Cæfar's Commentaries by Grævius in octavo. *Bibl. des Romans*, ii. pp. 228, 229, edit. Amft. Compare Vogt's *Catalogus librorum rarior*, p. 24, edit. 1753. Montfaucon fays this hiftory of Callifthenes occurs often in the royal library at Paris, both in Greek and Latin : but that he never faw either of them printed. *Cat. MSS.* ii. p. 733, 2543. I think a life of Alexander is fubjoined to an edition of Quintus Curtius, in 1584 by Joannes Monachus.

² Du Cange *Glossar. Gr.* v. *ἐβόλας*. Jurat. ad Symmach. iv. 33. Barth. *Adverfar.* ii. 10, v. 14. [Sir F. Madden has fhown that the work of Julius Valerius, which is faid to have been taken from the Greek of Æfopus, is entirely different from the ordinary Latin profe narratives of the Life of Alexander. It was publifhed by Mai, Frankf. 1818, 8vo., with a fecond piece called *Itinerarium Alexandri*, from MSS. in the Ambrofian library, at Milan, of the twelfth century.]

³ Hearne, T. Caii *Vindic. Antiquit. Acad. Oxon.* tom. ii. Not. p. 802, who thinks it a work of the monks. “Nec dubium quin monachus quifpiam Latine, ut potuit, fcripferit. Eo modo, quo et alios id genus foetus parturiebant fcriptores aliquot monaftici, e fabulis quas vulgo admodum placere fciebant.”—*Ibid.*

⁴ A Greek poem on this fubject will be mentioned below, written in politic verfes, entitled *Ἀλεξάνδρου ὁ Μάκεδον*.

⁵ Labb. *Bibl. Nov. MSS.* p. 68. Ol. Borrich. *Difertat. de Poet.* p. 89.

⁶ The writer relates that Alexander, inclofed in a veflel of glafs, dived to the bottom of the ocean for the fake of getting a knowledge of fifhes and fea monfters. He is alfo represented as foaring in the air by the help of gryphons. At the end, the opinions of different philofophers are recited concerning the fepulchre of Alexander. Neftabanos, a magician and aftrologer, king of Egypt, is a very fignificant character in this romance. He transforms himfelf into a dragon, &c. Compare Herbelot. *Bibl. Oriental.* p. 319, b. *ſeq.* In fome of the MSS. of this piece which I have feen, there is an account of Alexander's vifit to the trees of the fun and moon : but I do not recollect this in the printed copies. Undoubtedly the original has had both interpolations and omiffions. Pſeudo-Gorionides above mentioned feems to hint at the groundwork of this hiftory of Alexander in the following paſſage : “Cæteras autem res ab Alexandro gefas, et egregia ejus facinora ac quæcunque demum perpetravit, ea in libris Medorum et Perfarum,

abound with the most incredible fictions and traditions concerning Alexander the Great, which they probably borrowed and improved from the Persians. They call him Escander. If I recollect right, one of the miracles of this romance is our hero's horn. It is said, that Alexander gave the signal to his whole army by a wonderful horn of immense magnitude, which might be heard at the distance of sixty miles, and that it was blown or sounded by sixty men at once.¹ This is the horn which Orlando won from the giant Jatmund, and which, as Turpin and the Islandic bards report, was endued with magical power, and might be heard at the distance of twenty miles. Cervantes says, that it was bigger than a maffy beam.² Boiardo, Berni and Ariosto have all such a horn: and the fiction is here traced to its original source. But in speaking of the books which furnished the story of Alexander, I must not forget that Quintus Curtius was an admired historian of the romantic ages. He is quoted in the *Policraticon* of John of Salisbury, who died in the year 1181.³ Eneas Sylvius relates, that Alphonfus IX., king of Spain in the thirteenth century and a great astronomer, endeavoured to relieve himself from a tedious malady by reading the Bible over fourteen times, with all the glosses; but not meeting with the expected success, he was cured by the consolation he received from once reading Quintus Curtius.⁴ Peter Blesensis, [or Peter of Blois,] Archdeacon of London, a student at Paris about the year 1150, mentioning the books most common in the schools, declares that he profited much by frequently looking into this author.⁵ Vincentius Bellovacensis, cited above, a writer of the thirteenth century, often quotes Curtius in his *Speculum Historiale*.⁶ He was also early translated into French. Among the royal MSS. in the British Museum, there is a fine copy of a French translation of this classic, adorned with elegant old paintings and illuminations, entitled, *Quinte Curse Ruf, des faiz d'Alexandre*, ix. liv. translate par Vajque de Lucene Portugalois. *Esript par la main de Jehan du Chefne, a Lille*.⁷ It

atque apud Nicolaum, Titum, et Strabonem; et in libris nativitatís Alexandri, rerumque ab ipso gestarum, quos Magi ac Ægyptii eo anno quo Alexander decessit, composuerunt, scripta reperies." Lib. ii. c. 12-22, [Lat. Vers.] p. 152, edit. Jo. Frid. Briethaupt.

¹ It is also in a MS. entitled *Secreta Secretorum Aristotelis*, lib. 5. MSS. Bodl. D. 1, 5. This treatise, ascribed to Aristotle, was anciently in high repute. It is pretended to have been translated out of Greek into Arabic or Chaldee by one John, a Spaniard; thence into Latin by Philip, a Frenchman; at length into English verse by Lydgate: under whom more will be said of it. [The Latin is dedicated to Guido Vere de Valentia, Bishop of Tripoli.—Madden.]

² See *Observat. Fair. Qu.* i. § v. p. 202.

³ viii. 18.

⁴ Op. p. 476.

⁵ Epist. 101. *Frequenter inspicere historias Q. Curtii, &c.*

⁶ iv. 61, &c. Montfaucon, I think, mentions a MS. of Q. Curtius in the Colbertine library at Paris 800 years old. See Barth. ad Claudian. p. 1165. Alexander Benedictus, in his history of Venice, transcribes whole pages from this historian. I could give other proofs.

⁷ 17 F i. Brit. Mus. And again, 20 C. iii. and 15 D. iv. [Sir F. Madden refers to M. Paris's Cat. of the MSS. of the Bibl. Imper. 1836, Noes, 6727-9.]

was made in 1468. But I believe the Latin translations of Simeon Seth's romance on this subject were best known and most esteemed for some centuries.

The French, to resume the main tenor of our argument, had written metrical romances on most of these subjects before or about the year 1200. Some of these seem to have been formed from prose histories, enlarged and improved with new adventures and embellishments from earlier and more simple tales in verse on the same subject. Chrestien of Troyes wrote *Le Romans du Graal*, or the adventures of the Sangraal, which included the deeds of King Arthur, Sir Tristram, Lancelot du Lac, and the rest of the knights of the round table, before 1191. There is a passage in a coeval romance, relating to Chrestien, which proves what I have just advanced, that some of these histories previously existed in prose:—

Christians qui entent et paine
A rimoyer le meilleur conte,
Par le commandement le Conte,
Qu'il soit contez in cort royal
Ce est li contes del Graal
Dont li quens li bailla le livre.¹

Chrestien also wrote the romance of *Sir Percival*, which belongs to the same history.² Godfrey de Ligny, a cotemporary, finished a romance begun by Chrestien, entitled *La Charette* [or *Du Chevalier a la Charette*], containing the adventures of Launcelot. [This has been printed of late years.] Fauchet affirms, that Chrestien abounds with

¹ *Apud* Fauchet, *Rec.* liv. ii. x. p. 99, who adds, "Je croy bien que Romans que nous avons aujourd'hui imprimez, tels que Lancelot du Lac, Tristan, et autres, sont refondus sur les vieilles proses et rymes et puis rafraichis de langage."

[The *Roman du Saint Graal* is ascribed to an anonymous *Trouvere* by M. Roquefort, who denies that it was written by Chretien de Troyes. On the authority of the *Cat. de la Valliere*, he also attributes the first part of the prose version of this romance to Lucus du Gast, and the continuation only to Robert de Borron. Of de Borron's work entitled *Enferrement de Merlin ou Roman de St. Graal*, there is a metrical version MS. no. 1987 fonds de l'abbaye St. Germain. See *Poesie Française dans les xii. et xiii. Siècles.*—Price.]

The oldest MSS. of romances on these subjects which I have seen are the following. They are in the royal MSS. of the British Museum. *Le Roman de Tristram*, 20 D. ii. This was probably transcribed not long after the year 1200.—*Histoire du Lancelot ou S. Graal*, *ibid.* iii. Perhaps older than the year 1200. Again, *Histoire du S. Graal, ou Lancelot*, 20 C. vi. 1. Transcribed soon after 1200. This is imperfect at the beginning. The subject of Joseph of Arimathea bringing a vessel of the Sangraal, that is [the holy dish or vessel] into England, is of high antiquity. It is thus mentioned in *Morte Arthur*. "And then the old man had an harpe, and he sung an olde songe how Joseph of Arimathy came into this lande." B. iii. c. 5.

² Fauchet, p. 103. [*Perceval le gallois, le qui acheva les adventures du Saint Graal, avec aulchuns faictz belliqueux du noble chevalier Gauvain, &c.*], translatees de rime de l'ancien auteur.—[Chretien de Troyes. Printed at Paris, 1530, folio. This writer at his death left the story unfinished. It was resumed by Gautier de Denet, and concluded by Messenier. See Roquefort *ut sup.* p. 194.—Price.]

In the royal library at Paris is *Le Roman de Perseval le Galois, par Crestien de Troyes*. In verse, fol. Mons. Galland thinks there is another romance under this title, *Mem. de Lit.* iii. p. 427, seq. 433, 8vo. The author of which he supposes may be Rauol de Biavaiz, mentioned by Fauchet, p. 142. Compare Lenglet, *Bibl. Rom.*

beautiful inventions.¹ But no story is so common among the earliest French poets as Charlemagne and his Twelve peers. In the British Museum we have an old French MS. containing the history of Charlemagne, translated into prose from Turpin's Latin. The writer declares, that he preferred a sober prose translation of this authentic historian, as histories in rhyme, undoubtedly very numerous on this subject, looked so much like lies.² His title is extremely curious: *Ci comence l'Estoire que Turpin le Ercevesque de Reins fit del bon roy Charlemayne, coment il conquist Espaigne, e delivra des Paens. Et pur ceo qe Estoire rimee semble mensunge, est ceste mis in prose, selon le Latin qe Turpin mesmes fist, tut ensi cume il le vist et vist.*³

Ogier the Dane makes a part of Charlemagne's history, and, I believe, is mentioned by Archbishop Turpin. But his exploits have been recorded in verse by Adenez, an old French poet, not mentioned by Fauchet, author of the two metrical romances of [Berthe] and *Cleomades*, under the name of *Ogier le Danois*, in the year 1270. This author was master of the musicians, or, as others say, heralds at arms, to the Duke of Brabant. Among the royal

p. 250. The author of this last-mentioned Perceval, in the exordium, says that he wrote, among others, the romances of Eneas, Roy Marc, and Uselt le Blonde: and that he translated into French, Ovid's *Art of Love*. [The French romance of *Perceval* is preserved in a MS. in the College of Arms, No. 14.—Madden. The English translation is preserved in a MS. in Lincoln Cathedral Library, and is included in Mr. Halliwell's *Thornton Romances*, 1844.]

¹ P. 105, *ibid.* [Perhaps the same, says Ritton, with *Les romans de Chevalier à l'épée, ou L'Histoire de Lancelot du Lac*. To the same romance-writer are attributed, *Du Chevalier à Lion, du prince Alexandre, d'Erec*, with others that are now lost.—Park. M. Roquefort's catalogue of Chretien's works still extant contains: *Perceval, le Chevalier au Lion, Lancelot du Lac, Cliget* (Cleges?), *Guillaume d'Angleterre, et Erec et Enide*. The latter probably gave rise to the opinion, that Chretien translated the *Æneid*, and which has been adopted from Von der Hagen.—Price.]

² There is a curious passage to this purpose in an old French prose romance of *Charlemagne*, written before the year 1200. "Baudouin Comte de Hainau trouva a Sens en Bourgogne le vie de Charlemagne: et mourant la donna a sa four Yolond Comtesse de S. Pol, qui m'a prie que je la mette en *Roman sans ryme*. Parce que tel se delitera el Roman qui del Latin n'ent cure; et par le Roman sera miex gardee. Maintes gens en ont ouy conter et chanter, mais n'est ce *mensonge* non ce qu'ils en disent et chantent cil conteour ne cil juleour. Nuz contes rymes n'en est vrais: tot mensonge ce qu'ils dient." Liv. quatr. [Sir F. Madden notes that this is the same as that of Turpin, and refers to M. Paris's Cat. of the MSS. in the national library at Paris, pp. 211-20. There is certainly no conclusive testimony in favour of the composition of the translation between 1178 and 1205, though Sir F. M. positively declares, that it "must be limited between these dates." He mentions that it was Yoland Countess of St. Pol, who caused the metrical story of Guillaume de Palerne to be translated into French. This is our *William and the Werewolf*; edited by Sir F. M. 1832, and more recently by the Early Text Society.]

³ MSS. Harl. 273, f. 86. There is a very old metrical romance on this subject, *ibid.* MSS. Harl. 527, l. f. 1. [*Ogier le Dannois duc de Dannemarche* was printed at Paris about 1498; and at Troyes in 1608, were printed, *Histoire de Morgant le geant*, and *Histoire des nobles Provestes et Vaillances de Gallien restauré*.—Park. See also M. Michel's edit. of *Charlemagne*, 1836, from Royal MS. 16 E. viii. 7, written in the twelfth century.]

MSS. in the Museum we have a poem, *Le Livre de Ogeir de Danne-marche*.¹ The French have likewise illustrated this champion in Leonine rhyme. And I cannot help mentioning that they have in verse *Visions of Oddegir the Dane in the kingdom of Fairy*, "*Visions d'Ogeir le Danois au Royaume de Faerie en vers François*," printed at Paris in 1548.²

On the Trojan story the French have an ancient poem, at least not posterior to the thirteenth century, entitled *Roman de Troie*, written by Benoit de Sainct More. As this author appears not to have been known to the accurate Fauchet, nor la Croix du Maine, I will cite the exordium, especially as it records his name, and implies that the piece [was] translated from the Latin, and that the subject was not then common in French :

Cette estoire n'est pas usée,
N'en gaires livres n'est trouvée :
La retraite ne fut encore
Mais Benoit de sainte More,
L'a translaté, et fait et dit,
Et a sa main les mots escrit.

He mentions his own name again in the body of the work, and at the end :—

Je n'en fait plus ne plus en dit ;
Benoit qui c'est Roman fit.³

Du Cange enumerates a metrical MS. romance on this subject by Jaques Millet, entitled *De la Destruction de Troie*.⁴ Montfaucon, whose extensive inquiries nothing could escape, mentions Dares Phrygius translated into French verse, at Milan, about the twelfth century.⁵ We find also, among the royal MSS. at Paris, Dictys Cretensis translated into French verse.⁶ To this subject, although almost equally belonging to that of Charlemagne, we may also refer a French romance in verse, written by Philippe Mousques, canon and chancellor of the church of Tournay. It is, in fact, a chronicle of France: but the author, who does not choose to begin quite so high as Adam and Eve, nor yet later than the Trojan war, opens his history with the rape of Helen, passes on to an ample description of the siege of

¹ 15 E. vi. 4.

[The title of Adenez' poem is *Les Enfances d'Ogier-le-Danois*, a copy of which is preserved among the Harl. MSS. No. 4404. His other poem, noticed in the text, is called *Le Roman de Pepin et de Berthe*. See *Cat. Valliere*, No. 2734. The life of Ogier contained in the royal MS. embraces the whole career of this illustrious hero; and is evidently a distinct work from that of Adenez. Whether it be the same version alluded to in the French romance of *Alexander*, where the author is distinguished from the "conteurs batards" of his day, is left to more competent judges.—*Price*. For an account of the modern printed edition of these and other romances of the same cycle, see Brunet, *dern.* edit. art. *Roman*.]

² There is also *L'Histoire du preux Meurvin fils d'Ogier le Danois*, Paris, 1539 and 1540. [Of this there is an English version, Lond. 1612, 4to.]

³ See Galland *ut suprà*, p. 425. [For an account of Benoit de Saint More's poem, the reader is referred to the 12th vol. of the *Archæologia*, and to the modern edition of the original.]

⁴ Gloss. Lat. Ind. Aut. p. cxiii.

⁵ Monum. Fr. i. 374.

⁶ See Montf. *Catal. MSS.* ii. p. 1669.

Troy, and through an exact detail of all the great events which succeeded conducts his reader to the year 1240. This work comprehends all the fictions of Turpin's Charlemagne, with a variety of other extravagant stories dispersed in many professed romances. But it preserves numberless curious particulars, which throw considerable light on historical facts. Du Cange has collected from it all that concerns the French emperors of Constantinople, which he has printed at the end of his entertaining history of that city.

It was indeed the fashion for the historians of these times to form such a general plan as would admit all the absurdities of popular tradition. Connection of parts and uniformity of subject were as little studied as truth. Ages of ignorance and superstition are more affected by the marvellous than by plain facts, and believe what they find written without discernment or examination. No man before the sixteenth century presumed to doubt that the Franks derived their origin from Francus, a son of Hector; that the Spaniards were descended from Japhet, the Britons from Brutus, and the Scots from Fergus. Vincent de Beauvais, who lived under Louis IX. of France, and who, on account of his extraordinary erudition, was appointed preceptor to that king's sons, very gravely classes archbishop Turpin's Charlemagne among the real histories, and places it on a level with Suetonius and Cæsar. He was himself an historian, and has left a large history of the world, fraught with a variety of reading, and of high repute in the middle ages; but edifying and entertaining as this work might have been to his cotemporaries, at present it serves only to record their prejudices, and to characterise their credulity.¹

Hercules and Jason, as I have before hinted, were involved in the Trojan story by Guido di Colonna, and hence became familiar to the romance writers.² The Hercules, the Theseus, and the Amazons of Boccaccio, hereafter more particularly mentioned, came from this source. I do not at present recollect any old French metrical romances on these subjects, but presume that there are many. Jason seems to have vied with Arthur and Charlemagne; and so popular was his expedition to Colchos, or rather so firmly believed, that in honour of so respectable an adventure a duke of Burgundy instituted the order of the Golden Fleece in the year 1468. At the same time his chaplain Raoul le Feure illustrated the story which gave rise to this magnificent institution, in a prolix and elaborate history, afterwards translated by Caxton.³ But I must not forget, that

¹ He flourished about 1260.

² The Trojoman Saga, a Scandic manuscript at Stockholm, seems to be posterior to Guido's publication. It begins with Jason and Hercules, and their voyage to Colchos; proceeds to the rape of Helen, and ends with the siege and destruction of Troy. It celebrates all the Grecian and Asiatic heroes concerned in that war. Wanl. *Antiquit. Septentr.* p. 315, col. 1.

³ See *Observat. on Spenser's Fairy Queen*, i. § v. p. 176, seq. Montfaucon mentions *Medee et Jasonis Historia a Guidone de Columna*. Catal. MSS. Bibl. Coislin. ii. p. 1109.—818.

among the royal manuscripts in the Museum, the French romance of *Hercules* occurs in two books, enriched with numerous ancient paintings.¹ [It was, at a later date, rédeducé into a chap-book. *Parthenope* is, of course, the hero of the romance of that name, inserted in Le Grand's collection, and of which the English versions have been lately printed.]² *Ypomedon* has also christened a tale of chivalry, to be noticed hereafter.

The conquests of Alexander the Great were celebrated by one Simon, in old [French], about the twelfth century. This piece thus begins :

Chançon voil dis per ryme et per Leoin
Del fil Filippe lo roy de Macedoin.

An Italian poem on Alexander, called *Trionfo Magno*, was presented to Leo X. by Dominicho Falugi Anciseno, in the year 1521. Crescimbeni says it was copied from a Provençal romance.³ But one of the most valuable pieces of the old French poetry is on the subject of this victorious monarch, entitled *Roman d' Alexandre*. It has been called the second poem now remaining in the French language, and was written about the year 1200. It was confessedly translated from the Latin ; but it bears a nearer resemblance to Simeon Seth's romance than to Quintus Curtius. It was the confederated performance of four writers who, as Fauchet expresses himself, were *associez en leur jouglerie*.⁴ Lambert li Cors, a learned

¹ 17 E. ii. [This romance of *Hercules* commences with an account of Uranus or Cælum, and terminates with the death of Ulysses by his son Telegonus. The mythological fables with which the first part abounds, are taken from Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum*; and the third part, embracing the destruction of Troy by the Greeks under Agamemnon, professes to be a translation from *Dictys of Greece and Dares of Troy*. The Pertouape of the text is evidently Partonopex de Blois (see Le Grand, *Fabliaux*, tom. iv. p. 261, and *Notices des Manuscrits*, tom. ix.), and Ypomedon the hero whom Warton dignifies with the epithet of Childe Ippomedone.—Price.]

² [*The Old English Versions of Parthenope of Blois*. Edited by the Rev. W. E. Buckley. Roxburghe Club, 1862. There is a modern paraphrase in verse by Mr. W. S. Rose.]

³ *Istor. Volg. Poes.* i. iv. p. 332. In the royal manuscripts there is a French poem entitled *La Vengeance du graunt Alexandre*, 19 D. i. 2, Brit. Mus. I am not sure whether it is not a portion of the French *Alexander*, mentioned below, written by Jehan li Nivelois [Venelais].

⁴ Fauchet, Rec. p. 83. [The order in which Fauchet has classed Lambert li Cors and Alexander of Paris, and which has also been adopted by M. Le Grand, is founded on the following passage of the original poem :

“ La verité d' l'istoire si com li roys la fist
Un clers de Chastiaudun Lambers li Cors li mist
Qui du Latin la trait et en roman la fist. . . .
Alexandre nous dit qui de Bernay fu nez
Et de Paris refu se furnoms appellez
Qui or a les siens vers o les Lambert melles.”

MM. de la Ravalliere and Roquefort have considered Alexander as the elder writer; apparently referring (*Alexandre nous dit*) to Lambert li Cors. But the last line in this extract clearly confirms M. Le Grand's arrangement. The date assigned by M. Roquefort for its publication is 1184. Jehan li Venelais wrote *Le Testament d' Alexandre*; and Perot de Saint Clout, *La Vengeance d' Alexandre*. Mr. Douce has enumerated eleven French poets, who have written on the subject

civilian, began the poem; and it was continued and completed by Alexandre de Paris, Jean le [Venelais], and [Perot] de Saint [Cloot],¹ The poem is clofed with Alexander's will. This is no imagination of any of our three poets, although one of them was a civil lawyer. Alexander's will, in which he nominates fucceffors to his provinces and kingdoms, was a tradition commonly received, and is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus and Ammianus Marcellinus.² [This work has never been edited.]³ It is voluminous; and in the Bodleian library at Oxford is a vast folio MS. of it in vellum, which is of great antiquity, richly decorated, and in high prefervation.⁴ The margins and initials exhibit not only fantaftic ornaments and illuminations exquisitely finished, but alfo pictures executed with fingular elegance, expreffing the incidents of the ftory, and difplaying the fafhion of buildings, armour, drefs, mufical inftruments,⁵ and other particulars appropriated to the times. At the end we read this hexameter, which points out the name of the fcribe [of that portion, which contains a Scotifh metrical romance of Alexander, an addition of the fifteenth century]:⁶

Nomen fcriptoris eft Thomas plenus amoris.

Then follows the date of the year in which the tranfcript was completed, viz. 1338. Afterwards there is the name and date of the illuminator, in the following colophon, written in golden letters: *Ce livre fu perfais de la enluminiere an xviir. jour d'avryl par Jehan de grife l'an de grace m.ccc.xliiii.*⁷ Hence it may be concluded, that the illuminations and paintings of this fuperb manufcript, which were moft probably begun as foon as the fcribe had finifhed his part, took up fix years: no long time, if we confider the attention of an artift to ornaments fo numerous, fo various, fo minute, and fo laborioufly touched. It has been fupposed that before the appearance

of Alexander or his family: and Mr. Weber obferves, that feveral others might be added to the lift. See Weber's *Metrical Romances* (who notices various European verſions), *Notices des Manufcripts du Roi*, t. v.; *Catalogue de la Valliere*, t. ii.—*Price*. Sir F. Madden refers us alfo to De la Rue, *Effais*, &c. ii. 341-56, and fupplies us with the name of Thomas of Kent, an Anglo-Norman (not mentioned by Mr. Price or by Mr. Wright) as one of the continuators of the romance of *Alexander*.]

¹ Fauchet, *ibid*. Mons. Galland mentions a French romance in verſe, unknown to Fauchet, and entitled *Roman d'Arthys et de Prophylas*, written by one Alexander, whom he fuppoſes to be this Alexander of Paris. *Mem. Lit.* iii. p. 429, edit. Amſt. [This conjecture is confirmed by M. Roquefort, *ubi ſupr.* p. 118.—*Price*.] It is often cited by Carpentier, Suppl. Cang.

² See Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* c. iii. l. viii. p. 205.

³ [Sir F. Madden's inform.]

⁴ MSS. Bodl. B 264, fol.

⁵ The moſt frequent of theſe are organs, bagpipes, lutes, and trumpets.

⁶ [Sir F. Madden's inform. He adds, that another portion of the *Alexander* is in MS. Aſhmole, 44. The Rev. J. S. Stevenſon edited the Alliterative Romances of Alexander for the Roxburgh Club in 1849. In it he printed the alliterative fragments from Bodl. MS. 264, and Aſhmole 44 (ab. 1450 A.D.) The far earlier alliterative fragment in MS. Greaves 60 was printed by Mr. Skeat in his edit. of *William of Palerne*, Early Engliſh Text Society, 1867.]

⁷ [Biſhop Warburton had] a moſt beautiful French manufcript on vellum or *Mort d'Arthur*, ornamented in the ſame manner. It was a preſent from Vertue the engraver.

of this poem, the *Romans*, or those pieces which celebrated Gefts, were constantly composed in short verses of six or eight syllables: and that in this *Roman d'Alexandre* verses of twelve syllables were first used. It has therefore been imagined, that the verses called *Alexandrines*, the present French heroic measure, took their rise from this poem; Alexander being the hero, and Alexander the chief of the four poets concerned in the work. That the name, some centuries afterwards, might take place in honour of this celebrated and early effort of French poetry, I think very probable; but that verses of twelve syllables made their first appearance in this poem, is a doctrine which, to say no more, from examples already produced and examined is at least ambiguous.¹ In this poem Gadifer, hereafter mentioned, of Arabian lineage, is a very conspicuous champion:

Gadifer fu moult preus, d'un Arrabi lignage.

A rubric or title of one of the chapters is, "Comment Alexander fuit mys en un vesel de vooire pour veoir le merveilles," &c. This is a passage already quoted from Simeon Seth's romance, relating Alexander's expedition to the bottom of the ocean, in a vessel of glass, for the purpose of inspecting fishes and sea monsters. In another place from the same romance, he turns astronomer, and soars to the moon by the help of four gryphons. The caliph is frequently mentioned in this piece; and Alexander, like Charlemagne, has his twelve peers.

These were the four reigning stories of romance: on which perhaps English pieces, translated from the French, existed before or about the year 1300. But there are some other English romances mentioned in the prologue of *Richard Cœur de Lyon*, which we likewise probably received from the French in that period, and on which I shall here also enlarge.

Beuves de Hanton, or *Sir Bevis de Southampton*, is a French romance of considerable antiquity, although the hero is not older than the Norman conquest. It is alluded to in our English romance on this story, which will again be cited, and at large:

Forth thei yode, so faith the boke.²

And again more expressly,

Under the bridge wer sixty belles,
Right as the *Romans* telles.³

The *Romans* is the French original. It is called the Romance of *Beuves de Hanton*, by Pere Labbe.⁴ The very ingenious Monsieur de la Curne de sainte Palaye mentions an ancient French romance in prose, entitled *Beufres de Hanton*.⁵ Chaucer mentions Bevis, with other famous romances, but whether in French or English is uncer-

¹ See Pref. *Le Roman de la Rose*, par Mons. L'Abbé Lenglet, i. p. xxxvi.

² Signat. P ii. [*Bevis of Hamton* was edited from the Auchinleck MS. for the Maitland Club, 1838, 4to.]

³ Signat. E iv.

⁴ *Mem. Lit.* xv. 582, 4to.

⁵ *Nov. Bibl.* p. 334, edit. 1652.

tain.¹ *Beuves of Hantonne* was printed at [Troyes as early as 1489].² Ascapart was one of his giants, a character³ in very old French romances. Bevis lived at Downton in Wiltshire. Near Southampton is an artificial hill called Bevis Mount, on which was probably a fortress; [and within the town there is a gate which still retains his name].⁴ It is pretended that he was Earl of Southampton. His sword is shown in Arundel castle. This piece was evidently written after the Crusades; as Bevis is knighted by the King of Armenia, and is one of the generals at the siege of Damascus.

Guy Earl of Warwick is recited as a French romance by Labbe.⁵ In the British Museum a metrical history in very old French appears, in which Felicia, or Felice, is called the daughter of an earl of Warwick, and Guido, or Guy, of Warwick is the son of Seguart the earl's steward. The manuscript is at present imperfect.⁶ Montfaucon mentions among the royal manuscripts at Paris, *Roman de Guy et Beuves de Hanton*. The latter is the romance last mentioned. Again, *Le Livre de Guy de Warwick et de Harold d'Ardenne*.⁷ This Harold d'Arden is a distinguished warrior of Guy's history, and therefore his achievements sometimes form a separate romance: as in the royal MSS. of the British Museum, where we find *Le Roman de Herolt Dardenne*.⁸ In the English romance of Guy, mentioned

¹ *Rim. Thop.* [Mr. Wright refers to a good MS. of Bevis, in Caius Coll. Camb.; but the editor does not observe any such MS. in Smith's Cat. 1849.]

² [The earliest printed copy of this romance that I have met with, is in Italian, and printed at Venice, 1489, 4to. Other editions in the same language are, Venice, 1562, 1580, 12mo.; Milan, 1584, 4to.; Piacenza, 1599, 12mo.; French editions, Paris, folio, no date, by Verard; *Ibid.* 4to., no date, by Bonfons. I have been informed from respectable authority, that this romance is to be found in Provençal poetry, among the MSS. of Christina, queen of Sweden, now in the Vatican library, and that it appears to have been written in 1380. See likewise *Bibl. de du Verdier*, tom. iii. p. 266.—*Douce*. For an account of the English editions, see *Handb. of E. E. Lit.*, art. Bevis and Additions, *ibid.*]

³ Selden's Drayton, *Polyalb.* s. iii. p. 37.

⁴ [*Bevis* seems long to have retained its popularity, since Wither thus complained of the sale it had about the year 1627. "The stationers have so pestered their printing houses and shoppes with fruitlesse volumes, that the auncient and renowned authors are almost buried among them as forgotten; and at last you shall see nothing to be found amongst us, but Currantos, Beavis of Hampton, or such trumpery." *Scholler's Purgatory*, (circa 1625).—*Park*. Sir F. Madden and some other gentlemen, in the year 1833, opened the tumulus at the bottom of the vale of Pugh Dean, about a mile from Arundel castle, but found no remains of the hero. The tradition is, that Bevis threw his sword, six feet long, from the walls of the castle into the valley, and there appointed to be buried.]

⁵ *Ubi supr.*

⁶ MSS. Harl. 3775, 2. [Other copies are in Corpus Christi Coll. Camb. and in the College of Arms.—*Madden*.]

⁷ Catal. MSS. p. 792. Among the Benet manuscripts there is *Roman de Gui de Warwyk*, Num. 1. It begins,

"Puis cel tems ke deus fu nez."

This book belonged to Saint Augustin's abbey at Canterbury. With regard to the preceding romance of Bevis, the Italians had *Buovo d'Antona*, undoubtedly from the French, before 1348. And Lhuyd recites in Welsh, *Yfiori Boun o Hamtun*. *Archæol.* p. 264.

⁸ 15 E. vi. 8. [This romance might be called with more propriety an episode in

at large in its proper place, this champion is called, *Syr Heraude of Arderne*.¹ At length this favourite subject formed a large prose romance, entitled *Guy de Warwick, Chevalier d'Angleterre, et de la belle fille Felix samie*, and printed at Paris [March 12, 1525-6]. Chaucer mentions Guy's story among the *Romaunces of Pris*:² and it is alluded to in the Spanish romance of *Tirant lo Blanch*, or *Tirante the White*, supposed to have been written not long after the year 1430.³ This romance was composed, or perhaps enlarged, after the Crusades, as we find that Guy's redoubted encounters with Colbrond the Danish giant, with the monster of Dunsmore-heath, and the dragon of Northumberland, are by no means equal to some of his achievements in the Holy Land, and the trophies which he won from the Soldan under the command of the Emperor Frederick.

The romance of *Sidrac*, entitled in the French version [*La fontaine de toutes sciéces du philosophe Sydrac*], appears to have been very popular, from the present frequency of its MSS. [both in French and English.] But it is rather a romance of Arabian philosophy than of chivalry. It is a system of natural knowledge, and particularly treats of the virtues of plants. Sidrac, the philosopher of this system, was astronomer to an eastern king. He lived eight hundred and forty-seven years after Noah, of whose book of astronomy he was possessed.

He converts Bocchus, an idolatrous king of India, to the Christian faith, by whom he is invited to build a mighty tower against the invasions of a rival king of India. But the history, no less than the subject of this piece, displays the state, nature and migrations of literature in the dark ages. After the death of Bocchus, Sidrac's book fell into the hands of a Chaldean renowned for piety. It then successively becomes the property of King Madian, Naaman the Assyrian, and Grypho, archbishop of Samaria. The latter had a priest named Demetrius, who brought it into Spain, and here it was translated from the Greek into Latin. This translation is said to be made at Toledo by Roger of Palermo, a minorite friar, in the 13th century. A king of Spain then commanded it to be translated from Latin into Arabic, and sent it as a most valuable present to Emir Elmomenim, lord of Tunis. It was next given to Frederick II., emperor of Germany, famous in the Crusades. This work, which is of considerable length, was translated into English verse, and will be mentioned on that account again. Sidrac is recited as an eminent philosopher, with Seneca and King Solomon, in the *Marchaunts Second tale*, ascribed to Chaucer.⁴

It is natural to conclude that most of these French romances were

the life of Raynbrun, Guy's son. It recounts the manner in which he released Herolt d'Ardenne from prison, and the return of both to their native country. It has the merit of being exceedingly short, and states, among other matter, that Herolt was born at Walmforth in England.—*Price*.]

¹ Sign. L ii. vers.

² *Rim. Thop.*

³ Percy's *Ball.* iii. 100.

⁴ v. 1932. There is an old translation of *Sidrac* into Dutch, MSS. Marshall, Bibl. Bodl. 31, fol. [King Bocchus or Boccus seems to have been rather a popular character in our own early literature. See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* p. 43.]

current in England, either in the French originals, which were well understood at least by the more polite readers, or else by translation or imitation, as I have before hinted, when the romance of *Richard Cœur de Lyon*, in whose prologue they are recited, was translated into English. That the latter was the case as to some of them, at least, we shall soon produce actual proofs. A writer, who has considered these matters with much penetration and judgment, observes, that probably from the reign of our Richard I. we are to date that remarkable intercommunication and mutual exchange of compositions, which we discover to have taken place at some early period between the French and English minstrels; the same set of phrases, the same species of characters, incidents, and adventures, and often the identical stories, being found in the metrical romances of both nations.¹ From close connection and constant intercourse, the traditions and the champions of one kingdom were equally known in the other: and although Bevis and Guy were English heroes, yet on these principles this circumstance by no means destroys the supposition, that their achievements, although perhaps already celebrated in rude English songs, might be first wrought into romance by the French;² and it seems probable, that we continued for some time this practice of borrowing from our neighbours. Even the titles of our oldest romances, such as [*Sir Pleyndamour*, mentioned by Chaucer in the *Rime of Sir Thopas*, but not at present known under such a title],³ *Sir Triamour*,⁴

¹ Percy's *Ess. on Anc. Eng. Minstr.* p. 12, [attached to his edit. of the *Reliques*.]

² Dugdale relates, that in the reign of Henry IV., about the year 1410, a lord Beauchamp, travelling into the East, was hospitably received at Jerusalem by the Soldan's lieutenant: "Who hearing that he was descended from the famous Guy of Warwick, whose story they had in books of their own language, invited him to his palace and, royally feasting him, presented him with three precious stones of great value, besides divers cloaths of silk and gold given to his servants." Baron. i. p. 243, col. 1. This story is delivered on the credit of John Roufe, the traveller's cotemporary. Yet it is not so very improbable that Guy's history should be a book among the Saracens, if we consider, that Constantinople was not only a central and connecting point between the eastern and western world, but that the French in the thirteenth century had acquired an establishment there under Baldwin earl of Flanders: that the French language must have been known in Sicily, Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Antioch, in consequence of the conquests of Robert Guiscard, Hugo le Grand, and Godfrey of Bulloigne: and that pilgrimages into the Holy Land were excessively frequent. It is hence easy to suppose, that the French imported many of their stories or books of this sort into the East; which being thus understood there, and suiting the genius of the Orientals, were at length translated into their language. It is remarkable, that the Greeks at Constantinople, in the twelfth century and since, called all the Europeans by the name of Franks, as the Turks do to this day. See Seld. [Note on Drayton's] *Polyolb.* § viii. p. 130. [Bubec, in the third letter of his Embassy into Turkey, mentions that the Georgians in their songs make frequent mention of Roland, whose name he supposes to have passed over with Godfrey of Bulloigne.—Douce.]

³ [The editor merely throws out the suggestion that *Pleyndamour* is merely another form of *Plenus Amoris*, and that Thomas Plenus Amoris purports to have been the writer or transcriber of an early Scottish romance on the subject of Alexander, above mentioned. *Sir Blandamour* is one of the characters in the *Fairie Queene*.]

⁴ [Edited by Mr. Halliwell for the Percy Society, 1846.]

Sir Eglamour of Artois,¹ *La Mort d'Arthur*, with many more, betray their French extraction. It is likewise a presumptive argument in favour of this assertion, that we find no prose romances in our language before Caxton translated from the French the History of Troy, the Life of Charlemagne, the Histories of Jason, Paris and Vienne,² [Morte d'Arthur,] and other prose pieces of chivalry: by which, as the profession of minstrelsy decayed and gradually gave way to a change of manners and customs, romances in metre were at length imperceptibly superseded, or at least grew less in use as a mode of entertainment at public festivities.

Various causes concurred, in the mean time, to multiply books of

¹ In our English *Syr Eglamour of Artoys*, there is this reference to the French, from which it was translated. Sign. E. i.

"His own mother there he wedde,
In Romaunce as we rede."

Again, fol. ult.

"In Romaunce this cronycle ys."

The authors of these pieces often refer to their original. Just as Ariosto mentions Turpin for his voucher. [Halliwell's *Thornton Romances*, Camd. Soc. 1844.]

² [A short prose tale of chivalry, an English version of which was printed by Caxton in 1485. See Roxburghe Library reprint, 1868, Pref. But to what is there said may now be added that in the French language there are no fewer than three independent versions of this story, all derived from an at present undiscovered Provençal original. 1. The MS. No. 7534 in the Bibliothèque Impériale, at Paris, printed in 1835. 2. A MS. in large 4to. on paper, with the prologue of Pierre de la Sippade dated, not 1459, as in the Paris copy, but 1432, a very important variation, since in the Paris MS. Sippade is made (as it would seem falsely) to represent that he did not translate the work out of the Provençal till 1459. 3. An abridged version, of which there were several early-printed editions in 4to., of which one, now before me, has thirty-two leaves, with woodcuts, and is in two columns. This last was Caxton's original; and he has followed the French text very closely. There must have been impressions of the shorter story in type before 1485, therefore; but the earliest editions cited by Brunet are without note of the year. The copy, mentioned above as having the date 1432 to the Prologue, differs likewise materially in the arrangement of the text, and, to a certain extent, in the conduct of the story. In the old library of the Dukes of Burgundy,¹ according to an inventory taken about 1467, No. 2291 of the MSS. was *Le Roman de Paris et de la belle Vienne traduit de provençal en françois, par Pierre de la Ceppède Mar-seillois, sur papier, avec miniatures*.

Mr. Price observes: Its early and extensive popularity is manifested by the prologue to the Swedish version, made by order of Queen Euphemia, in the second month of the year 1308. This refers to a German original, executed at the command of the Emperor Otho (1197-1208); but this again was taken from a foreign (Wälfche) source.]

But I must not omit here that Du Cange recites a metrical French romance in MS., *Le Roman de Girard de Vienne*, written by Bertrand le Clerc. *Gloss. Lat. i. Ind. Aus.* p. xciii. Madox has printed the names of several French romances found in the reign of Edward III., among which one on this subject occurs. *Formul. Anglic.* p. 12. Compare *Observations on Spenser's Fairy Queen*, vol. ii. § viii. p. 43. Among the royal MSS. in the British Museum, there is in verse *Histoire de Gyrrat de Vienne et de ses freres*, 20 D. xi. 2. This MS. was perhaps written before the year 1300. [It is on vellum, in two columns. It appears to be the romance quoted by Du Cange.]

¹ [Blades, *Life and Typogr. of W. Caxton*, i. 278.]

chivalry among the French, and to give them a superiority over the English, not only in the number but in the excellence of those compositions. Their barons lived in greater magnificence. Their feudal system flourished on a more sumptuous, extensive, and lasting establishment. Schools were instituted in their castles for initiating the young nobility in the rules and practice of chivalry. Their tilts and tournaments were celebrated with a higher degree of pomp; and their ideas of honour and gallantry were more exaggerated and refined.

We may add, what indeed has been before incidentally remarked, that their troubadours were the first writers of metrical romances. But by what has been here advanced, I do not mean to insinuate without any restrictions, that the French entirely led the way in these compositions. Undoubtedly the Provençal bards contributed much to the progress of Italian literature. Raimond IV. of Arragon, count of Provence, a lover and a judge of letters, about the year 1220, invited to his court the most celebrated of the songsters who professed to polish and adorn the Provençal language by various sorts of poetry.¹ Charles I., his son-in-law, and the inheritor of his virtues and dignities, conquered Naples, and carried into Italy a taste for the Provençal literature. This taste prevailed at Florence especially, where Charles reigned many years with great splendour, and where his successors resided. Soon afterwards the Roman court was removed to Provence.² Hitherto the Latin language had only been in use. The Provençal writers established a common dialect; and their example convinced other nations that the modern languages were no less adapted to composition than those of antiquity.³ They introduced a love of reading, and diffused a general and popular taste for poetry, by writing in a language intelligible to the ladies and the people. Their verses, being conveyed in a familiar tongue, became the chief amusement of princes and feudal lords, whose courts had now begun to assume an air of greater brilliancy; a circumstance which necessarily gave great encouragement to their profession, and by rendering these arts of ingenious entertainment universally fashionable, imper-

¹ Giovan. Villani, *Istor.* l. vi. c. 92.

² Villani acquaints us, that Brunetti Latini, Dante's master, was the first who attempted to polish the Florentines by improving their taste and style. He died in 1294. See Villan. *ibid.* l. ix. c. 135. [That Brunetti did not write his *Tesoro* in Provençal we have his own authority, and the evidence of the work itself:—*Et se aucuns demandoit pourquoi chis livre est escrit en roumans selon la raison de France, pour chou que nous sommes Ytalien je diroie que ch'est pour chou que nous sommes en France; l'autre pour chou que la parleure en est plus delitable et plus commune a toutes gens.* Notices des Manuscrits, t. v. p. 270.—*Price.*]

³ Dante designed at first that his *Inferno* should appear in Latin. But finding that he could not so effectually in that language impress his satirical strokes and political maxims on the laity or illiterate, he altered his mind, and published that piece in Italian. Had Petrarch written his *Africa*, his *Eclogues*, and his prose compositions in Italian, the literature of his country would much sooner have arrived at perfection. [Mr. R. Taylor refers to Rosselli's *Spirito Antipapale*, 1832.]

ceptibly laid the foundation of polite literature. From these beginnings it were easy to trace the progress of poetry to its perfection, through John de Meun in France, Dante in Italy, and Chaucer in England.

This praise must undoubtedly be granted to the Provençal poets. But in the mean time, to recur to our original argument, we should be cautious of asserting, in general and indiscriminating terms, that the Provençal poets were the first writers of metrical romance: at least we should ascertain, with rather more precision than has been commonly used on this subject, how far they may claim this merit. I am of opinion that there were two sorts of French troubadours, who have not hitherto been sufficiently distinguished. If we diligently examine their history, we shall find that the poetry of the first troubadours consisted in satires, moral fables, allegories, and sentimental sonnets. So early as the year 1180, a tribunal, called the Court of Love, was instituted both in Provence and Picardy, at which questions in gallantry were decided. This institution furnished eternal matter for the poets, who threw the claims and arguments of the different parties into verse, in a style that afterwards led the way to the spiritual conversations of Cyrus and Clelia.¹ Fontenelle does not scruple to acknowledge, that gallantry was the parent of French poetry.² But to sing romantic and chivalrous adventures was a very different task, and required very different talents. The troubadours, therefore, who composed metrical romances, form a different species, and ought always to be considered separately. And this latter class seems to have commenced at a later period, not till after the Crusades had effected a great change in the manners and ideas of the western world. In the meantime I hazard a conjecture. Giraldi Cinthio supposes that the art of the troubadours, commonly called the Gay Science, was first communicated from France to the Italians, and afterwards to the Spaniards.³ This, perhaps, may be true; but at the same time it is highly probable, as the Spaniards had their *Juglares* or convivial bards very early, as from long connection they were immediately and intimately acquainted with the fictions of the Arabians, and as they were naturally fond of chivalry, that the troubadours of Provence in great measure caught this turn of fabling from Spain. To mention no other obvious means of intercourse in an affair of this nature, the communication was easy through the ports of Toulon and Marseilles, by which the two nations carried on from early times a constant commerce. Even the French critics themselves universally allow that the Spaniards, having learned rhyme from the Arabians, through this very channel conveyed it to Provence. Tasso preferred *Amadis de Gaul*, a romance originally written in [Portugal] by Vasco Lobeyra before the year 1300,⁴ to

¹ This part of their character will be insisted upon more at large when we come to speak of Chaucer.

² *Theatr. Fr.* p. 13.

³ *Apud Huet. Orig. Rom.* p. 108.

⁴ Nic. Antonius, *Bibl. Hispan. Vet.* tom. ii. l. viii. c. 7, num. 291.

the most celebrated pieces of the Provençal poets.¹ But this subject [has received illustration from several writers to whom we may refer, Sainte Palaye,² Millot,³ Fauriel,⁴ Paulin Paris,⁵ Paul Meyer, Gaston Paris, &c.]

SECTION IV.



VARIOUS matters suggested by the Prologue of *Richard cuer de Lyon*, cited in the last section, have betrayed us into a long digression, and interrupted the regularity of our annals. But I could not neglect so fair an opportunity of preparing the reader for those metrical tales which, having acquired a new cast of fiction from the Crusades and a magnificence of manners from the increase of chivalry, now began to be greatly multiplied, and as it were professedly to form a separate species of poetry. I now therefore resume the series, and proceed to give some specimens of the English metrical romances which appeared before or about the reign of Edward II.: and although most of these pieces continued to be sung by the minstrels in the halls of our magnificent ancestors for some [time] afterwards, yet, as their first appearance may most probably be dated at this period, they properly coincide in this place with the tenor of our history. In the mean time, it is natural to suppose, that by frequent repetition and successive changes of language during many generations, their original simplicity must have been in some degree corrupted. Yet some of the specimens are extracted from manuscripts written in the reign of Edward III. Others indeed from printed copies, where the editors took great liberties in accommodating the language to the times. However, in such as may be supposed to have suffered most from depravations of this sort, the substance of the ancient style still remains, and at least the structure of the story. On the whole, we mean to give the reader an idea of those popular heroic tales in verse, professedly written for the harp, which began to be multiplied among us about the beginning of the fourteenth century. We will begin with the romance of *Richard cuer de Lyon*, already mentioned.

The poem opens with the marriage of Richard's father, Henry II. with the daughter of Carbarryne, a king of Antioch. But this is only a lady of romance. Henry married Eleanor, the divorced

¹ *Disc. del Poem. Eroic.* l. ii. pp. 45, 46.

² *Memoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie*, 1781, 3 vols. 12mo.]

³ *Histoire Littéraire des Troubadours*, 1774, 3 vols. 12mo. An abridged English version appeared in 1807. See Brunet, *dern. edit.* v. 65.]

⁴ *Histoire de la Poésie Provençale*, 1847-8, 3 vols. 8vo.]

⁵ *Li Romans de Garin le Loherain, publié pour la première fois, et précédé de l'examen du système de M. Fauriel sur les romans Carolingiens*, 1833-5, 2 vols. 12mo. It may be worth while to add Bishop Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*, 1762, 8vo.]

queen of Louis of France. The minstrels could not conceive any thing less than an Eastern prince's to be the mother of this magnanimous hero :

His barons hym fedde¹
That he graunted a wyff to wedde.
Hastely he sente hys sondes
Into many dyuerse londes,
The feyreste wyman that wore on liff
Men wolde² bringe hym to wyff.³

The messengers or ambassadors, in their voyage, meet a ship adorned like Cleopatra's galley :

Swylk on ne seygh they never non ;
All it was whyt of huel-bon,
And every nayl with gold begrave :
Off pure gold was the stave ;⁴
Her mast was [of] yvory ;
Off samyte the sayl wytterly.
Her ropes wer off tucly sylk,
Al so whyt as ony mylk.
That noble schyp was al withoute
With clothys of golde sprede aboute ;
And her loof⁵ and her wyndas⁶
Off asure forsothe it was.
In that schyp ther wes i-dyght
Knyghts and ladyys of mekyll myght ;
And a lady therinne was,
Bryght as the sunne thorough the glas.
Her men aborde gunne to stonde,
And sefyd that other with her honde,
And prayde hem for to dwelle
And her counsayl for to telle :
And they graunted with all skylle
For to telle al at her wylle :
" Swo wyde landes we have went"
For kyng Henry us has sent,

¹ [redde, *advised*.]

² [sholde.]

³ [The present text has been taken from the edition of this romance by Mr. Weber, who followed a manuscript of no very early date in Caius College library, Cambridge. The variations between this and the early printed editions consist principally in the use of a more antiquated phraseology, with some trifling changes of the sense. The most important of these are given in the notes below. Mr. Ellis, who has analysed this romance (vol. ii. p. 186), conceives the fable in its present form to have originated with the reign of Edward I.; and that the extravagant fictions it contains were grafted by some Norman minstrel upon an earlier narrative, more in unison with Richard's real history. Of the story in its uncorrupted state, he considers a fragment occurring in the Auchinlech MS. to be an English translation; and as this document was "transcribed in the minority of Edward III." the following declaration of Mr. Weber may not exceed the truth :—"There is no doubt that our romance existed before the year 1300, as it is referred to in the Chronicles of Robert of Gloucester and Robert de Brunne; and as these rhymeesters wrote for mere English readers, it is not to be supposed that they would refer them to a French original."—*Price*.]

⁴ [sklave, *rudder* : *clavus*.]

⁵ [loft, *deck*. Sir F. Madden refers for an explanation of this word to Michel's *Tristan*, Gloss. under *Lof*, and to his own edit. of Laȝamon's *Brut*, 1847, i. 335, where the word is translated *luff*.]

⁶ [wyndlace.]

⁷ ["To dyverse londes do we wende."]

For to seke hym a qwene
 The fayreste that myghte fonde bene."
 Upros a kyng off a chayer
 With that word they spoke ther.
 The chayer was [of] charboncle ston,
 Swylk on ne sawgh they never non :
 And tuo dukes hym besyde,
 Noble men and mekyl off pryde,
 And welcomed the messangers ylkone.
 Into that schyp they gunne gone. . . .
 They sette treffeles and layde a borde ;
 Cloth of sylk theron was sprad,
 And the kyng hymselfe had,
 That his doughter were forth sette,
 And in a chayer before hym sette.
 Trumpes begonne for to blowe ;
 Sche was sette forth in a throwe¹
 With twenty knyghtes her aboute
 And moo off ladyes that wer stoute. . .
 Whenne they had nygh i-cete,
 Adventures to speke they nought forgeete.
 The kyng ham tolde, in hys resoun
 It com hym thorough a vyfoun,
 In his land that he cam froo,
 Into Yngelond for to goo ;
 And his doughtyr that was so dere
 For to wende bothe in fere,²
 "In this manere we have us dyght
 Into that lande to wende ryght."
 Thenne aunsweryd a messanger,
 Hys name was callyd Bernager,
 "Forther wole we seke nought
 To my lord the schal be brought."

They soon arrive in England, and the lady is lodged in the Tower of London, one of the royal castles :

The messangers the kyng have tolde
 Of that ladye fayr and bold,
 Ther he lay in the Tour
 Off that lady whyt so flour.
 Kyng Henry gan hym son dyght,
 With erls, barons, and manye a knyght,
 Agayn the lady for to wende :
 For he was curteys and hende.
 The damysele on lond was led,
 And clothes of gold before her spred,
 And her fadyr her befor
 With a coron off gold icorn ;
 The messangers be ylk a syde
 And menstralles with mekyl pryde
 Kyng Henry lyght in hyng
 And grette fayr that uncouth kyng. . .

¹ immediately. [In an ancient Provençal poem, of which M. de Sainte Palaye has given some account in his *Mémoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie*, tom. ii. p. 160, a master gives the following instructions to his pupil, "Ouvrez a votre cheval par des coupes redoublés, la route qu'il doit tenir, et que son portrail soit garni de beaux grelots ou sonnettes bien rangées ; car ces sonnettes reveillent merveilleusement le courage de celui qui le monte, et repandent devant lui la terreur."—*Douce*.]

² company.

To Westemenstre they wente in fere
 Lordyngs and ladys that ther were.
 Trumpe begonned for to blowe,
 To mete¹ they wente in a throwe, &c.²

The first of our hero's achievements in chivalry is at a splendid tournament held at Salisbury. Clarendon, near Salisbury, was one of the king's palaces :³

Kyng Rychard gan hym dysguyfe
 In a ful strange queyntysfe.⁴
 He cam out of a valaye
 For to se of theyr playe,
 As a knyght aventurous :
 Hys atyre was orgolous :⁵
 Al togyder cole black
 Was hys horfe withoute lacke ;
 Upon hys crest a raven stode,
 That yaned⁶ as he wer wode.
 He bare a schafte that was grete and strong,
 It was fourtene foot long ;
 And it was grete and stout,
 One and twenty ynches about.⁷
 The fyrst knyght that he there mette,
 Ful egyrly he hym grette
 With a dente amynd the schelde ;
 His hors he bar down in the felde, &c.⁸

A battle-axe which Richard carried with him from England into the Holy Land is thus described :

King Richard, I understonde,
 Or he went out of England,

¹ to dinner.

² line 135.

³ In the pipe-rolls of this king's reign I find the following articles relating to this ancient palace, which has been already mentioned incidentally. *Rot. Pip.* 1 *Ric. I.* "Wiltes.—Et in cariagio vini Regis a Clarendon usque Woodestoke, 34s. 4d. per Br. Reg. Et pro ducendis 200 m. [marcis] a Saresburia usque Briftow, 7s. 4d. per Br. Reg. Et pro ducendis 2500 libris a Saresburia usque Glocestriam, 26s. 10d. per Br. Reg. Et pro tonellis et clavis ad eosdem denarios. Et in cariagio de 4000 marcis a Sarum usque Suthanton, et pro tonellis et aliis necessariis, 8s. et 1d. per Br. Reg." And again in *Rot. Pip.* 30 *Hen. III.* "Wiltescire.—Et in una marcellia ad opus regis et reginæ apud Clarendon cum duobus intercluforiis et duabus cameris privatis, hostio veteris aulæ amovendo in porticu, et de eadem aula camera faciendâ cum camino et fenestris, et camera privata, et quadam magna coquina quadrata, et aliis operationibus, contentis in Brevi, inceptis per eundem Nicolaum et non perfectis, 526l. 16s. 5d. ob. per Br. Reg." Again, *Rot. Pip.* 39 *Hen. III.* "Sudhamt.—Comp. *Novæ forestæ.* Et in triginta miliaribus scindularum [shingles] faciend. in eadem foresta et cariad. easdem usque Clarendon ad domum regis ibidem cooperiendam, 6l. et 1 marc. per Br. Reg. Et in 30 mill. scindularum faciend. in eadem, et cariad. usque Clarendon, 11l. 10s." And again, in the same reign, the canons of Ivy-church receive pensions for celebrating in the royal chapel there. *Rot. Pip.* 7 *Hen. III.* "Wiltes.—Et canonicis de monasterio ederoso ministrantibus in Capella de Clarendon. 35l. 7d. ob." Stukeley is mistaken in saying this palace was built by King John.

⁴ See Du Cange, *Gl. Lat.* Cointise.

⁵ proud, pompous.

⁶ yawned.

⁷ It is "One and twenti ynches aboute." So Dr. Farmer's MS., purchased from Mr. Martin's library. See *supr.* This is in English.

⁸ line 267.

Let him make an axe¹ for the nones,
 To breke therwith the Sarafyns² bones.
 The head was wrought right wele;
 Therin was twenty pounce of stele;
 And when he came into Cyprus lond,
 The ax he tok in his hond.
 All that he hit, he all to-frapped;
 The griffons³ away fast rapped;
 Natheles many he cleaved,
 And their unthinks ther by-lived;
 And the prisoun when he cam to,
 With his ax he smot right tho,
 Dores, barres, and iron chains, &c.⁴

This formidable axe is again mentioned at the siege of Acon or Acre, the ancient Ptolemais :

Kyng Rychard aftyr, anon ryght,
 Toward Acres gan hym dyght;
 And as he sayld toward Surreye,⁵
 He was warnyd off a spye,
 Howe the folk off the hethene lawe
 A gret cheyne hadden i-drawe
 Over the havene of Acres fers,
 And was festnyd to two pelers,
 That noo schyp ne scholde in-wynne,⁶
 Ne they nought out that wer withynne.
 Therefore sevene yer and more
 Alle Crystene kynges leyen thore,
 And with gret hongyr suffryd payne,
 For lettynge off that ilke chayne.
 Kyng Richard herd that tydyng;
 For joye hys herte beganne to sprynge,
 And swor and sayde in his thought,
 That ylke chayne scholde helpe hem nought
 A swythe strong galeie he took,
 And⁷ Trenchemer,⁸ so fays the book,

¹ Richard's battle-axe is also mentioned by [de] Brunne, and on this occasion, *Chron.* p. 159.

² The Crusades imported the phrase *Jeu Sarrazionois*, for any sharp engagement, into the old French romances.—Thus in the *Roman d'Alexandre*, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. *ut supr.* P. 1.

“Tholomer le regrette et le plaint en Grijois,
 Et dist que s'il eussent o culz telz vingt et trois,
 Il nous eussent fet un *Jeu Sarrazionois*.”

³ The Byzantine Greeks are often called Griffones by the historians of the middle ages. See Du Cange *Gloss. Ville-Hard.* p. 363. See also Rob. [de] Brun. *Chron.* pp. 151, 157, 159, 160, 165, 171, 173. Wanley supposes that the Griffin in heraldry was intended to signify a Greek or Saracen, whom they thus represented under the figure of an imaginary eastern monster, which never existed but as an armorial badge.

⁴ line 2196.

⁵ Syria.

⁶ So Fabyan, of Rosamond's bower: “that no creature, man or woman, myght *wynne* to her,” *i. e.* go in, by contraction, Win. *Chron.* vol. i. p. 320, col. i. edit. 1533. [pinnan A.-S. to labour, strive at, and hence attain to by labour.—*Price*.]

⁷ Rob. [de] Brun. *Chron.* p. 170.

“The kynges owne galeie he cald it *Trenchemere*.”

⁸ [*Trenchemere*, so saith the boke.—
 The galeie yede as swift
 As any fowle by the lyfte.”]

Steryd the galey ryght ful evene,
 Ryght in the myddes off the havene.
 Wer the maryners saughte or wrothe,
 He made hem sayle and rowe bothe;
 And kynge Rychard, that was so good,
 With hys axe in forechyp flood.
 And whenne he com the cheyne too,
 With hys ax he smot it in two,¹
 That all the barouns, verrayment,
 Sayde it was a noble dent;
 And for joye off this dede
 The cuppes fast abouten yede,²
 With good wyn, pyement and clarré;
 And sayld toward Acres cyté.
 Kyng Richard, oute of hys galye,
 Caste wyld-fyr into the skye,
 And fyr Gregeys into the see,
 And al on fyr wer the.
 Trumpes yede in hys galey,
 Men mighte it here into the skye,
 Taboures and hornes Sarezynes,³
 The see brent all off fyr Gregeys.⁴

This *fyr Gregeys*, or Grecian fire, seems to be a composition belonging to the Arabian chemistry. It is frequently mentioned by the Byzantine historians, and was very much used in the wars of the middle ages, both by sea and land. It was a sort of wild-fire, said to be inextinguishable by water, [but innocuous against vinegar prepared in a certain manner,] and chiefly used for burning ships, against which it was thrown in pots or phials by the hand. In land engagements it seems to have been discharged by machines constructed on purpose. The oriental Greeks pretended that this artificial fire was invented by Callinicus, an architect of Heliopolis, under Constantine; and that Constantine prohibited them from communicating the manner of making it to any foreign people. It was, however, in common use among the nations confederated with the Byzantines; and Anna Comnena has given an account of its ingredients,⁵ which were bitumen, sulphur, and naphtha. It is called *feu gregois* in the French chronicles and romances. Our minstrel, I believe, is singular in saying that Richard scattered this fire on Saladin's ships: many monkish historians of the holy war, in describing the siege of Acon, relate that it was employed on that occasion and many others by the Saracens against the Christians.⁶ Procopius, in his history of the Goths, calls it *Medea's Oil*, as if it had been a preparation used in the sorceries of that enchantress.⁷

¹ Thus R. de Brunne says, "he fondred the Sarazyns otuynne." p. 574. [But *fondred* seems to be a mis-reading for *fondred*, parted or clove.]

² went.

³ [thalmys, *shawms*.]

⁴ line 2593.

⁵ See Du Cange, *Not. ad. Joinvil.* p. 71. And *Gl. Lat.*, V. *Ignis Græcus*.

⁶ See more particularly *Chron. Rob. [de] Brun.* p. 170. And *Benedict. Abb.* p. 652. And *Joinv. Hist. L.* pp. 39, 46, 52, 53, 62, 70.

⁷ iv. 11.

The quantity of huge battering rams and other military engines, now unknown, which Richard is said to have transported into the Holy Land, was prodigious. The names of some of them are given in another part of this romance.¹ It is an historical fact, that Richard was killed by the French from the shot of an arcubalist, a machine which he often worked skilfully with his own hands: and Guillaume le Breton, a Frenchman, in his Latin poem called *Philippeis*, introduces Atropos making a decree that Richard should die by no other means than by a wound from this destructive instrument, the use of which, after it had been interdicted by the Pope in the year 1139, he revived, and is supposed to have shown the French in the Crusades:²

[Ginnes?] he hadde on wondyr wyfe;
Mang[o]neles³ off gret queintyse;⁴
Arwblast bowe, and⁵ with gynne
The Holy Lond[c] for to wynne.
Ovyr al othyr wytteflyr,
A melle⁶ he hadde off gret mayftry;

¹ "Twenty grete gynnes for the nones
Kynge Richard lent for to cast stones," &c.

Among these were the Mategriffon and the Robynet. Sign. N. iii. The former of these is thus described. Sign. E. iiiii.:

"I have a castell I underfonde
Is made of tembre of Englonde
With syxe stages full of tourelles
Well flouryshed with cornelles," &c.

See Du Cange *Not. Joinv.* p. 68, Mategriffon is the Terror or plague of the Greeks. Du Cange, in his [*Histoire de Constantinople sous les empereurs Français*,] mentions a castle of this name in Peloponesus. Benedict says that Richard erected a strong castle, which he called Mate-griffon, on the brow of a steep mountain without the walls of the city of Messina in Sicily. Benedict. Abb. p. 621, ed. Hearn. sub. ann. 1190. Robert de Brunne mentions this engine from our romance. *Chron.* p. 157:

"The romancer it fais Richarde did make a pele,
On kastelle wise allwais wrought of tre ful wele.—
In schip he ded it lede, &c.
His pele from that dai forward he cald it Mate-griffon."

Pele is a house [a castle, fortification]. Archbishop Turpin mentions Charlemagne's wooden castles at the siege of a city in France, cap. ix.

² See Carpentier's *Suppl. Du Cange*, Lat. Gl. tom. i. p. 434. And Du Cange, *ad Ann. Alex.* p. 357.

³ See *supr.* It is observable that *Manganum*, Mangonell, was not known among the Roman military machines, but existed first in the Byzantine Greek *Mangyon*, a circumstance which seems to point out its inventors, at least to shew that it belonged to the oriental art of war. It occurs often in the Byzantine Tactics, although at the same time it was perhaps derived from the Latin *Machina*: yet the Romans do not appear to have used in their wars so formidable and complicated an engine, as this is described to have been in the writers of the dark ages. It was the capital machine of the wars of those ages. Du Cange, in his [*Constantinople sous les empereurs Français*] mentions a vast area at Constantinople in which the machines of war were kept. p. 155.

⁴ See *supr.*

⁵ [made.]

⁶ mill.

In myddys a schyp for to stand ;
 Swylke on sawgh nevyr man in land :
 Four[e] fayles wer theretoo,
 Yelew and grene, red and bloo.
 With canevas layd wel al about,
 Ful schyr withinne and eke without ;
 Al withinne ful off feer,
 Of torches maad with wex ful cleer ;
 Ovyrtwart and endelang,
 With strenges of wyr the stones hang ;¹
 Stones that deden never note,
 Grounde they never whete, no grote,
 But rubbyd as they wer wood.
 Out of the eye ran red blood.²
 Before the trowgh there stood on ;
 Al in blood he was begon,
 And hornes grete upon his hede ;
 Sarezynes theroff hadde gret drede.³

The last circumstance recalls a fiend-like appearance drawn by Shakespeare; in which, exclusive of the application, he has converted ideas of deformity into the true sublime, and rendered an image terrible, which in other hands would have probably been ridiculous :—

Methought his eyes
 Were two full moons ; he had a thousand noses,
 Horns whelk'd and wav'd like the enridged sea,
 It was some fiend——⁴

¹ [With springelles of fyre they dyde honde.]—Espringalles, Fr. Engines. See Du Cange, *Gl. Lat.* Spingarda, Quadrellus. And Not. Joinv. p. 78. Perhaps he means pellets of tow dipped in the Grecian fire, which sometimes were thrown from a sort of mortar. Joinville says, that the Greek fire thrown from a mortar looked like a huge dragon flying through the air, and that at midnight the flashes of it illuminated the Christian camp, as if it had been broad day. When Louis's army was encamped on the banks of the Thanis in Ægypt, says the same curious historian, about the year 1249, they erected two *chats chateils*, or covered galleries, to shelter their workmen, and at the end of them two *befrois*, or vast moveable wooden towers, full of crossbow men, who kept a continual discharge on the opposite shore. Besides eighteen other new-invented engines for throwing stones and bolts. But in one night, the deluge of Greek fire ejected from the Saracen camp utterly destroyed these enormous machines. This was a common disaster; but Joinville says, that his pious monarch sometimes averted the danger, by prostrating himself on the ground, and invoking our Saviour with the appellation of *Beau Sire*, pp. 37, 39.

² This device is thus related by Robert of Brunne, *Chron.* pp. 175-176 :

“ Richard als fuithe did raise his engyns
 The Inglis wer than blythe, Normans and Petevyns :
 In bargeis and galeis he set mylnes to go,
 The failes, as men sais, fom were blak and blo,
 Som were rede and grene, the wynde about them blew.
 The stones were of Rynes, the noyse dreadfull and grete ;
 It affraied the Sarazins ; as leven the fyre out schete.
 The noyse was unrde,” &c.

Rynes is the river Rhine, whose shores or bottom supplied the stones shot from their military engines. The Normans, a barbarous people, appear to have used machines of immense and very artificial construction at the siege of Paris in 885. See the last note. And *Vit. Saladin.* per Schultens, pp. 135, 141, 167, &c.

³ Line 2631.

⁴ King Lear, iv. vi. [Dyce's edit. 1868, vii. 324.]

At the touch of this powerful magician, to speak in Milton's language, "The griesly terror grows tenfold more dreadful and deform."

The moving castles described by our minstrel, which seem to be so many fabrics of romance, but are founded in real history, afforded suitable materials for poets who deal in the marvellous. Accordingly they could not escape the fabling genius of Tasso, who has made them instruments of enchantment, and accommodated them with great propriety to the operations of infernal spirits.

At the siege of Babylon, the soldan Saladin sends King Richard a horse. The messenger says :

Thou sayest thy God is ful of myght :
Wylt thou graunt, with spere and scheeld,
Derayè the ryghtè in the feeld,
With helm, hawberk and brondes bryght
On strong[e] stedes, good and lyght,
Whether is off more power
Jesu or Jubyter ?
And he sente thé to say this,
Yiff thou wilt have an hors [of] hys ?
In alle the landes ther thou hast gon,
Swylk on say thou nevyr non !
Favel off Cypre, ne Lyard off Prys,¹
Are nought at nede as that he is ;
And, yiff thou wylt, this selve day
It shall be brought thé to a lay.
Quoth kyng Richard : "Thou sayest wel ;
Swylke an hors, by Seynt Mychel,

¹ Horses belonging to Richard, "Favel of Cyprus and Lyard of Paris." Robert de Brunne mentions one of these horses, which he calls [Fauuel]. *Chron.* p. 175 :

"Sithen at Japhet was slayn [Fauuel] his stede,
The Romans telles gret pas ther of his douthy dede."

This is our romance, viz. Sign. Q. iii. :

"To hym gadered every chone
And flewe Favell under hym,
Tho was Richard wroth and grym."

This was at the siege of Jaffa, as it is here called. Favell of Cyprus is again mentioned, Sign. O. ii. :

"Favell of Cyprus is forth fet
And in the sadell he hym fett."

Robert of Brunne says that Saladin's brother sent King Richard a horse. *Chron.* p. 194 :

"He sent to King Richard a stede for curteise
On of the best reward that was in paemie."

In the wardrobe-roll of Prince Edward, afterwards Edward II., under the year 1272, the masters of the horse render their accounts for horses purchased, specifying the colours and prices with the greatest accuracy. One of them is called "*Unus equus favellus cum stella in fronte*," &c. Hearne's *Joann. de Trokelowe*. Præf. p. xxvi. Here *favellus* is interpreted by Hearne to be *honeycomb*. I suppose he understands a dappled or roan horse. But *favellus*, evidently an adjective, is barbarous Latin for *fulvus* or *fulvus*, a dun or light yellow, a word often used to express the colour of horses and hawks. See Carpentier, Suppl. Du Cange, *Lat. Gloss. V. Favellus*, tom. ii. p. 370. It is hence that King Richard's horse is called Favel. From which word [Fauvel] in Robert de Brunne is a corruption.

I wolde have to ryde upon.
 Bydde hym sende that hors to me ;
 I schal aſaye, what that he be.
 Yiff he be truſty, withoute ſayle
 I kepe non othir in batayle.”
 The meſſanger thenne home wente,
 And tolde the Sawdon in preſente,
 Hou kyng Richard wolde hym mete.
 The rych[e] Sawdon, al ſo ſkete,
 A noble clerk he ſente for thenne
 A maſtyr negromacien,¹
 That conjuryd as [I] you telle,
 Thorwgh the feendes craft off helle,
 Twoo ſtrongè feendes off the eyr
 In lykneſſe off twoo ſtedes feyr,
 Lykè bothe of hewe and here ;
 As they ſaydè that wer there,
 Never was ther ſeen non flyke.
 That on was a merè lyke,
 That other a colt, a noble ſtede,
 Wher he wer in ony nede,
 Was nevyr kyng ne knyght² ſo bolde,
 That, whenne the damè neyghè³ wolde,
 Scholde hym holde agayn hys wylle,
 That he ne woldè renne her tylle,⁴
 And knele adoun, and ſouke⁵ hys dame :
 That whyle, the Sawdon [thought] with ſchame,
 Scholde Kyng Richard ſoone aquelle.
 All thus an aungyl gan hym telle,
 That cam to hym aſtyr mydnyght ;
 And ſayd “ Awake, thou Goddes knyght !
 My lord⁶ dos thè to undyrſtande,
 Thè ſchal com an hors to hande ;
 Fayr he is off body pyght ;
 Betraye thè yiff the Sawdon myght.
 On hym to ryde have thou no drede,
 He ſchal thè help[en] at thy nede.”

The angel then gives King Richard ſeveral directions about managing this infernal horſe, and a general engagement enſuing, between the Chriſtian and Saracen armies :—⁷

To lepe to hors thenne was he dyght ;
 Into the ſadyl or he leep,
 Off many thyng he took keep.
 Hys men him brought al that he badde.
 A quarry tree off fourty foote
 Before hys ſadyl anon dyd hote

¹ necromancer.

² his rider.

³ neigh.

⁴ go to her.

⁵ ſuck.

⁶ God.

⁷ In which the Saracen line extended twelve miles in length, and

“ The grounde myght unneth be ſene
 For bryght armure and ſperes kene.”

Again

“ Lyke as ſnowe lyeth on the mountaynes
 So were fulfilled hylles and playnes
 With hauberkes bryght and harneys clere
 Of trompettes, and tabourere.”

Faſte that men ſcholde it brace, &c.
 Hymſelf was rychely begoo
 From the creſt unto the too.¹
 He was armyd wondyr weel,
 And al with plates off good ſteel;
 And ther aboven, an hawberk;
 A ſchafft wrought off truſty werk;
 On his ſchuldre a ſcheeld off ſteel,
 With three lupardes² wrought ful weel.
 An helme he hadde off ryche entayle;
 Truſty and trewe hys ventayle;
 On hys creſt a douvè whyte
 Sygnyfycacioun off the Holy Spryte:
 Upon a croys the douvè ſtood,
 Off goldè wrought ryche and good.
 God³ hymſelf, Mary and Jhon,
 As he was naylyd the roode upon,⁴
 In ſygne off hym for whom he faught,
 The ſperè-hed forgatt he naught:
 Upon hys ſpere he wolde it have,
 Goddes hygh name theron was grave.
 Now herkenes what oth they ſwore,
 Ar they to the batayle wore:
 Yiff it were ſoo, that Richard myght
 Sloo the Sawdon in feeld with fyght,
 Hee and alle hys ſcholde gon,
 At her wylle everilkon,
 Into the cytè off Babylone;
 And the kyngdom of Maſſidoync
 He ſcholde have undyr his hand:
 And yiff the Sawdon off that land
 Myghte ſloo Richard in that feeld
 With ſwerd or ſpere undyr ſcheeld,
 That Criſtene men ſcholde goo
 Out off that land for ever moo,
 And Sarezynes have her wylle in wolde.
 Quod kyng Richard: "Thertoo I holde!
 Thertoo my glove, as I am knyght!"
 They ben armyd and wel i-dyght.
 Kyng Richard into the ſadyl leep;
 Who that wolde, theroff took keep.
 To ſee, that fyght was ful fayr.
 The ſtede[s] ran ryght with gret ayr,⁵
 Al ſo harde as they myght dure,
 Aftyr her feet ſprong the fure,
 Tabours beten, and trumpes blowe;
 Ther myghte men ſee in a throwe,
 How kyng Richard, the noble man,
 Encounteryd with the Sawdan,
 That cheef was told off Damas.⁶
 Hys truſt upon hys merè was.
 Therfoore, as the booke⁷ telles,

¹ from head to foot.² leopards.³ Our Saviour.⁴ "As he died upon the cross." So in [the fragmentary version of the *Brut*.] cited by Hearne, *Gloss. Rob. Br.* p. 634.

"Pyned under Ponce Pilat,
 Don on the rod after that."

⁵ ire.⁶ See Du Cange, *Joivv.* p. 87.⁷ The French romance.

Hys crouper heeng al ful off belles,¹
 And his peytrel² and his arfoun³
 Three myle myghte men here the soun.
 The mere gan nygh, her belles to ryng
 For grete pryde, withoute lefyng,
 A brod fawchoun to hym he bar,
 For he thought that he wolde thar
 Have slayn kyng Richard with trefoun,
 Whenne hys hors had knelyd doun,
 As a colt that scholde fouke.
 And he was war off that pouke:⁴
 Hys⁵ eeres with wax wer stoppyd fast,
 Therefore was he nought agait.
 He strook the feend that undyr hym yede,
 And gaff the Sawdon a dynt off dede.
 In his blasoun, verrayment,
 Was i-paynted a serpent.
 With the spere, that Richard heeld,
 He beor him thorwgh and undyr the scheeld,
 None off hys armes myghte lafte;
 Brydyl and peytrel al to-braft;
 Hys gerth and hys steropes alsoo;
 The merè to the grounde gan goo.
 Mawgry him, he garte hym staupe⁶
 Bakward ovyr hys meres croupe;
 The feet toward the fyrmament.
 Behynd the Sawdon the spere out went.
 He leet hym lye upon the grene;⁷
 He prekyd the feend with spores⁸ kene;
 In the name off the Holy Gost,
 He dryves into the hethene hooft,

¹ Anciently no person seems to have been gallantly equipped on horseback, unless the horse's bridle or some other part of the furniture was stuck full of small bells. Vincent of Beauvais, who wrote about 1264, censures this piece of pride in the knights-templars. They have, he says, bridles embroidered, or gilded, or adorned with silver, "Atque in pectoralibus campanulas infixas magnum emittentes sonitum, ad gloriam eorum et decorem." Hist. lib. xxx. cap. 85. Wicliffe, in his *Triologue*, inveighs against the priests for their "fair hors, and jolly and gay faddeles, and bridles ringing by the way," &c. Lewis's *Wicliffe*, p. 121. Hence Chaucer may be illustrated, who thus describes the state of a monk on horseback. *Prolog. Cant. Tales*, v. 170:

"And when he rode, men might his bridell here
 Gingling in a whistling wind as clere,
 And eke as lowde, as doth the chapel bell."

That is, because his horse's bridle or trappings were strung with bells.

² The breast-plate, or breast-band of a horse. *Poitrail*, Fr. *Pectorale*, Lat. Thus Chaucer, of the Chanones Yemans horse. *Chan. Yem. Prolog.* v. 575:

"About the paytrell stode the some ful hie."

³ The saddle-bow. "Arcenarium extencellatum cum argento," occurs in the wardrobe rolls, ab an. 21 ad an. 23 Edw. III. Membr. xi. This word is not in Du Cange or his *Supplement*.

⁴ [And he was ware of that shame.]

⁵ The colt's ears.

⁶ [Maugre her heed, he made her seche
 The grounde, withoute more speche.]

⁷ [Ther he fell dede on the grene.]

⁸ spurs.

And al so soone as he was come,
 He brak asunder the scheltrome;¹
 For al that ever before hym stode
 Hors and man to erthe yode,
 Twenty foot on every syde, &c.
 Whenne they of Fraunce wyfte,
 That the maystry hadde the Chryste,
 They wer bolde, her herte they tooke;
 Stedes prekyd, schauftes schooke.²

Richard arming himself is a curious Gothic picture. It is certainly a genuine picture, and drawn with some spirit: as is the shock of the two necromantic steeds, and other parts of this description. The combat of Richard and the Soldan, on the event of which the Christian army got possession of the city of Babylon, is probably the Duel of King Richard, painted on the walls of a chamber in the royal palace of Clarendon. The soldan is represented as meeting Richard with ["A faucon brode," or a broad falchion,] in his hand. Tabour, a drum, a common accompaniment of war, is mentioned as one of the instruments of martial music in this battle with characteristic propriety. It was imported into the European armies from the Saracens in the holy war. The word is constantly written tabour, not tambour, in Joinville's *History of Saint Louis*, and all the elder French romances. Joinville describes a superb bark or galley belonging to a Saracen chief, which he says was filled with symbols, tabours, and Saracen horns.³ Jean d'Orronville, an old French chronicler of the life of Louis, duke of Bourbon, relates that the king of France, the king of Thrasimere, and the king of Bugie, landed in Africa according to their custom with cymbals, kettle-drums, tabours,⁴ and whistles.⁵ Babylon, here said to be besieged by King Richard, and so frequently mentioned by the romance writers and the chroniclers of the Crusades, is Cairo or Bagdat. Cairo and Bagdat, cities of recent foundation, were perpetually confounded with Babylon, which had been destroyed many centuries before, and was situated at a considerable distance from either. Not the least enquiry was made in the dark ages concerning the true situation of places, or the disposition of the country in Palestine,

¹ *Schiltrom*. I believe, soldiers drawn up in a circle. Rob. de Brunne uses it in describing the battle of Fowkirke, *Chron.* p. 305:

"Ther Scheltron sone was shad with Inglis that wer gode."

Shad is separated. [Scheltron, *turma clipeata*, a troop armed with shields. See Jamieson's *Etymol.* Scott. *Dict.*—*Price*.]

² Line 5642.

³ *Histoire de S. Loys*, p. 30. The original has "Cors Sarazinois." See also pp. 52, 56. And Du Cange's Notes, p. 61.

⁴ [Roquefort, who cites the same passage, calls Glais a musical instrument, without defining its peculiar nature.—*Price*.]

⁵ Cap. 76. Nacaires is here the word for kettle-drums. See Du Cange, *ubi supr.* p. 59. Who also from an old roll "de la chambre des Comptes de Paris" recites, among the household musicians of a French nobleman, "Meneftrel du Cor Sarazinois," *ib.* p. 60. This instrument is not uncommon in the French romances.

although the theatre of so important a war; and to this neglect were owing, in a great measure, the signal defeats and calamitous distresses of the Christian adventurers, whose numerous armies, destitute of information, and cut off from every resource, perished amidst unknown mountains and impracticable wastes. Geography at this time had been but little cultivated. It had been studied only from the ancients: as if the face of the earth and the political state of nations had not, since the time of those writers, undergone any changes or revolutions.

So formidable a champion was King Richard against the infidels, and so terrible the remembrance of his valour in the holy war, that the Saracens and Turks used to quiet their froward children only by repeating his name. Joinville is the only writer who records this anecdote. He adds another of the same sort. When the Saracens were riding, and their horses started at any unusual object, "ils disoient a leurs cheualx en les picquant de l'esperon: et cuides tu que ce soit le Roy Richart?"¹ It is extraordinary that these circumstances should have escaped Malmesbury, Matthew Paris, [Benedictus Abbas], Langtoft, and the rest of our old historians, who have exaggerated the character of this redoubted hero by relating many particulars more likely to be fabulous, and certainly less expressive of his prowess.

SECTION V.



THE romance of *Sir Guy* which [probably in one of its earlier casts, as exhibited in the Auchinleck MS.] is enumerated by Chaucer among the "Romances of pris," affords a series of fictions customary in pieces of this sort, concerning the [adventures of the hero both in England and abroad.² The following is the description of the first meeting of Guy and Felice, his future wife:³

¹ *Hist. de S. Loys*, pp. 16, 104. Who had it from a French MS. chronicle of the holy war. See Du Cange's Notes, p. 45.

² [See *The Romances of Sir Guy of Warwick, and Rembrun his Son. Now first edited from the Auchinleck MS.* (by W. B. D. D. Turnbull). Edinburgh: Printed for the Abbotsford Club, MDCCCXI. In the Preface the Editor has given an account of the various MSS. and printed editions of the romance, and has printed at length a fragment of an otherwise unknown English version in the possession of Sir Thomas Philipps.] The [old printed] copy of *Sir Guy* is a considerable volume in quarto. My edition is without date, "Imprynted at London in Lothbury by Wylliam Copland," with rude wooden cuts. It runs to Sign. Ll. iii. [An imperfect copy is in Garrick's Collection, vol. K. 9, and a perfect one was in Heber's library, Cat. pt. iv. 961. A fragment of this romance belonged to Dr. Farmer, and afterwards to Mr. Douce, which Ritson in his MS. Cat. of Engl. Romances, states to have been printed by W. de Worde, about 1495. In the possession of Mr. Staunton of Longbridge House, co. Warw. is a larger fragment of thirty-six leaves, printed in a thinner letter than W. de Worde's, with wood-cuts, which I

"It was opon a Pentecost day y-teld
 Therl a gret fest held
 At Warwike in that cite
 That than was y-won to be
 Thider cam men of miche might
 Erls and barouns bothe aplight
 Leuedis and maidens of gret mounde
 That in the lond wer y-founde
 Eueriche maiden ches hir loue
 Of knightes that wer thider y-come
 And euerich knight his leman
 Of that gentil maiden wiman
 When thai were fro chirche y-come
 Ther alight mani a noble gome
 Therl to the mete was sett
 Gij stode forn him in that flett
 That was the steward sone
 Therl to serue it was his wone
 To him he cleped Gij
 And him hete and comandi
 That he in to chaumber went

should feel inclined to ascribe to Pynson. Ritson mentions also an edition by John Cawood.—*Madden*.

It seems to be older than the *Squyr of lowe degree*, in which it is quoted. Sign. a. iii.:

"Or els so bolde in chivalrie
 As was fyr Gawayne or fyr Gie."

The two best MSS. are at Cambridge, MSS. Bibl. Publ. Mor. 690, 33, and MSS. Coll. Caii, A 8, from which text it has now been given.

An analysis of this romance will be found in the "Specimens" of Mr. Ellis, who is of opinion that "the tale in its present state has been composed from the materials of at least two or three if not more romances. The first is a most tiresome love story which, it may be presumed, originally ended with the marriage of the fond couple. To this it should seem was afterwards tacked on a series of fresh adventures, invented or compiled by some pilgrim from the Holy Land; and the hero of this legend was then brought home for the defence of Athelstan and the destruction of Colbrand." Mr. Ritson, in opposition to Dugdale, who regarded Guy as an undeniably historical personage, has laboured to prove that "no hero of this name is to be found in real history," and that he was "no more an English hero than Amadis de Gaul or Perceforest." Mr. Ellis, on the other hand, conceives the tale "may possibly be founded on some Saxon tradition," and that though the name in its present form be undoubtedly French, yet as it bears some resemblance to Egil, the name of an Icelandic warrior, who "contributed very materially to the important victory gained by Athelstan over the Danes and their allies at Brunanburgh," he thinks "it is not impossible that this warlike foreigner may have been transformed by some Norman monk into the pious and amorous Guy of Warwick." This at best is but conjecture, nor can it be considered a very happy one. Egil himself (or his nameless biographer) makes no mention of a single combat on the occasion in which he had been engaged; and the fact, had it occurred, would have been far too interesting, and too much in unison with the spirit of the times, to have been passed over in silence. In addition to this, the substitution of Guy for Egil is against all analogy, on the transformation of a Northern into a French appellation. The initial letters in Guy, Guyon, and Guido, are the representatives of the Teutonic W, and clearly point to some cognomen beginning with the Saxon Wig, *bellum*.—*Price*.]

[In the present edition extracts from the Auchinleck MS., as printed in 1840, have been substituted for Warton's quotations from Copland's modernized and altered text.]

And grete wele that maiden gent
 And that he schuld that ich day
 Serue wele that feir may
 ●ij him answerd freliche
 Sir Ichil wel bletheliche
 In a kirtel of filk he gan him schrede
 Into chaumber wel sone he zede
 The kirtel bicom him swithe wel
 To amenden theron was neuer a del
 The maidens biheld him feir an wel
 For that he was so gentil
 Gij on his kne sone him sett
 And on hir fader half he hir grett
 And seyde he was thider sent
 To serue hir to hir talent
 Felice answerd than to Gij
 Bieus amis molt gramerci
 And seththe sche asked him in the plas
 Whennes he cam and what he was
 Mi fader he seyde hat Suward
 That is thi fader steward
 That with him me hath y-held
 And forth y-brought God him foryeld
 Artow sche seyde Suward sone
 That of al godenes hath the wone
 Gij stode stille and seyde nought
 With that was the water forth brought
 Thai sett hem to mete anon
 Erl baroun sweyn and grom¹

We shall next give the account of the knighthood of our hero :²

It was at the holy Trinite
 Therl dubbed Sir Gij the fre
 And with him tventi god gomis
 Knightes and riche baroun sonis
 Of cloth of Tars and riche cendel
 Was he dobbeing euerich adel
 The pauis al of fow and griis
 The mantels weren of michel priis
 With riche armour and gode stedes
 The best that wer in lond at nedis
 Alder best was Gij y-dight
 Thei he wer an emperour sone aplight
 So richeliche dubbed was he
 Nas no swiche in this cuntre
 With riche stedes wel erninde
 Palfreys coursours wele bereinde
 No was ther noither sweyn no knaue
 That ought failed that he schuld haue
 How is Sir Gij dubbed to knight
 Feir he was and michel of might
 To Felice went Sir Gij
 And gret her wel curteyflie
 And seyde Ichau don astow seydest me to
 For the Ichau suffred miche wo
 Arme for the Ichau vnderfong
 The to se me thought long

¹ [Ed. 1840, pp. 3-5.]

² [*Ibid.* p. 22.]

Thou art me bothe leue and dere
Ich am y-comen thi wille to here.

A knight, who goes under the name of Amis of the Mountain, is introduced into this romance, and in the sequel, where the later adventures of Guy's son, Rembrun, are related, the same character is described as suffering a captivity in a mysterious and inaccessible castle, from which, however, Rembrun succeeds in delivering him. Here is a picture of Rembrun's journey in search of the castle:

Amorwe Rembroun aros erly
And armede him ful hastely
For to winne pris
A gode stede he bestrod
And forth a wente withoute abod
To the forest Y wis

Heraud with him go wolde
Ac he seide that he ne scholde
For non skines nede
And he dradde of him strangliche
And betaughte him God in heuen riche
And in is wey a yede
Heraud bleste and he gan gon
The merkes stake a pased anon
That was wel vnrede
Al the dai a tok the pas
Til it noun apased was
Ridand vpon is stede

An hille he segh before him there
Gates theron maked were
Forth right he rod in
The gate agen anon was spered
Tho was Rembroun fore afered
And faste blefede him
Nought he ne segh boutte the sterneffe
Half a mile a rod Y wisse
The wai was therk and dim
He rod ase faste ase a mighte
Thanne he segh more lighte
Be a water is brim

To the water he com sone thas
A riuier be a launde ther was
Thar he gan to lighte
Faire hit was y-growe with gras
A fairer place neuer nas
That he segh with sighte
On that place was a paleis on
Swich ne segh he neuer non
Ne of so meche mighte
The walles were of cristal
The heling was of fin ruwal
That schon swithe brighte

The restes al cipres be
That swote smal casten he
Ouer al aboute
The refins wer of fin coral
Togedre iuned with metal
Withinne and ek withoute
On the front stod a charbokel ston

Ouer al the contre it schon
 Withouten eni doute
 Poffes and laces that ther were
 Of iafpe gentil that was dere
 Al of one foute
 The paleis was beloken al
 Aboute with a marbel wal
 Of noble entaile
 Upon eueriche kernal
 Was ful of speres and of fpringal
 And stoutliche enbataile
 Withoute the gate stod a tre
 With foules of mani kines gle
 Singande withoute faile
 The water was fo fterne and grim
 Mighte no man come therin
 Boute he hadde fchip to faile
 Rembroun dorfte nought pafy
 With is fpere a gan it prouy
 How dep hit was befide
 He thoughte on is fader fot hot
 The ftede in the fide a fmot
 And in he gan to ride
 Ouer is helm the water is gon
 He nolde haue be ther for eighte non
 Swich aunter him gan betide
 Er he vp of the water ferde
 A fond it was thretti mete yerde
 Se dep he gan down glide
 Thanne he thoughte on Ihefu Crift
 His hors was wel fwithe trift
 And quikliche fwam to londe
 His fet faftede on the grounde
 Rembroun was glad in that ftonde
 And thankede Gode fonde
 In to the pales he him dede
 He helde the eftes of that ftede
 For no man a nolde wonde
 Ac wimman ne man fand he non there
 That with him fpeke or confort bere
 Naither fitte ne ftonde
 And tharof war a is
 Into a chaumber a goth Y wis
 A knight a fe alone
 A-grette him with wordes fre
 And feide fure God with the be
 That fit an hegh in trone
 Sire a fede tel thow me
 Gif this pales thin owen be
 Ich bidde the a bone
 And gif thow ert her in prifoun dight
 Tel hit me fo wel thow might
 To me now make the mone]

Afterwards, the knight of the mountain directs Raynburne to find a wonderful sword which hung in the hall of the palace. With this weapon Raynburne attacks and conquers the Elvish knight; who buys his life, on condition of conducting his conqueror over the

perilous ford, or lake, above described, and of delivering all the captives confined in his secret and impregnable dungeon.

[A] romance of the *Squire of Low Degree*¹ is alluded to by Chaucer in the *Rime of Sir Topas*;² [and it is probably the same as that which was inserted by Ritson in his *Ancient Romances*, and more recently in a new collection of a somewhat similar character. What seems to be the original edition, and from the appearance of the types, was printed by W. de Worde, is entitled oddly enough: "Here begynneth Undo your Dore," which corresponds exactly with the reading in the colophon of a later impression by W. Copland: "Thus endeth vndo your doore; otherwise called the squyer of lowe degre." But only a fragment of the former has yet been found.] The princess is thus represented, in her closet adorned with painted glass, listening to the squire's complaint.³

That lady herde his mourning alle,
Ryght vnder the chambre wall;
In her oryall⁴ there she was,
Closed well with royall glas,

¹ [Printed twice, first, as it is supposed, by W. de Worde, under a different title (see *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. *SQUIRE OF LOWE DEGRE*), and secondly by W. Copland. Warton's extracts were, in all the preceding editions, most inaccurate. See the romance in *Remains of E. Pop. Poetr. of England*, 1864-6, ii.] I have never seen it in MS. [Ritson characterizes it as a "strange and whimsical but genuine English performance." On Warton's opinion, "that it is alluded to by Chaucer in the *Rime of Sir Topas*," he remarks: "as Lybeaus Disconus [Le Bel Inconnu] one of the romances enumerated by Chaucer, is alluded to in the *Squyr of lowe degre*, it is not probably, also, of his age." But the Lybeaus Disconus, referred to in this romance, is evidently a different version of the story from that printed by Mr. Ritson [and from a different text by the Early English Text Society]; and the quotation, if it prove anything, would rather speak for the existence of a more ancient translation now unknown. Besides, Mr. Ritson himself has supplied us with an argument strongly favouring Warton's conjecture. For if, as he observes, the *Squyr of lowe degre* be the only instance of a romance containing any such impertinent digressions or affected enumerations of trees, birds, &c. as are manifestly the object of Chaucer's satire, the natural inference would be—in the absence of any evidence for its more recent composition—that this identical romance was intended to be exposed and ridiculed by the poet. At all events, Copland's editions with their modern phraseology are no standard for determining the age of any composition; and until some better arguments can be adduced than those already noticed, the ingenious supposition of Dr. Percy—for by him it was communicated to Warton—may be permitted to remain in full force.—*Price*.]

² See *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, i. § iv. p. 139.

³ Sign. a. iii.

⁴ An Oriel seems to have been a recess in a chamber or hall, formed by the projection of a spacious bow-window from top to bottom. *Rot. Pip.* an. 18. Hen. III. [A.D. 1234.] "Et in quadam capella pulchra et decenti facienda ad caput Orioli camere regis in castro Herefordie, de longitudine xx. pedum." This Oriel was at the end of the king's chamber, from which the new chapel was to begin. Again, in the castle of Kenilworth. *Rot. Pip.* an. 19. Hen. III. [A.D. 1235.] "Et in uno magno Oriollo pulchro et competenti, ante ostium magne camere regis in castro de Kenilworth faciundo, vil. xvii. iud. per Brev. regia."

The etymologists have been puzzled to find the derivation of an oriel-window. A learned correspondent suggests, that Oriel is Hebrew for *Lux mea*, or *Dominus illuminatio mea*. [See a note to the *Squyr of Low Degre* (*R. of the E. P. Poetry of England* ii. 27, ad finem).]

Fulfylled it was with ymagery,
 Euery wyndowe by and by
 On eche syde had there a gynne,
 Sperde¹ with many a dyuers pynne.
 A none that lady fayre and fre
 Undyd a pynne of yueré,
 And wyd the windowes she open set,
 The sunne shone in at her clofet.
 In that arber fayre and gaye
 She saw where that sqyre lay, &c.

I am persuaded to transcribe the following passage, because it delineates in lively colours the fashionable diversions and usages of ancient times. The king of Hungary endeavours to comfort his daughter with these promises, after she had fallen into a deep and incurable melancholy from the supposed loss of her paramour :

To morowe ye shall on hunting fare ;
 And ryde, my daughter, in a chare,
 It shalbe couered with veluet reede
 And clothes of fyne golde al about your heid,
 With damске, white and asure blew
 Well dyapred² with lyllyes newe ;

¹ Closed, shut. In *P. Plowman*, of a blind man, "unsparryd his eine, i. e. opened his eyes.

² Embroidered, diversified. So Chaucer, of a bow, *Rom. R. v.* 934.

"And it was painted wel and thwitten
 And ore all diapred, and written," &c.

Thwitten is twisted, wreathed. The following instance from Chaucer is more to our purpose. *Knight's Tale*, v. 2160:

"Upon a stede bay, trappid in stele,
 Coverid with cloth of gold diaprid wele."

This term, which is partly heraldic, occurs in the Provisor's rolls of the Great-wardrobe; containing deliveries for furnishing rich habiliments at tilts and tournaments, and other ceremonies. "Et ad faciendum tria harnesia pro Rege, quorum duo de velveto albo operato cum garteriis de blu et diasprez per totam campedinem cum wodehoufes." *Ex comp. J. Coke Clerici, Provisor Magn. Garderob.* ab ann. xxi. Edw. III. de 23 membranis. ad ann. xxiii. memb. x. I believe it properly signifies embroidering on a rich ground, as tissue, cloth of gold, &c. This is confirmed by Peacham. "Diapering is a term in drawing.—It chiefly serveth to counterfeit cloth of gold, silver, damask, branchet velvet, camblet, &c." *Compl. Gent.* p. 345. Anderson, in his *History of Commerce*, conjectures that Diaper, a species of printed linen, took its name from the city of Ypres in Flanders, where it was first made, being originally called *d'ipre*. But that city and others in Flanders were no less famous for rich manufactures of stuff; and the word in question has better pretensions to such a derivation. Thus, "rich cloth embroidered with raised work" we called *d'ipre*, and from thence Diaper; and to do this, or any work like it, was called to diaper, whence the participle. Satin of Bruges, another city of Flanders, often occurs in inventories of monastic vestments, in the reign of Henry VIII: and the cities of Arras and Tours are celebrated for their tapestry in Spenser. All these cities, and others in their neighbourhood, became famous for this sort of workmanship before 1200. The Armator of Edward III., who finishes all the costly apparatus for the shows above mentioned, consisting, among other things, of a variety of the most sumptuous and ornamented embroideries on velvet, satin, tissue, &c. is John of Cologn. Unless it be Colonia in Italy, *Rotul. predict.* memb. viii. memb. xiii. "Quæ omnia ordinata fuerunt per gar-

Your pomelles shalbe ended with gold,
 Your chaynes enameled many a folde;
 Your mantel of ryche degre,
 Purpyl palle and armyne fre;
 Jennettes of spayne that ben so wyght
 Trapped to the ground with veluet bright;
 Ye shall have harp, sautry, and songe,
 And other myrthes you amonge;
 Ye shal haue rumney and malmesync,
 Both yprocrasse and vernage wyne,
 Mountrose and wyne of greke,
 Both algrade and respice eke,
 Antioche and bastarde,
 Pymment¹ also and garnarde;

derobarium competentem, de precepto ipsius Regis: et facta et parata per manus Johis de Colonia, Armatoris ipsius domini nostri Regis." Johannes de Strawelburgh [Straßburg] is mentioned as *broudator regis*, i.e. of Richard II. in *Ankis*, *Ord. Gart.* i. 55. See also ii. 42. I will add a passage from Chaucer's *Wife of Bath*, v. 450:

"Of cloth-making she had such a haunt,
 She passid them of *Ipre* and of *Gaunt*."

"Cloth of Gaunt," i.e. Ghent, is mentioned in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, v. 574. Bruges was the chief mart for Italian commodities, about the thirteenth century. In the year 1318, five Venetian galleasses, laden with Indian goods, arrived at this city in order to dispose of their cargoes at the fair. L. Guic. *Descr. di Paesi Bassi*, p. 174. Silk manufactures were introduced from the East into Italy, before 1130. Giannon. *Hist. Napl.* xi. 7. The crusades much improved the commerce of the Italian states with the East in this article, and produced new artificers of their own. But to recur to the subject of this note. Diaper occurs among the rich silks and stuffs in the French *Roman de la Rose*, where it seems to signify Damascus, v. 21867:

"Samites, *dyaprés*, camelots."

I find it likewise in the *Roman d'Alexandre*, written about 1200. MSS. Bodl. fol. i. b. col. 2:

"*Dyapres* d'Antioch, famis de Romanie."

Here is also a proof that the Asiatic stuffs were at that time famous; and probably Romanie is Romania. The word often occurs in old accounts of rich ecclesiastical vestments. Du Cange derives this word from the Italian *diapros*, a jasper, a precious stone which shifts its colours. V. Diasprus. In Dugdale's *Monasticon* we have *diasperatus*, diapered. "Sandalia cum caligis de rubeo sameto *diasperato* breudata cum imaginibus regum," tom. iii. 314 and 321.

¹ Sometimes written *pimeate*. In the romance of *Syr Beuys*, a knight just going to repose takes the usual draught of *pimeate*; which mixed with spices is what the French romances call *vin du coucher*, and for which an officer, called *Espicier*, was appointed in the old royal household of France. Sig. m. iii.:

"The knight and she to chamber went:
 With *pimeate* and with spicery,
 When they had dronken the wyne."

See Carpentier, *Suppl. Gloss. Lat. du Cange*, tom. iii. p. 842. So Chaucer, *Leg. Dido*. v. 185:

"The spicis parted, and the wine agon,
 Unto his chamber he is lad anon."

Froissart says, among the delights of his youth, that he was happy to taste:

"Au couchier, pour mieulx dormir,
 Espices, claret, et rocelle."

Mem. Lit. x. 665. Lidgate, of Tideus and Polimite in the palace of Adrastus at Thebes. *Stor. Theb.* p. 634, edit. Chauc. 1687:

Wyne of Greke and muscadell,
 Both claré, pyment, and rochell,
 The reed your stomake to defye
 And pottes of osey sett you by.
 You shall haue venyson ybake,¹
 The best wylde foule y^t may be take.
 A lefe of grehound² with you to streke,
 And hert and hynde and other lyke,
 Ye shalbe set at such a tryft
 That hert and hynde shall come to your fyft.
 Your dysease to dryue you fro,
 To here the bugles there yblow.
 Homward thus shall ye ryde,
 On haukyng by the ryuers fyde,
 With Goshauke and with gentyll fawcon,
 With Egle horne and merlyon.
 Whan you come home your men amonge,
 Ye shall haue reuell, daunces and songe:
 Lytle chyldren, great and finale,
 Shall syng, as doth the nyghtyngale,
 Than shal ye go to your euenlong
 With tenours and trehles a mong,
 Threscore of copes of damaske bryght
 Full of perles th[e]y shalbe pyght:—

“gan anon repaire
 To her lodging in a ful stately toure;
 Assigned to hem by the herbeior.
 And aftir spicis plenty and the wine
 In cuppis grete wrought of gold ful syne,
 Without tarrying to bedde straighates they gone,” &c.

Chaucer has it again, *Squ. T. v.* 311, p. 62, and *Mill. T. v.* 270, p. 26:

“He fent her *piment*, methé, and spicid ale.”

Some orders of monks are enjoined to abstain from drinking *pigmentum*, or *piment*. Yet it was a common refecton in the monasteries. It is a drink made of wine, honey, and spices. “Thei ne could not medell the gefte of Bacchus to the clere honie; that is to say, they could not make ne *piment* ne claré.” Chaucer’s *Boeth.* p. 371, a. Urr. *Clarre* is clarified wine. In French *Clarey*. Perhaps the same as *piment*, or *hypocras*. See *Mem. Lit.* viii. p. 674, 4to. Compare Chauc. *Sh. T. v.* 2579. Du Cange, *Gloss. Lat.* v. *Pigmentum*. Species. and *Suppl. Carp.* and *Mem. sur l’anc. Chevalerie*, i. pp. 19, 48. I must add, that *στυμαριος*, or *stymariος*, signified an Apothecary among the middle and lower Greeks. See Du Cange, *Gl. Gr.* in voc. i. 1167, and ii. *Append. Etymolog. Vocab. Ling. Gall.* p. 301, col. 1. In the register of the Bishop of Nivernois, under the year 1287, it is covenanted, that whenever the bishop shall celebrate mass in St. Mary’s abbey, the abbess shall present him with a peacock and a cup of piment. Carpentier, *ubi supr.* vol. iii. p. 277. [Sir F. Madden refers us also to Weber’s *Met. Rom.* note on Alisaunder, l. 4178, and Roquefort, *Histoire de la vie privée des François*, iii. pp. 65-8.]

¹ Chaucer says of the Frankelcin, *Prol. v.* 345:

“Withoutin *bake mete* never was his house.”

And in this poem, signat. B. iii:

“With birds in *bread ybake*,
 The tele, the duck and drake.”

² In a MS. of Froissart full of paintings and illuminations, there is a representation of the grand entrance of Queen Isabel of England into Paris, in the year 1324. She is attended by a greyhound who has a flag, powdered with fleurs de lys, bound to his neck. Montf. *Monum. Fr.* ii. p. 234.

Your fenfours shalbe of Golde,
 Endent with asure many a folde :
 Your quere nor organ longe shall wante
 With countre note and dyfycant.
 The other halfe on orgayns playeng,
 With yonge chyldren full fayre syngyng.
 Then shall ye go to your suppere,
 And fytt in tentes in grene arbere,
 With clothes of aras pyght to the grounde,
 With faphyres fet and dyamonde.—
 An hundreth knyghtes truly tolde
 Shall play with bowles in alayes colde,
 Your diseafe to driue awaie :
 To fe the fishes in poles plaie ;—
 To a draw brydge than shall ye,
 The one halfe of ston, the other of tre,
 A barge shall mete you full ryght,
 With xxiiii ores full bryght,
 With trompettes and with claryowne,
 The freshe water to rowe vp and downe.—
 Than shal ye, doughter, aske the wyne,
 With spices that be good and fyn :
 Gentyll pottes, with genger grene,
 With dates and deynties you betwene.
 Forty torches brenynge bryght
 At your brydges to brynge you lyght.
 Into your chambre they shall you brynge
 With muche myrthe and more lykyng.—
 Your blankettes shall be of fustiane,
 Your shetes shall be of clothe of rayne :¹
 Your head shete shall be of pery pyght,²
 With dyamondes fet and rubyes bryght.

¹ cloth, or linen, of Rennes, a city in Brittany. Chaucer, *Dr.* v. 255.

"And many a pilowe, and every bere
 Of clothe of raynes to slepe on softe,
 Him thare not nede to turnin ofte."

Tela de Raynes is mentioned among habits delivered to knights of the garter, a Rich. ii. *Anstis, Ord. Gart.* i. 55.

Cloth of Rennes seems to have been the finest sort of linen. In [one of the *Coventry Mysteries*, edited by Mr. Halliwell, 1841, there is a passage, supposed by Mr. Collier to have been interpolated towards the close of the 15th century, in which] a Galant, one of the retainers to the group of the Seven Deadly Sins, is introduced with the following speech :

"Hof, Hof, Hof, a frysch new galaunt !
 Ware of thryft, ley that a doune :
 What mene ye, fyrrys, that I were a marchaunt,
 Because that I am new com to toun ?
 With praty . . . wold I fayne round,
 I have a *shert* of *reyns* with sleeves peneaunt,
 A lase of sylke for my lady Constant—
 I woll, or even, be shaven for to seme yong," &c.

So also in Skelton's *Magnificence*, a Morality written [about 1500], f. xx. b :

"Your skynne, that was wrapped in *shertes* of *raynes*,
 Nowe must be storm ybeten."

² "Inlaid with jewels." Chaucer, *Kn. T.* v. 2938 :

"And then with cloth of gold and with *perie*."

And in numberless other places.

When you are layde in bedde so softe,
 A cage of Golde shal hange a lofte
 With longe peper fayre burnning,
 And cloues that be swete smellyng,
 Frankensence and olibanum,
 That whan ye slepe the taste may come,
 And yf ye no rest may take,
 All night minstrelles for you shall wake.¹

Syr Degoré, [or *L'Egaré*, *the Strayed One*,] is a romance perhaps belonging to the same period.² After his education under a hermit, Sir Degore's first adventure is against a dragon. This horrible monster is marked with the hand of a master :"³

Degore went furth his waye,
 Through a forest halfe a daye :
 He herd no man, nor sawe none,
 Tyll yt past the hygh none,
 Then herde he grete strokes falle,
 That yt made grete noyse with alle,
 Full sone he thought that to fe,
 To wete what the strokes myght be:
 There was an erle, both stout and gaye,
 He was com ther that same daye,
 For to hunt for a dere or a do,
 But hys houndes were gone hym fro.
 Then was ther a dragon grete and grymme,
 Full of fyre and also venymme,
 Wyth a wyde throte and tuskes grete,
 Uppon that knyght fast gan he bete.
 And as a lyon then was hys feete,
 Hys tayle was long, and full unmeete :
 Betwene hys head and hys tayle
 Was xxii fote withouten fayle ;
 Hys body was lyke a wyne tonne,
 He shone ful bryght agaynst the sunne :
 Hys eyen were bright as any glasse,

¹ Sign. D ii. *sey*. [In Warton's original text, scarcely a line, which he quoted, was without several blunders in orthography and sense, and the observation applies equally to the editions of 1824 and 1840.] At the close of the romance it is said that the king, in the midst of a great feast which lasted forty days, created the squire king in his room ; in the presence of his twelve lords. See what I have observed concerning the number twelve, *Introd. Dis.* i.

² [There are three old printed editions ; See *Handb. of E. E. Lit. Art.* *DEGORÉ*. The Auchinleck copy, noticed below by Mr. Price, has been printed three times, once in 1817, by Mr. Utterton ; for the Abbotsford Club, with the cuts from *De Worde's* ed. 1849 ; and in Mr. Laing's *Antient English Poetry*, 1857.] There is a manuscript of it among Bishop More's at Cambridge, *Bibl. Publ.* 690, 36.

[This romance is analysed by Mr. Ellis in his "Specimens." From a fragment of it preserved in the Auchinleck MS. it is clear that the poem in its present form is an unskilful *rifacimento* of an earlier version, since the writer was even ignorant of the true mode of pronouncing the hero's name. Throughout Copland's edition—with one exception—it is a word of two syllables, rhyming with "before ;" but in p. 135 of the reprint we obtain its true accentuation as exhibited in the Auchinleck MS. :

"As was the yonge knyght Syr Degoré,
 But none wyft what man was he."

The name is intended to express, as the author tells us (line 230), "a thing (or person) almost lost," *Dégaré* or *Ligaré*.—PRICE.]

³ Sign. B. ii.

His scales were hard as any brasse;
 And therto he was necked lyke a horse,
 He bare hys hed up wyth grete force:
 The breth of hys mouth that did out blow
 As yt had been a fyre on lowe.
 He was to loke on, as I you telle,
 As yt had bene a fiende of helle.
 Many a man he had shent,
 And many a horse he had rente.

As the minstrel profession became a science, and the audience grew more civilized, refinements began to be studied, and the romantic poet sought to gain new attention, and to recommend his story, by giving it the advantage of a plan. Most of the old metrical romances are, from their nature, supposed to be incoherent rhapsodies. Yet many of them have a regular integrity, in which every part contributes to produce an intended end. Through various obstacles and difficulties one point is kept in view, till the final and general catastrophe is brought about by a pleasing and unexpected surprise. As a specimen of the rest, and as it lies in a narrow compass, I will develop the plan of the fable now before us, which preserves at least a coincidence of events, and an uniformity of design.

[A king of England has a beautiful daughter, who is wooed by many suitors; but none can win her, because none can perform the necessary condition by unhorsing her father in a joust. At last, when she has accompanied her father to an abbey near a forest to attend mass, on the anniversary of his wife's death, she separates herself unintentionally from her companions, loses her way in the forest, and is met by a knight, who deflowers her. He leaves in her charge, as a token, his sword. The princess has a son, who is secretly carried by one of her attendants to a hermit's cottage, and left at the door in a cradle with £30 under his head, a pair of gloves,¹ which must fit the girl whom he marries, and a request that whoever finds him, will have him christened. The foundling is christened Sir Degoré [L'Egaré] by the hermit, and educated by him. When he is twenty years of age he is allowed to return to his mother, and takes the gloves, which were discovered in his cradle. Having rescued an earl from a dragon, armed with nothing but an oak-sapling, he is invited to his deliverer's house. The earl offers him his daughter in marriage, but Degoré, mindful of the gloves, asks to see all the ladies. The gloves fit none of them.

His next adventure is with a king, who has offered his daughter and half his lands to any knight who can unhorse him at the tournament. Degoré succeeds, and marries the princess, without calling to mind the gloves, which ought to have been tried first. His wife

¹ Gloves were anciently a costly article of dress, and richly decorated. They were sometimes adorned with precious stones. *Rot. Pip. an.* 53. *Hemr.* iii. [A. D. 1267.] "Et de i. pectine auri cum lapidibus pretiosis ponderant. xliiis. et iiid. ob. Et de ii. paribus chirothecarum cum lapidibus." This golden comb, set with jewels, realises the wonders of romance.

turns out to be his own mother ; but neither is aware of the fact until it is time to retire, when Degoré mentions his caſe, and inſiſts on trying the gloves as a preliminary.¹ The princeſs puts on the gloves, and then declares herſelf to be his mother. There is hereupon great rejoicing. Degoré is made known to the king as his daughter's ſon ; and when the knight demands who and where his father is, ſhe can only give him the pointleſs ſword ſhe had received as a token from her ſeducer. He ſwears that he will not ſleep till he has found the perſon. He meets with an extraordinary adventure at a caſtle, and afterwards falling forth, he encounters a knight richly armed, with whom he fights, till the knight, ſeeing that his ſword has no point, diſcovers Degoré to be his ſon by that ſign, and the conteſt ceaſes. His father and mother are married, and Degoré eſpouſes the lady whom he had met at the caſtle, and whom he had delivered from a giant. The incident of the mother marrying her ſon alſo occurs in *Sir Eglamore of Artois*.]

The romance of *King Robert of Sicily* begins and proceeds thus :*

Pryncis, that be prowde in preſe,
I wyll [telle] that that ys no lees.
Yn Cyſylle was a nobulle kyng,
Fayre and ſtrong, and ſome dele ying ;
He had a brodur in grete Rome,
That was pope of alle Cryſtendome ;
Of Almayne hys odur brodur was emperowre,
Thorow Cryſtendome he had honowre.
The kyng was calde kyng Roberd,
Never man in hys tyme wyſte hym aferde.
He was kyng of grete valowre,
And alſo callyd conquerowre ;
Nowhere in no lande was hys pere,
Kyng nor dewke, ferre nor nere,
And alſo he was of chevalrye the flowre :
And hys odur brodur was emperowre.
Hys own brodur in 3orthe Godes generale vykere,
Pope of Rome, as ye may here ;
Thys pope was callyd pope Urbane :
For hym lovyd bothe God and man ;
The emperowre was callyd Valamownde,
A ſtrawnger warreowre was none founde
After hys brodur, the kyng of Cyſyle,
Of whome y thynke to ſpeke a whyle.
The kyng thought he had no pere
For to acownte, nodur far nor nere,
And thorow hys thought he had a pryde,
For he had no pere, he tho3t, on no ſyde.

¹ All the romances have ſuch an obſtacle as this. They have all an enchantreſs, who detains the knight from his queſt by objects of pleaſure ; and who is nothing more than the Calypſo of Homer, the Dido of Virgil, and the Armida of Taſſo.

² MS. Vernon, *ut ſupr.* Bibl. Bodl. f. 299. It is alſo in Caius College Camb. MSS. Claſs. E 174. 4. and Bibl. Publ. Cambr. MSS. More, 690. 35. [printed in Halliwell's *Nugæ Poeticae*, 1844, 8vo.] and Brit. Mus. MSS. Harl. 525. 2. f. 35. [Printed privately by Utterſon, 1839, 8vo. The extraſts in this edition have been copied from the text given from a collation of the Publ. Lib. Camb. and Harl. MSS. in *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, 1864-6, i.]

And on a nyght of feynt Johan,
 Thys kyng to the churche come,
 For to here hys evynsonge;
 Hys dwellynge thoȝt he there to longe,
 He thoght more of worldys honowre,
 Then of Cryste hys saveowre.
 In *magnificat* he harde a vers,
 He made a clerke hym hyt reherse
 In the langage of hys owne tonge:
 For in Latyn wyte he not what they songe.
 The vers was thys, as y telle the,
Deposuit potentes de sede,
Et exaltavit humiles.
 Thys was the vers withowten lees:
 The clerke seyde anon ryght:
 Syr, soche ys Godys myght,
 That he make may hye lowe,
 And lowe hye in a lytylle throwe.
 God may do, withowten lye,
 Hys wylle in the twynkelyng of an ye,
 The kyng seyde than with thoȝt untabulle:
 Ye syng theys ofte, and alle ys a fabulle,
 What man hath that powere
 To make me lowear and in dawngere?
 I am flowre of chevalrye;
 Alle myn enmyes y may dystroye.
 Ther levyth no man in no lande,
 That my myght may withstande;
 Then ys yowre songe a songe of noght.
 Thys arrowre had he in hys thoght,
 And in hys thought a slepe hym toke
 In hys closet, so seyth the boke.
 When evynsonge was alle done,
 A kyng, hym lyke, owte can come,
 And alle men with hym can wende,
 And kyng Roberd leste behynde.
 The newe kyng was, y yow telle,
 Godys aungelle, hys pryde to felle;
 The aungelle in the halle yoye made,
 And alle men of hym were glade.
 Kyng Roberd wakenyd that was in the kyrke:
 Hys men he thoȝt now for to wyrke,
 For he was leste there allone,
 And merke nyght felle hym upon.
 He began to crye upon hys men,
 But there was none that answeryd then,
 But the sexten at the ende
 Of the kyrke, and to hym can wende,
 And seyde: lurden, what doyft thou here?
 Thou art a thefe or thefeys fere;
 Thou art here sykerlye
 Thys churche to robbe with felonye.
 He seyde: fals thefe and fowle gadlyng,
 Thou lyest falsely; y am thy Kyng.
 Opyn the churche dore anon,
 That y may to my pales gone.
 The sexten went welle than,
 That he had be a wode man,
 And of hym he had farlye,
 And wolde delyver the churche in hye,

And openyd the dore ryȝt ſone in haſte.
 The kyng began to reauē owte faſte,
 As a man that was nere wode,
 And at hys pales ȝate he ſtode,
 And callyd the porter: gadlyng, begone,
 And bad hym come faſte, and hye hym ſoone.

When admitted, he is brought into the hall, where the angel, who had assumed his place, makes him *the fool of the hall*, and clothes him in a fool's coat. He is then ſent out to lie with the dogs; in which ſituation he envies the condition of thoſe dogs, which in great multitudes were permitted to remain in the royal hall. At length the Emperor Valemounte ſends letters to his brother King Robert, inviting him to viſit, with himſelf, their brother the pope at Rome. The angel, who perſonates King Robert, welcomes the meſſengers, and clothes them in the richeſt apparel, ſuch as could not be made in the world:

The aungelle welcomyd the meſſengerys,
 And clad them alle in clothys of pryſe,
 And furreyd them with armyne;
 Ther was never ȝyt peller half ſo fyne;
 And alle was ſet with perrye,
 Ther was never no better in cryſtyante';
 Soche clothynge and hyt were to dyght,
 Alle cryſten men hyt make ne myght,
 Where ſoche clothys were to ſelle,
 Nor who them made, no man can telle.
 On that wondyrd alle that bande,
 Who wroȝt thoſe clothys with any hande.
 The meſſengerys went with the kyng
 To grete Rome, withowte leſynge;
 The ſole Roberd with hym went
 Clad in a fulle ſympulle garmente,
 With foxe tayles riven alle abowte;
 Men myght hym knowe in alle the rowte.
 A babulle he bare agenſte hys wyll,
 The aungelles heſte to fulfylle.

Afterwards they return in the ſame pomp to Sicily, where the angel, after ſo long and ignominious a penance, reſtores King Robert to his royalty.

Sicily was conquered by the French in the eleventh century,¹ and

¹ There is an old French romance, *Robert le Diable*, often quoted by Carpentier in his *Supplement to Du Cange*, and a French Morality, without date or name of the author: ["Cy commence un miracle de Nostre dame, de Robert le dyable, ſils du duc de Normandie, a qui il fut enjoint pour ſes meſfaiz quil feiſt le fol ſans parler, et depuis or Nostre Seigneur mercy de li, et eſpouſa la fille de l'empereur."] Beau-champ's *Rech. Theat. Fr.* p. 109. [Printed at Rouen, 1836, 8vo.]

The French proſe romance of *Robert le Diable*, printed in 1496, is extant in the collection called *Bibliothèque Bleue*. It has been tranſlated into other languages: among the reſt into Engliſh. The Engliſh verſion was [twice] printed by Wynkyn de Worde, [and is reprinted in Thom's *Early Proſe Romances*, 1828 and 1858]. The title of one of the chapters is, "How God ſent an aungell to the hermyte to ſhewe him the penaunce that he ſholde gyve to Robert for his ſynnes."—"Yf that Robert wyll be ſhryven of his ſynnes, he muſt kepe and counterſeite the wayes of a ſole and be as he were dome," &c. There is an old Engliſh Morality on this tale,

this tale might have been originally got or written during their possession of that island, which continued through many monarchies.¹ But Sicily, from its situation, became a familiar country to all the western continent at the time of the Crusades, and consequently soon found its way into romance, as did many others of the Mediterranean islands and coasts, for the same reason. Another of them, Cilicia, has accordingly given title to an ancient tale called *The King of Tars*, touched with a rude but expressive pencil, from which I shall give some extracts: "Her bigenneth of the Kynge of Tars, and of the

under the very corrupt title of *Robert Cicyll*, which was represented at the High-Cross in Chester in 1529. There is a MS. of the poem on vellum in Trinity College library at Oxford (MSS. Num. lvii.).

[*Robert of Cicyle* and *Robert the Devil*, though not identical, are clearly members of the same family, and this poetic embodiment of their lives is evidently the offspring of that tortuous opinion so prevalent in the middle ages, and which time has mellowed into a vulgar adage, that "the greater the sinner the greater the saint." The subject of the latter poem was doubtlessly Robert the sixth duke of Normandy, who became an early object of legendary scandal; and the transition to the same line of potentates in Sicily was an easy effort when thus supported. The romantic legend of "Sir Gowther" published in the *Sele& Pieces of Early Popular Poetry*, [1817], is only a different version of Robert the Devil with a change of scene, names, &c.—*Price*.

That the subject of the legend of Robert the Devil was Robert the sixth duke of Normandy, is treated by some writers as a matter of much uncertainty, although Mr. Price appears to have entertained no doubt of it. In the *Revue de Rouen* for March, 1836, M. Pothier observes: "Setting out with the scarcely plausible opinion, that all the personages of semi-historic romance must have their type and representative in history, they have set themselves to investigate what real pattern the fabulous Robert the Devil could have been modelled after. As the chronicle [of Normandy], the drama, and the romance agree in making him the son of a duke of Normandy, it has been thence concluded that he must himself have been duke of Normandy; and comparisons have been instituted of his legend with the history of the two or three Roberts that the whole ducal lineage furnishes. Yet neither chroniclers nor poets had ever dreamt of creating, of their own mere authority, Robert the Devil duke of Normandy: the chronicle makes him die at Jerusalem; the romance, in a hermitage near Rome; and the miracle makes him marry the emperor's daughter, and then of course succeed his father-in-law, agreeably to the external law of all seekers of adventures, from the paladins of the round table down to the renowned Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance." According to the later version of the *Bibliothèque Bleue*, Robert brings his wife into Normandy, ascends the ducal throne, and having lived a good prince, dies laden with honours and with years, leaving the duchy to his son *Richard-sans-Peur*, whose marvellous history has also been recounted by the writers of romance."—*Taylor*.

See also remarks on this subject in *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, 1864-6, i. 264-9.]

¹ A passage in Fauchet, speaking of rhyme, may perhaps deserve attention here. "Pour le regard de *Siciliens*, je me tiens presque aiseure, que Guillaume Ferrabrach frère de Robert Guischart et autres seigneurs de Calabre et Pouille enfans de Tancred François-Normand, l'ont portee aux pais de leur conquête, estant une coustume des gens de deça chanter, avant que combattre, les beaux faits de leurs ancestres, composez en vers." *Rec.* p. 70. Boccaccio's *Tancred*, in his beautiful tale of *Tancred and Sigismunda*, was one of these Franco-Norman kings of Sicily. Compare *Novv. Abreg. Chronol. Hist. Fr.* pag. 102, edit. 1752. [Also Gibbon, ch. lvi.—*Anon.*]

Soudan of Dammias,¹ how the Soudan of Dammias was cristened
thoru Godis gras :²

Herkeneth now, bothe olde and yung,
For Maries love, that swete thyng :
How a werre bigan
Bitwene a god Cristene kyng,
And an hethene heyze lordyng,
Of Damas the Soudan.
The kyng of Taars hedde a wyf,
The feireste that mighte bere lyf,
That eny mon telle can :
A doughter thei hadde hem bitween,
That heore³ ryte heir schoilde ben ;
White so⁴ fether of swan :
Chaaft heo⁵ was, and feir of chere,
With rode⁶ red so blosme on brere,
Eyyen⁷ stepe and gray,
With lowe schuldres and whyte swere ;⁸
Hire to seo⁹ was gret preyere
Of princes pert in play.
The word¹⁰ of hire sprong ful wyde
Feor and ner, bi vche a fyde :
The Soudan herde say ;
Him thoughte his herte wolde breke on fiv
Bot he mihte have hire to wyve,
That was so seir a may ;
The Soudan ther he sat in halle ;
He sente his messagers faste withalle,
To hire fader the kyng.
And seide, hou so hit ever bifalle,
That mayde he wolde clothe in palle
And spousen hire with his ryng.
“ And elles¹¹ I swere withouten fayle
I schull¹² hire winnen in pleyn battayle
With mony an heiȝ lordyng,” &c.

The Soldan, on application to the King of Tarsus for his daughter,
is refused ; and the messengers return without success. The Soldan's
anger is painted with great characteristical spirit :

The Soudan sat at his des,
I-served of his furste mes ;
Thei comen into the halle
To fore the prince proud in pres :
Heore tale thei tolden withouten lees,
And on heore knees gunne falle :

¹ Damascus.

² MS. Vernon. Bibl. Bodl. f. 304. It is also in Bibl. Adv. Edinb. W 4, 1, Num. iv. In five leaves and a half.

[This romance will be found in Mr. Ritson's Collection, vol. ii. from whose transcript the present text has been corrected. On the authority of Douglas's version of the *Aeneid* and Ruddiman's Glossary, he interprets "Tars" to mean Thrace; but as the story is one of pure invention, and at best but a romantic legend, why not refer the Damas and Tars of the text to the Damascus and Tarsus of Scripture? —*Price.*]

³ their.

⁴ as.

⁵ she.

⁶ [complexion.]

⁷ eyes.

⁸ neck.

⁹ see.

¹⁰ The report of her.

¹¹ [else.]

¹² shall.

And seide, "Sire, the king of Tars
 Of wikked wordes nis not scars,
 Hethene hound¹ he doth the² calle;
 And er his doughtur he give the tille,³
 Thyn herte blode he wol spille
 And thi barouns alle."
 Whon the Soudan this iherde,
 As a wod man he ferde:
 His robe he rente adoun;
 He tar the her⁴ of hed and berd,
 And seide he wold her wiue with swerd,
 Beo his lord seynt Mahoun.
 The table adoon riȝt he smot,
 In to the floore foot hot,⁵
 He lokede as a wylde lyoun;
 Al that he hitte he smot doun riȝt,
 Bothe fergaunt and kniȝt,
 Erl and eke baroun.
 So he ferde forsothe a pliȝt,
 Al a day and al a niȝt,
 That no man miȝte him chaste:⁶
 A morwen whon hit was day liȝt,
 He sent his messagers ful riȝt,
 After his barouns in haȝte:
 [That thai com to his parlement,
 For to heren his jugement
 Bothe left and maȝt.
 When the parlement was pleyner,
 Tho biȝpac the Soudan fer,
 And seyde to hem in haȝt.]⁷
 "Lordynges," he seith, "what to rede?"⁸
 Me is don a grete mysȝede,
 Of Taars the Cristen kyng;
 I bed him bothe lond and lede
 To have his doughter in worthli wede,
 And spouȝe hire with my ryng.
 And he seide withouten fayle:
 Arȝt he wolde me sle in batayle
 And mony a gret lordyng.
 Ac fertes⁹ he schal be forȝwore,
 Or to wrothe hele¹⁰ that he was bore,

¹ A phrase often applied to the Saracens. So, in *Syr Beuys*, fig. C ii b:

"To speke with an *hethene hounde*."

² thee.

³ "tore the hair."

⁴ struck, stamped. [Sir F. Madden says, that this is still in use in Ireland to denote *anger* or *haȝte*.]

⁵ check.

⁶ [The lines within brackets were inserted by Mr. Ritson from the Auchinleck MS.—*Price*.]

⁷ "what counsel shall we take?"

⁸ But certainly.

⁹ Loss of health or safety. Malediction. So R. of Brunne, *Chron.* apud Hearne's *Rob. Glouc.* pp. 737, 738:

"Morgan did after conseile,
 And wrought him selfe to *wrother heile*."

Again:

"To zow al was a wikke conseile,
 That ze felle se full *wrother heile*."

Bote he hit therto¹ bryng.
 Therefore, lordynges, I have after ow sent
 For to come to my parliment,
 To wite of þow counsayle.
 And alle onswerde with gode entent
 Thei wolde be at his comaundement
 Withouten eny fayle.
 And whon thei were alle at his heste,
 The Soudan made a wel gret feste
 For love of his batayle;
 The Soudan gedred an ofte unryde²
 With Sarazyns of muchel pryde,
 The kyng of Taars to assayle.
 Whon the kyng hit herde that tyde,
 He sent about on vche a syde,
 Alle that he miȝte of seende;
 Gret werre tho bigan to wrake
 For the mariage ne most be take
 Of that mayden heende.³
 Batayle thei sette uppon a day,
 Withinne the thridde day of May,⁴
 Ne longer nolde thei leende.⁵
 The Soudan com with gret power,
 With helm bryt and feir baneer,
 Uppon that kyng to wende.
 The Soudan ladde an huge ost,
 And com with much pruyde and cost,
 With the kyng of Tars to fyte.
 With him mony a Sarazyn feer:⁶
 Alle the felde feor and neer,
 Of helmes leomede⁷ liȝte.
 The kyng of Tars com also
 The Soudan batayle for to do
 With mony a Cristene kniȝe;
 Either oft gon othur assayle:
 Ther bigon a strong batayle,
 That grislych was of fyt.
 Threo hethene ayein twey Cristene men,
 And falde hem down in the fen,
 With wepnas stif and goode:
 The steorne Sarazyns in that fyt,
 Slowe vr Cristen men down rigȝt,
 Thei fouhte as heo weore woode.
 The Soudan oft in that stounde
 Feolde the Cristene to the grounde,
 Mony a freoly foode;
 The Sarazyns withouten fayle
 The Cristens culde⁸ in that battayle,
 Nas non that hem withfoode.
 Whon the king of Tars sauȝ that fyt
 Wodde he was for wrathe⁹ apliȝt;
 In honde he hent a spere,

¹ to that issue.² [numerous.]³ [courteous. A general term expressive of personal and mental accomplishments. —*Price*.]⁴ [Respecting the selection of this period for a contest, see a suggestion in *Rem. of the E. P. Poetr. of Engl.* 1864-6, ii. 109.]⁵ tarry.⁶ companion.⁷ shone.⁸ killed.⁹ wrappe. *Orig.*

And to the Soudan he rode ful riȝt
 With a dunt¹ of much miȝt,
 Adoun he gon him bere :
 The Soudan neigh he hedde i-lawe,
 .But thritti thouſent of hethene lawe
 Coomen him for to were ;
 And broughten him ayeyn upon his ſtede,
 And holpe him wel in that nede,
 That no mon miȝt him dere.²
 Whon he was brouȝt uppon his ſtede,
 He ſprong, as ſparkle doth of glede,³
 For wrathe and for envye.
 Alle that he hutte he made hem blede,
 He ferde as he wolde a wede,⁴
 Mahoun help, he gan crye.
 Mony an helm ther was unweved,
 And mony a bacinet⁵ to-cleved,
 And ſadeles mony emptye ;
 Men miȝte ſe uppon the feld
 Moni a kniȝt ded under ſcheld
 Of the Criſten cumpagnie.
 Whon the kyng of Taars ſaugh hem ſo ryde,
 No lengor there he nolde abyde,
 Bote fleȝ⁶ to his oune citè :
 The Sarazyns that ilke tyde
 Slough adoun bi vche ſyde
 Vr Criſtene folk ſo fre.
 The Sarazyns that tyme fauns fayle
 Slowe vre Criſtene in battayle,
 That reuthe hit was to ſe ;
 And on the morwe for heore⁷ ſake
 Truwes thei gunne togidere take,⁸
 A moneth and dayes thre.
 As the kyng of Tars ſat in his halle,
 He made ful gret deol⁹ withalle,
 For the folk that he hedde i-lore :¹⁰
 His douȝter com in riche palle.
 On kneos heo¹¹ gon biſoren him falle,
 And ſeide with ſyking ſore :
 Fader, heo ſeide, let me beo his wyf,
 That ther be no more ſtryf, &c.

To prevent future bloodſhed, the princeſs voluntarily declares ſhe
 is willing to be married to the Soldan, although a Pagan : and not-
 withſtanding the king her father peremptorily refuſes his conſent,
 and reſolves to continue the war, with much difficulty ſhe finds
 means to fly to the Soldan's court, in order to produce a ſpeedy and
 laſting reconciliation by marrying him :

To the Soudan heo¹¹ is i-fare ;
 He com with mony an heiȝ lordyng,
 For to welcom that ſwete thyng,
 Ther heo com in hire chare :¹²
 He cuſte¹³ hire wel mony a ſithe,
 His joye couthe no man kiȝthe,¹⁴

¹ *dunt*, wound, ſtroke.⁴ as if he was mad.⁷ their.⁹ dole, grief. ¹⁰ loſt.² hurt.⁵ helmet.⁸ They began to make a truce together.¹¹ ſhe.¹² chariot.³ coal, fire-brand.⁶ flew.¹³ kiſt.¹⁴ know.

Awei was al hire care.
 Into chambre heo was led,
 With riche clothes heo was cled,
 Hethene as thauȝ heo were.¹
 The Soudan ther he sat in halle,
 He comaundede his kniȝtes alle
 That mayden for to fette,
 In cloth of riche purpil palle,
 And on hire hed a comeli calle:
 Bi the Soudan heo was fette.
 Unsemli was hit for to fe
 Heo that was so bright of ble,
 To habbe² so foule a mette,³ &c.

They are then married, and the wedding is solemnized with a grand tournament, which they both view from a high tower. She is afterwards delivered of a son, which is so deformed as to be almost a monster. But at length she persuades the Soldan to turn Christian; and the young prince is baptized, after which ceremony he suddenly becomes a child of most extraordinary beauty. The Soldan next proceeds to destroy his Saracen idols:

He hente a staf with herte grete,
 And al his goddes he gan to bete,
 And drouȝ hem alle adoun;
 And leyde on, til that he con swete,
 With sterne strokes and with grete,
 On Jovyn⁴ and Plotoun,
 On Astrot and sire Jovin,
 On Tirmagaunt and Apollin,
 He brak hem scolle and croun;
 On Tirmagaunt, that was heore brother,
 He laste no lym hole with other,
 Ne on his lord seynt Mahoun, &c.

The Soldan then releaseth thirty thousand Christians, whom he had long detained prisoners. As an apostate from the pagan religion, he is powerfully attacked by several neighbouring Saracen nations: but he solicits the assistance of his father-in-law, the king of Tars; and they, joining their armies, in a pitched battle defeat five Saracen kings, Kenedoch, Lefyas, king of Taborie, Merkel, Cleomadas, and Membrok. There is a warmth of description in some passages of this poem, not unlike the manner of Chaucer. The reader must have already observed that the stanza resembles that of Chaucer's *Rime of Sir Topas*.⁵

¹ as if he had been a heathen, one of that country.

² have.

³ mate.

⁴ I know not if by *sire Jovyn* he means Jupiter, or the Roman emperor called Jovinian, against whom Saint Jerom wrote, and whose history is in the *Gesta Romanorum*, c. 59. He is mentioned by Chaucer as an example of pride, luxury, and lust. *Somp. T.* v. 7511. Verdier (in v.) recites a *Moralité* on Jovinian, with nineteen characters, printed at Lyons, from an ancient copy in 1584, 8vo, with the title *L'Orgueil et presumption de l'Empereur Jovinian*. [Compare *supra*, vol. i. p. 255, and see Brunet, *dern.* edit. iii. 1885.] But Jovyn being mentioned here with Plotoun and Apollin, seems to mean Jove or Jupiter; and the appellation *sire* perhaps implies father, or chief, of the heathen gods.

⁵ The romance of *Sir Libeaux* or *Lybius Disconius* [printed by Ritson], is in this

[Of the romance of *Ypotis*,¹ mentioned by Chaucer, there are four copies preserved in the British Museum,² and three at Oxford.³

Though mentioned by Chaucer along with *Horn Child*, *Sir Bevis*, and *Sir Guy*, it has but little in common with those romances of Price. It professes to be "a tale of holy writ," and the work of St. John the Evangelist. The scene is Rome. A child, named Ypotis, appears before the Emperor Adrian, saying that he is come to teach men God's law; whereupon the emperor proceeds to interrogate him as to what is God's law, and then of many other matters, not in any captious spirit, but with the utmost reverence and faith. He asks questions about heaven, Adam's sin, the Trinity, the creation, Sins, why men should fast on Friday, and other subjects; and at last he asks the wondrous child who has solved all his queries whether he is a wicked angel or a good:

þe child onswerde with milde mood :
 " I am he þat þe wrouhte
 And also þat þe deore aboute."
 þe child wente to heuene þo
 To þe stude þat he com fro.
 þe Emperour kneled on þe grounde
 And þonked God, þat blisful founde
 He bi com good. In alle wyse
 Lyuede & dyede in Godes seruise.

And so, with a second ascription of itself to Saint John as its author, the work ends. There is a little tract in prose on the same legend from the press of Wynkyn de Worde.

The editor of the *Catalogue of the Ashmolean MSS.* suggests that the origin of this curious dialogue is to be found in those spurious pieces relating to the philosopher Secundus, &c., which are described by Fabricius.⁴ What little is known of Secundus is given by Philostratus, in his *Vitæ Sophistarum*. He was an Armenian sophist, who flourished about A. D. 100. Suidas confounds him with the younger Pliny; his words are, ὃς ἐχρημάτισε πλάνιος. Vincent of Beauvais made him known to the Middle Ages, or at least extended the knowledge of him, by recording the wonderful taciturnity he was said to have preserved, and also certain answers in writing given to the Emperor Hadrian.⁵ Besides this conversation between the Emperor Hadrian and Secundus, Fabricius gives a similar altercation

stanza. MSS. Cott. Cal. A 2, f. 40. [The *Beau Disconu*, *Bel Inconnu*, or rather *Li Biaus Desconnes* was written by Renals de Biauju, and a MS. of the original French is in the possession of the Duc d'Aumale. But the English versions are not a literal translation of the Duc d'Aumale's French copy, and therefore there must have been formerly a somewhat different text, or the English author took unacknowledged liberties with the poem. The title of the original French is: "Le Bel Inconnu, ou Giglain fils de Messire Gauvain et de la Fee aux Blanches Mains, Poeme de la Table Ronde, par Renauld de Beaujeu, Poete du XIII^e. siecle. Publié d'après le MS. unique, par C. Hippeau. Paris, 1860, 8vo.]

¹ [Communicated by Mr. J. W. Hales.]

² Arundel MSS. No. 140, addit. MSS. No. 22283; Cott. MSS. Calig. A. ii. and Titus A. xxvi.

³ Vernon MS. 140; Ashm. Nos. 61 and 750.

⁴ *Bibl. Græc.* tom. xiii.

⁵ See *Spec. Hist.* x. 70, 71.

between that same emperor and Epictetus. But indeed between these pieces and *Ypotis* there is no likeness whatever, except that the form is catechetical, and that the questions are put in the mouth of the same imperial figure. Secundus's answers are not answers, but mere accumulations of epigrams, mere rhetorical bouquets. He is asked what are κόσμος, ὠκεανός, θεός, ἡμέρα, ἥλιος, &c., and replies in each case with a series of elaborate metaphors. Thus, to the question, τί ἐστὶ γυνή; the response of the oracle is, ἀνδρὸς ἐπιθύμιον, συνεστιώμενον θηρίον, συγκοιμῶ μένῃ λέαινα . . . ἀνθρωπόποιον ὑπούργημα, ζῶν πονηρὸν, ἀναγκαῖον κακόν. Whereas in *Ypotis* the questions are all answered with the wish, not to air tropes and similes, but to convey information. In fact, *Ypotis* is a very curious medieval catechism. It is evidently the work of some sober-minded ecclesiastical instructor—of some monastic Pinnock of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The statements contained in it concerning the seven elements of which Adam was composed, the list of the sins committed by him, the description of the seven heavens and the nine celestial orders, the thirteen reasons for fasting on Friday—all these things formed part of what was once held to be highly important knowledge, to impart which in a form easy to remember, and to invest with a certain personal interest, was the object of the versifier, who produced *Ypotis*.

For the name I venture to suggest that it is a corruption of the Greek Ὑποστασις, or rather, perhaps, Ὑποστατης. The former was a common word with the Greek ecclesiastical writers for a person of the Trinity; the latter is used by them for a creator.]

Ipomydon is mentioned among the romances in the Prologue of *Richard Cœur de Lyon*; in an ancient copy of the British Museum, it is called *Syr Ipomydon*, a name borrowed from the Theban war, and transferred here to a tale of the feudal times.¹ This piece is derived from a French original. Our hero Ippomedon is son of Ermones king of Apulia, and his mistress is the fair heiress of Calabria. About the year 1230, William Ferrabras² and his brethren, sons of Tancred the Norman, and well known in the history of the Paladins, acquired the signories of Apulia and Calabria. But our English romance seems to be immediately translated from the French; for Ermones is called king of *Poyle* or Apulia, which in French is *Pouille*. I have transcribed some of the most interesting passages.³

Ipomydon, although the son of a king, is introduced waiting in his father's hall, at a grand festival. This servitude was so far from being dishonourable, that it was always required as a preparatory step to knighthood:

Every yere the kyng wold
At Whytfontyde a feft hold

MSS. Harl. 2252, 44, f. 54. [In Heber's library was a printed copy deficient of sheet A, which had been part of the collection bequeathed to Lincoln Cathedral by Dean Honeywood. It was from the press of W. de Worde.]

[Printed in Mr. Weber's collection of Metrical Romances, whose text has been substituted for Warton's. It has also been analysed by Mr. Ellis.—*Price*.]

² *Bras de fer*. Iron arm.

³ MSS. f. 55.

Off dukis, erlis, and barons,
 Many there come frome dyvers townes,
 Ladyes, maydens, gentill and fre,
 Come thedyr from ferre contrè :
 And grette lordis of ferre lond
 Thedyr were prayd by fore the hond.¹
 When all were come togedyr than
 There was joy of mani a man ;
 Full riche I wote were hyr seruice,
 For better might no man devyse.
 Ipomydon that day feryd in halle,
 All spake of hym bothe grete and smalle,
 Ladies and maydens by helde hym on,
 So godely a man they had sene none :
 Hys feyre chere in halle theym smert
 That mony a lady smote throw the hert.
 And in there hertis they made mone
 That there lordis ne were fuche one.
 After mete they went to pley,
 All the peple, as I you sey ;
 Some to chambre, and some to boure,
 And some to the hye towre ;²
 And some in the halle stode
 And spake what hem thought gode :
 Men that were of that cite³
 Enquered of men of other cuntrè, &c.

Here a conversation commences concerning the heirefs of Calabria:
 and the young Prince Ipomydon immediately forms a resolution to
 visit and to win her. He fets out in disguise :

Now they go furth on her way,
 Ipomydon to hys men gan say,
 That ther be none of hem alle,
 So hardy by his name hym calle,
 Wherefo thei wend ferre or nere,
 Or over the strange ryvere ;
 " Ne man telle what I am,
 What I schall be, ne whens I cam."
 All they granted hys commandement,
 And forthe they went with one assent.
 Ipomydon and Tholomew
 Robys had on and mantillis new,
 Of the richeft that myght bee,
 Ther nas ne fuche in that cuntrèe :
 For many was the ryche stone
 That the mantillis were uppon.
 So longe there weys they have nome⁴
 That to Calabre they ar come :
 They come to the castelle yate
 The porter was redy there at,
 The porter to theme they can calle
 And prayd hym go into the halle

¹ before-hand.

² In the feudal castles, where many persons of both sexes were assembled, who did not know how to spend the time, it is natural to suppose that different parties were formed, and different schemes of amusement invented. One of these was to mount to the top of one of the highest towers in the castle.

³ The Apulians.

⁴ [taken.]

And say thy lady¹ gent and fre,
 That come ar men of ferre contrée,
 And if it plesse hyr we wold hyr prey,
 That we might ete with hyr to day.
 The porter seyð full cortéisly
 "Your errand to do I am redy."
 The lady to hyr mete was sette,
 The porter come and feyre hyr grette,
 "Madame," he sayd, "God you save,"
 Atte your gate geftis ye have,
 Strange men all for to see
 Thei aske mete for charytè."
 The lady comaundith sone anon
 That the gates were undone,
 "And bryng theym all byfore me
 For wele at ese shall they bee."
 They toke hyr pagis hors and alle,
 These two men went into the halle.
 Ipomydon on knees hym sette,
 And the lady feyre he grette:
 "I am a man of strange contrè
 And pray you yff your will to [so] be
 That I myght dwelle with you to-yere
 Of your norture for to lere,²
 I am come frome ferre lond;
 For speche I here bi fore the hand
 That your norture and your servyse
 Ys holden of so grete empryse.
 I pray you that I may dwelle here
 Some of your servyse to lere."
 The lady by held Ipomydon,
 Hym semyd wele a gentilmon,
 She knew non suche in hyr lande,
 So goodly a man and wele farand;³
 She saw also by his norture
 He was a man of grete valure:
 She cast full sone in hyr thoght
 That for no servyse come he noght;
 But it was worship hyr unto
 In feir servyse hym to do.
 She sayd, Syr, welcome ye be,
 And all that comyn be with the;
 Sithe ye have had so grete travayle,
 Of a servyse ye shall not fayle:

¹ She was lady, by inheritance, of the signory. The female feudatories exercised all the duties and honours of their feudal jurisdiction in person. In Spenser, where we read of the *Lady of the Castle*, we are to understand such a character. See a story of a *Comtesse*, who entertains a knight in her castle with much gallantry. *Mem. sur l'Anc. Chev.* ii. 69. It is well known that anciently in England ladies were sheriffs of counties. [Margaret, countess of Richmond, was a justice of peace. Sir W. Dugdale tells us that Ela, widow of William, earl of Salisbury, executed the sheriff's office for the county of Wilts in different parts of the reign of Henry III. (See *Baronage*, vol. i. 177.) From Fuller's *Worthies* we find that Elizabeth, widow of Thomas Lord Clifford, was sheriffs of Westmoreland for many years, and from Pennant's *Scottish Tour* we learn that for the same county Anne, the celebrated Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery, often sat in person as sheriffs. — *Park.*]

² learn.

³ handsome.

In thys contre ye may dwelle here
 And at your will for to lere,
 Of the cuppe ye shall serve me
 And all your men with you shal be,
 Ye may dwelle here at youre wille,
 But¹ your beryng be full ylle.
 Madame, he sayd, grantmercy,
 He thankid the lady cortelsly.
 She comandyth hym to the mete,
 But or he satte in ony sete,
 He saluted theym grete and smalle,
 As a gentillman shuld in halle;
 All they sayd sone anone,
 They saw nevyr so goodli a mon,
 Ne so light, ne so glad,
 Ne non that so ryche atyre had:
 There was non that fat nor yede,²
 But they had marville of hys dede,³
 And sayd, he was no lytell fyre,
 That myght shew suche atyre.
 Whan they had ete, and grace sayd,
 And the tabyll away was leyd;
 Upp than aroos Ipomydon,
 And to the botery he went anon,
 Ant [dyde] hys mantille hym aboute;
 On hym lokyd all the route,
 Ant every man sayd to other there,
 "Will ye se the proude squee
 Shall serve⁴ my ladye of the wyne,
 In hys mantell that is so fyne?"
 That they hym scornyd wist he noght:
 On othyr thyng he had his thocht.
 He toke the cuppe of the botelere,
 And drewe a lace of sylke ful clere,
 Adowne than felle hys mantyll by,
 He prayd hym for hys curtesly,
 That lytelle yifte⁵ that he wolde nome
 Tille este sone a better come;
 Up it toke the botelere.
 Byfore the lady he gan it bere,
 And prayd the lady hertely
 To thanke hym of his cortessye;
 All that was tho in the halle
 Grete honowre they spake hym alle.
 And sayd he was no lytelle man
 That such yiftys yiffe kan.
 There he dwellyd many a day,
 And servid the lady wele to pay.
 He bare hym on so feyre manere
 To knyghtes, ladyes, and squyere,
 All lovyd hym that com hym by,
 For he bare hym so cortelsly.
 The lady had a cosyne that hight Jafon,
 Full well he lovyd Ipomydon;
 Where that he yede in or oute,
 Jafon went with hym aboute.

¹ unless.⁴ "who is to serve."² walked.³ behaviour.⁵ *i. e.* his mantle.

The lady lay, but she slept noght,
 For of the squyere she had grete thoght;
 How he was feyre and shape wele,
 Body and armes, and every dele:
 Ther was non in al hir land
 So wel befemyd dougty of hand.
 But she kowde wete for no case,
 Whens he come ne what he was,
 Ne of no man cowde enquere
 Other than the strange squyere.
 She hyr bythought on a quentyse,
 If she myght know in ony wyle,
 To wete whereof he were come.
 Thys was hyr thought all and some:
 She thought to wode hyr men to tame¹
 That she myght knowe hym by his game.
 On the morow, whan it was day,
 To hyr men than gan she say,
 "To morrow whan it is day lyght,
 Loke ye be all redy dight,
 With youre houndis more and leffe,
 In the forrest to take my grese,
 And there I will myself be
 Your game to byhold and see."
 Ipomydon had houndis thre
 That he broght frome his contrè;
 When they were to the wode gone,
 This lady and hyr men ichone,
 And with hem her houndis ladde,
 All that ever any howndis hadde.
 Sir Tholomew foryate he noght,
 His maistres howndis thedyr he broght,
 That many a day ne had ronne ere,
 Full wele he thought to note hem there.
 Whan they come to the laund on hight,
 The quenys pavylon there was pight,
 That she myght se of the best
 All the game of the forèst,
 The wandlessours went throw the forèst,
 And to the lady broght many a best,²
 Herte and hynde, buk and doo,
 And othir bestis many moo.
 The howndis that were of gret prife
 Pluckid downe dere all at a tryse;
 Ipomydon with his houndis thoo
 Drew downe bothe buk and doo;
 More he tok with houndis thre
 Than all that othyr compaigne.
 There squyres undyd hyr dere,
 Iche man on his owne manere:
 Ipomydon a dere yede unto,
 Full konnyngly gan he it undo;
 So feyre that venyson he gan to dight,
 That bothe hym byheld squyer and knight:
 The lady lokyd oute of her pavyloun,
 And saw hym dight the venyson.
 There she had grete deyntè
 And so had all that dyd hym see:

¹ [tane or tan, A.-S. to *lure* or *entice*.]

² beaft.

She saw all that he downe droughe
 Of huntyng the witt he cowde ynoughe
 And thoght in hyr herte then
 That he was come of gentillmen :
 She bad Jafon hyr men to calle :
 Home they passyd grete and smalle :
 Home they come sone anone,
 This lady to hyr mete gan gone,
 And of venery¹ had hyr fille
 For they had take game at wille.

He is afterwards knighted with great solemnity :

The heraudes gaff the child² the gree,
 A m. pownde he had to fee,
 Mynstrellys had yiftes of golde
 And fourty dayes thys feyt was holde.³

The metrical romance entitled *La Mort Arthure*, preserved in the same repository, is supposed by the learned and accurate Wanley to be a translation from the French : he adds, that it is not perhaps older than the times of Henry VII.⁴ But as it abounds with many Saxon words, and seems to be quoted in *Syr Beuys*, I have given it a place here.⁵ Notwithstanding the title and the exordium which promise the history of Arthur and the Sangreal, the exploits of Sir Lancelot du Lak, king of Benwike, his intrigues with Arthur's queen Geneura, and his refusal of the beautiful daughter of the Earl of Ascalot, form the greatest part of the poem. At the close, the repentance of Lancelot and Geneura, who both assume the habit of religion, is introduced. The writer mentions the Tower of London. The following is a description of a tournament performed by some of the knights of the Round Table :⁶

Tho to the castelle gon they fare,
 To the ladye fayre and bryht :
 Blicthe was the ladye thare,
 That they wold dwelle with hyr that nyght.
 Haftely was there soper yare⁷
 Off mete and drinke rychely dight ;
 On the morow gon they dine and fare
 Both Launcelott and that other knight.

¹ [hunting, game.]

² Ipomydon.

³ MS. f. 61. b.

⁴ MSS. Harl. 2252. 49. f. 86. Pr. "Lordinges that are leffe and deare." [Edited by F. J. Furnivall for the Roxburghe Club, 1864. The late Mr. Ritson was of opinion that [this romance] was verified from the prose work of the same name written by Malory and printed by Caxton ; in proof of which he contended that the style is marked by an evident affectation of antiquity. But in truth it differs most essentially from Malory's work, which was a mere compilation, whilst this follows with tolerable exactness the French romance of *Lancelot* ; and its phraseology, which perfectly resembles that of Chetre and other authors of the fifteenth century, betrays no marks of affectation.—*Ellis*. A new edition of Caxton's *Morte Arthur* has since been published by Mr. Southey.—*Price*. The Early English Text Society also proposes to republish Caxton's edit. Southey's so-called edition, 1817, was a mere bookseller's speculation, with a very elaborate, but somewhat discursive introduction by the nominal editor. An imperfect copy seems to have been employed, and the deficiencies supplied from a later text.]

⁵ Signat. K ii b.

⁶ MS. f. 89. b.

⁷ ready.

Whan they come in to the feld
 Myche there was of game and play,
 Awhile they hovid¹ and byheld
 How Arthurs knightis rode that day,
 Galehodis² party bygan to held³
 On fote his knightis ar led away.
 Launcelott stiff was undyr scheld,
 Thinkis to helpe yif that he may.
 Befyde hym come than sir Ewayne,
 Breme⁴ as eny wilde bore;
 Launcellott springis hym ageyne,⁵
 In rede armys that he bore:
 A dynte he yaff with mekill mayne,
 Sir Ewayne was unhorfid thare,
 That alle men wente⁶ he had ben slayne
 So was he woundyd wondyr fare.⁷
 Sir Boerte thoughte no thinge good,
 When Syr Ewaine unhorfid was;
 Forthe he springis, as he were wode,
 To Launcelot withouten lees:
 Launcellot hyte hym on the hode,
 The nexte way to grounde he chese:
 Was none so stiff agayne hym stode
 Ffule thynne he made the thikkeft prees.⁸
 Sir Lyonelle beganne to tene,⁹
 And hastely he made hym bowne,¹⁰
 To Launcellott, with herte kene,
 He rode with helme and sword browne;
 Launcellott hitte hym as I wene,
 Throughe the helme in to the crowne:
 That evyr after it was sene
 Bothe hors and man there yod adoune.
 The knightis gadrid to gedir thare
 And gan with crafte, &c.

I could give many more ample specimens of the romantic poems of these nameless minstrels, who probably flourished before or about the reign of Edward II.¹¹ But it is neither my inclination nor inten-

[¹ tarried.—Sir F. Madden's corr.]

[³ heel, i. e. give way.—Sir F. Madden's note.]

⁴ against.

⁶ weened.

⁷ fore.

⁹ be troubled.

¹⁰ ready.

² Sir Galahad's.

⁴ fierce.

⁸ crowd.

¹¹ *Octavian* is one of the romances mentioned in the Prologue to *Richard Cœur de Lion*, above cited. [An imperfect copy of an early printed edition, supposed to be from W. Copland's press, was sold amongst Mr. Heber's books.] In the Cotton MSS. there is the metrical romance of *Octavian imperator*, but it has nothing of the history of the Roman emperors. Pr. "Jhesu pat was with spere yfonge." Calig. A. 12. f. 20. It is a very singular stanza. In Bishop More's manuscripts at Cambridge, there is a poem with the same title, but a very different beginning, viz. "Lytyll and mykyll olde and younge." Bibl. Publ. 690. 30.—[This romance has been edited by Mr. Halliwell for the Percy Society.] The Emperor *Octavian*, perhaps the same, is mentioned in Chaucer's *Dreme*, v. 368. Among Hatton's MSS. in Bibl. Bodl. we have a French poem, *Romaunce de Otheuien Empereur de Rome*. Hyper. Bodl. 4046. 21. [Of which Conybeare printed an English epitomized version, 1809, 8vo.]

In the same line of the aforesaid Prologue, we have the romance of *Ury*. This is probably the father of the celebrated Sir Ewaine or Yvain, mentioned in the *Court Mantel*. (*Mem. Anc. Cheval.* ii. p. 62).

tion to write a catalogue, or compile a miscellany. It is not to be expected that this work should be a general repository of our ancient poetry. I cannot however help observing, that English literature and English poetry suffer[ed], while so many pieces of this kind still remain[ed] concealed and forgotten in our manuscript libraries. They contain in common with the prose-romances, to most of which indeed

“ Li rois pris par la destre main
L'amiz monseignor Yvain
Qui au roi Urien fu filz,
Et bons chevaliers et hardiz,
Qui tant ama chiens et oisiaux.”

Specimens of the English *Syr Beuys* may be seen in Percy's *Reliques*, iii. 216, 217, 297, edit. 1767, and *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, § ii. p. 50. It is in manuscript at Cambridge, Bibl. Publ. 690. 30, and Coll. Caii. A. 9. 5. And MSS. Bibl. Adv. Edinb. W. 4. 1. Num. xxii.

It is in this romance of *Syr Beuys*, that the knight passes over a bridge, the arches of which are hung round with small bells. Signat. E iv. This is an oriental idea. In the *Alcoran* it is said, that one of the felicities in Mahomet's paradise will be to listen to the ravishing music of an infinite number of bells, hanging on the trees, which will be put in motion by the wind proceeding from the throne of God. Sale's *Koran*, Prelim. Disc. p. 100. In the enchanted horn, as we shall see hereafter, in *le Lai du Corn*, the rim of the horn is hung round with a hundred bells of a most musical sound.

We shall have occasion, in the progress of our poetry, to bring other specimens of these compositions. See *Obs. on Spenser's Fairy Queen*, ii. 42, 43.

I must not forget here, that Sir Gawaine, one of Arthur's champions, is celebrated in a separate romance. [In MS. Rawlinson, C. 86, is *The Wedding of Sir Gawayne*, a later copy of which, mutilated, occurs in the Percy MS. Sir F. Madden, who included the Rawlinson copy in his *Sir Gawayne*, 1839, observes: “It is, unquestionably, the original of the mutilated poem in the Percy folio, and is sufficiently curious to render its insertion in the Appendix an object of interest.” It is called *The weddinge of Sr Gawen & Dame Ragnell*, and begins:

“ Lythe and listenyth the lif of a lord riche
The while that he lyvid was none hym liche.”]

Dr. Percy has printed the *Marriage of Sir Gawayne*, which he believes to have furnished Chaucer with his *Wife of Bath*, *Reliques*, i. 11. It begins, “Kinge Arthur liues in merry Carleie.” [This is printed in Sir F. Madden's *Sir Gawayne*, 1839.] I think I have somewhere seen a romance in verse entitled, *The Turke and Gawaine*. [This romance occurs in the recently edited *Percy MS*. Many important romances altogether omitted and probably unseen by Warton and his editors, might be mentioned here, such as *Blonde of Oxford* and *Jehan of Dammartin*, edited for the Camden Society, 1858; *Sir Gengerides*, recently edited for the Roxburghe Club by Mr. Furnivall (a ballad-poem on the same subject is in a MS. in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge; and of the longer narrative fragments printed with the types of W. de Worde are extant); *The Romans of Partenay or Melusine*, Early English Text Society, 1866; and *Torrent of Portugal*, printed from the Chetham MS. 1842, 8vo. *Torrent of Portugal*, which, from a small fragment with his types remaining, seems to have been printed by Pynson in the early part of the sixteenth century, is a very dull and puerile performance. It appears to be in heroic fiction what *Jack the Giant Killer* is in the romance of the nursery. How far Jack may have owed his existence to his grander and more imposing prototype, it is not easy to say. We see in *Torrent of Portugal* a curiously vague use of geographical terms connected with America; possibly the story, in its present shape, was not composed long before it came from Pynson's press.]

they gave life, amusing images of ancient customs and institutions not elsewhere to be found, or at least not otherwise so strikingly delineated: and they preserve, pure and unmixed, those fables of chivalry which formed the taste, and awakened the imagination, of our elder English classics. The antiquaries of former times overlooked or rejected these valuable remains, which they despised as false and frivolous, and employed their industry in reviving obscure fragments of uninteresting morality or uninteresting history. But in the present age we are beginning to make ample amends: in which the curiosity of the antiquarian is connected with taste and genius, and his researches tend to display the progress of human manners, and to illustrate the history of society.

As a further illustration of the general subject and many particulars of this section and the three last, I will add a new proof of the reverence in which such stories were held, and of the familiarity with which they must have been known, by our ancestors. These fables were not only perpetually repeated at their festivals, but were the constant objects of their eyes. The very walls of their apartments were clothed with romantic history. Tapestry was anciently the fashionable furniture of our houses, and it was chiefly filled with lively representations of this sort. The stories are still preserved of the tapestry in the royal palaces of Henry VIII.;¹ which I will here give without reserve, including other subjects, as they happen to occur, equally descriptive of the times. In the tapestry of the Tower of London, the original and most ancient seat of our monarchs, there are recited "Godfrey of Bulloign, the three kings of Cologne, the emperor Constantine, saint George, king Erkenwald,² the history of Hercules, Fame and Honour, the Triumph of Divinity, Esther and Ahasuerus, Jupiter and Juno, saint George, the eight Kings, the ten Kings of France, the Birth of our Lord, Duke Joshua, the rich history of king David, the seven Deadly Sins, the rich history of the Passion, the Stem of Jesse,³ our Lady and Son, king Solomon, the

¹ "The seconde part of the Inventorye of our late sovereigne lord kyng Henry the Eighth, conteynynge his guardrobes, household stuff," &c. &c. MSS. Harl. 1419, fol. The original. [The account which followed here in all the former edits. of the furniture in Henry VIII.'s palace at Greenwich, did not seem to be any part of the subject; but at any rate it is to be found much more full and accurate in the *Retrospective Review*, second series, i. 132-6.]

² So in the record. But he was the third bishop of St. Paul's, London, son of King Offa, and a great benefactor to St. Paul's church, in which he had a most superb shrine. He was canonised. Dugdale, among many other curious particulars relating to his shrine, says that in the year 1339 it was decorated anew, when three goldsmiths, two at the wages of five shillings by the week, and one at eight, worked upon it for a whole year. *Hist. St. Paul's*, p. 21. See also p. 233.

³ This was a favourite subject for a large gothic window. This subject also composed a branch of candlesticks thence called a *jesse*, not unusual in the ancient churches. In the year 1097, Hugo de Flori, abbot of St. Aust. Canterb., bought for the choir of his church a great branch-candlestick. "Candelabrum magnum in choroæneum quod *jesse* vocatur in partibus emit transmarinis." Thorn, *Dec. Script.* col. 1796. About the year 1330, Adam de Sodbury, abbot of Glastonbury,

Woman of Canony, Meleager, and the Dance of Maccabre."¹ At Durham-place we find the "Citie of Ladies," the tapestrie of Thebes and of Troy, the City of Peace, the Prodigal Son,² Esther, and other pieces of Scripture." At Windsor castle the "siege of Jerusalem, Ahafuerus, Charlemagne, the siege of Troy, and *hawking and hunting*."⁴ At Nottingham castle, "Amys and Amelion."⁵ At Woodstock manor, the "tapestrie of Charlemagne."⁶ At the More, a palace in Hertfordshire, "king Arthur, Hercules, Aftyages, and Cyrus." At Richmond, the "arras of Sir Bevis, and Virtue and Vice fighting."⁷ Many of these subjects are repeated at Westminster, Greenwich, Oatlands, Bedington in Surrey, and other royal seats, some of which are now unknown as such.⁸ Among the rest we have also Hannibal, Holofernes, Romulus and Remus, Æneas, and Sufannah.⁹ I have mentioned romances written on many of these

gave to his convent "Unum dorsale laneum *le Jesse*." Joan. Glaston, edit. Hearne, p. 265. That is, a piece of tapestry embroidered with the *stem of Jesse*, to be hung round the choir, or other parts of the church, on high festivals. He also gave a tapestry of this subject for the abbot's hall. *Ibid.* And I cannot help adding, what indeed is not immediately connected with the subject of this note, that he gave his monastery, among other costly presents, a great clock, "processionibus et spectaculis insignitum," an organ of prodigious size, and eleven bells, six for the tower of the church, and five for the clock tower. He also new-vaulted the nave of the church, and adorned the new roof with beautiful paintings. *Ibid.*

¹ f. 6. In many churches of France there was an ancient shew of mimicry, in which all ranks of life were personated by the ecclesiastics, who all danced together, and disappeared one after another. It was called *Dance Maccabre*, and seems to have been often performed in St. Innocent's at Paris, where was a famous painting on this subject, which gave rise to Lydgate's poem under the same title. See Carpent. *Suppl. du Cange*, Lat. Gl. ii. p. 1103. More will be said of it when we come to Lydgate.

² A famous French allegorical romance [by Christine de Pisé. An English translation appeared in 1521].

³ A picture on this favourite subject is mentioned in Shakespeare. And in Randolph's *Muses Looking-glass*. "In painted cloth the story of the Prodigal." *Dodsl. Old Pl.* vi. 260.

⁴ f. 298.

⁵ f. 364.

⁶ f. 318.

⁷ f. 346.

⁸ Some of the tapestry at Hampton-court, described in this inventory, is to be seen still in a fine old room, now remaining in its original state, called the Exchange. [In an inventory of the effects of King Henry V. several pieces of tapestry are mentioned, with the subjects of the following romances, viz. Bevis of Hampton, Octavian, Gyngebras (?) Hawkyn namtelet, l'arbre de jeonesse, Farman (i. e. Pharamond), Charlemayn, Duke Glorian, Elkanus le noble, Renaut, Trovis roys de Coleyn, &c. See Rolls of Parl. *sub anno* 1423.—*Douce*. These Rolls are not very correctly printed, and the editor suspects some errors in the preceding list.]

⁹ Montfaucon, among the tapestry of Charles V. king of France, in the year 1370, mentions, *Le tapis de la vie du saint Theuseus*. Here the officer who made the entry calls Theuseus a saint. *The seven Deadly Sins*, *Le saint Graal*, *Le graunt tapis de Neuf Preux*, *Reyne d'Ireland*, and *Godfrey of Bulloign*. *Monum. Fr.* iii. 64. The *neuf preux* are the Nine Worthies. Among the stores of Henry VIII. we have, "two old stayned clothes of the ix worthies for the greate chamber," at Newhall in Essex, f. 362. These were pictures. Again, at the palace of Westminster in "the little study called the Newe Librarye," which I believe was in Holbein's elegant Gothic gatehouse, there is, "Item, xii pictures of men on horsebacke of enamelled stufte of the Nyne Worthies, and others upon square tables." f. 188. MSS. Harl. 1419, *ut supr.*

subjects, and shall mention others. In the romance of Syr Guy, that hero's combat with the dragon in Northumberland is said to be represented in tapestry in Warwick castle :

In Warwike the truth shall ye see
In arras wrought ful craftely.¹

This piece of tapestry appears to have been in Warwick castle before the year 1398. It was then so distinguished and valued a piece of furniture, that a special grant was made of it by Richard II. in that year, conveying "that suit of arras hangings in Warwick castle, which contained the story of the famous Guy earl of Warwick," together with the castle of Warwick, and other possessions, to Thomas Holland, earl of Kent;² and in the restoration of forfeited property to this lord after his imprisonment, these hangings are particularly specified in the patent of Henry IV., dated 1399. When Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., was married to James IV. of Scotland in 1503, Holyrood House at Edinburgh was splendidly decorated on that occasion; and we are told in an ancient record, that the "hanginge of the queenes grett chammer represented the ystory of Troye tounne." Again, "the king's grett chammer had one table, wer was satt hys chammerlayn, the grett sqyer, and many others, well served; the which chammer was haunged about with the story of Hercules, together with other ystories."³ And at the same solemnity, "in the hall wher the qwenes company wer satt in lyke as in the other, an wich was haunged of the history of Hercules," &c.⁴ A stately chamber in the castle of Hesdin in Artois was furnished by a duke of Burgundy with the story of Jason and the Golden Fleece, about the year 1468.⁵ The affecting story of Coucy's Heart, which [may have given] rise to an old metrical English romance entitled, the *Knight of Courtesy and the Lady of Faguel*, was woven in tapestry in Coucy castle in France.⁶ I have seen an ancient suite of arras, containing Ariosto's Orlando and Angelica, where at every group the story was all along illustrated with short rhymes in romance or old French. Spenser sometimes dresses the superb bowers of his fairy castles with this sort of historical drapery.

¹ Signat. Ca 1. Some, perhaps, may think this circumstance an innovation or addition of later minstrels. A practice not uncommon.

² Dugd. Bar. i. p. 237.

³ Leland. Coll. vol. iii. p. 295, 296. *Opuscul.* edit. 1770.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ See *Obs. Fair.* Qu. i. p. 177.

⁶ Howell's *Letters*, xx. § vi. B. i. This is a true story, about the year 1180. Fauchet relates it at large from an old authentic French chronicle; and then adds, "Ainsi finerint les amours du Chastelain du Couci et de la dame de Faiel." Our Castellan, whose name is [Raoul] de Couci, was famous for his *chansons* and chivalry, but more so for his unfortunate love, which became proverbial in the old French romances. See Fauch. *Rec.* pp. 124, 128. [The Knight of Courtesy and the Fair Lady of Faguel has been reprinted by Mr. Ritson, vol. iii. p. 193. See *Memoires Historiques sur Raoul de Courcy*. Paris, 1781.—*Price*. See *Remains of the E. P. Poetry of Engl.* ii. 65-6; the romance is also included in that collection. Ritson's text is not accurate. The French story of *Le Chatelain de Coucy et la dame de Fagel* was printed at Paris, 1829, 8vo.; but it has very little in common with the English romance.]

In Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure* [1517,] the hero of the piece sees all his future adventures displayed at large in the sumptuous tapestry of the hall of a castle. I have before mentioned the most valuable and perhaps the most ancient work of this sort now existing, the entire series of Duke William's descent on England, preserved in the church of Bayeux in Normandy, and intended as an ornament of the choir on high festivals. Bartholinus relates that it was an art much cultivated among the ancient Islanders, to weave the histories of their giants and champions in tapestry.¹ The same thing is recorded of the old Persians; and this furniture is still in high request among many Oriental nations, particularly in Japan and China.² It is well known, that to frame pictures of heroic adventures in needle-work was a favourite practice of classical antiquity.

[The following list comprises all the known English Romances relating to Charlemagne.³

1. *Roland*. All that remains of this is a fragment⁴ of a poem, probably written in the thirteenth century. It is not strictly alliterative, but abounds with alliteration. An analysis and some extracts furnished by Mr. Thos. Wright are printed at the end of M. Michel's edition of *La Chanson de Roland*. The whole of the fragment will probably be published by the Early English Text Society. It relates the treachery of Gwynylon (the French *Ganelon* or *Guenelon*), and the beginning of the fight at Roncevaux. In describing Gwynylon's treachery the poet has derived one remarkable circumstance, not from the French *Roland*, but from the Chronicle of the pseudo-Turpin. M. Paris is mistaken, however, in supposing that he does not include Turpin in the number of the combatants at Roncevaux.⁵ He says expressly (leaf 384):

vnto Roulond then went the princis xij
Olyuer and Roger and Aubry hym-selue
Richard and Rayner that redy was euer
tirry and turpyn all redy wer.

The following description of the "strange weather" that happened in France while the battle was going on may serve as a specimen of the style of the poem, which is remarkably vigorous:

— while our folk fought to-gedur
ther fell in Fraunce A straung wedur
A gret derk myft in the myd-day-tym
thik and clowdy and euyll wedur thene
and thiknes of sterris and thonder light
the erthe dynnyd doillfully to wet

¹ *Antiquit. Dan.* lib. i. 9, p. 51.

² In the royal palace of Jeddo, which overflows with a profusion of the most exquisite and superb eastern embellishments, the tapestry of the emperor's audience-hall is of the finest silk, wrought by the most skilful artificers of that country, and adorned with pearls, gold, and silver. *Mod. Univ. Hist.* B. xiii. c. ii. vol. ix. p. 83. (Not. G.) edit. 1759.

³ [Communicated by Mr. Shelly, of Plymouth.]

⁴ [Lansd. MS. 388, leaf 381 to 395.]

⁵ [*Hist. Poët de Charlemagne*, p. 155, note.]

Foulis fled for fere it was gret wonder
 bowes of trees *then* brestyn asonder
 best ran to bankis And cried full fore
 they durst not abid in the mor
 ther was no man but he hid his hed
 And thought not but to dy in *that* sted
 the wekid wedur lastid full long
 from the mornyng to the euynsong
 then Rose a clowd euyn in the west
 as red as blod *wyth-outon* rest
 It shewid down on the erthe & *ther* did thyn
 So many doughty men as died *that* tym.

2. *Otuwel*. This is also incomplete: Ellis has given an analysis of it;¹ and the poem was printed from the Auchinleck MS. for the Abbotsford Club in 1836. Its date is supposed to be not later than 1330. Ellis has completed the story, as he says, from another MS. then in the possession of Mr. Fillingham, in which, however, M. Gaston Paris has recognized a portion of a cyclic poem, to which he gives the title of *Charlemagne and Roland*, and which I will next describe. Our *Otuwel* is the French *Otinel*.² *Otuwel* or *Otinel*, the hero of the poem, comes as the ambassador of the Saracen king Garfie (Garfile), to summon Charles to pay homage to his master, and to abjure the Christian faith; but by a miracle he is himself converted, and "forakes all his gods." He is then betrothed to Belecent, the daughter of Charles, and marches with Charles and his "duzze peres" (douze pairs) to fight against Garfie in Lombardy. Garfie is taken prisoner, and led to Charles by *Otuwel*, who is rewarded—according to the French Romances, for here our fragment ends—with the hand of Belecent and the crown of Lombardy.

3. *Charlemagne and Roland*. This is the title which, according to M. Paris,³ ought to be given to a poem which we possess only in scattered fragments. The poem belongs probably to the beginning of the fourteenth century. M. Paris divides it into four parts. 1st. Charlemagne's Journey to the Holy Land according to the Latin legend. 2nd. The beginning of the war in Spain after the first chapters of Turpin's *Chronicle*. 3rd. *Otuwel*, but a different version from that described above. 4th. The end of Turpin's history. The first and second parts consist of the poem in the Auchinleck MS., printed for the Abbotsford Club under the title of *Roland and Vernagu*, and analysed by Ellis as *Roland and Ferragus*.⁴ The story of the first part, as related in this poem, should rather be described as Charles's visit to the emperor "Constanfious," and that of the second part, which begins on page 15 of the Abbotsford [Club] edition, as the combat of Roland and Vernagu. The concluding lines of this second part connect it with the third:

To Otuel also yern
 That was a sarrazin stern
 Ful sone this word sprong.

[¹ *Specimens of Early Engl. Metr. Romances* (ed. 1811), vol. ii. p. 324.]

[² *Les Anciens Poètes de la France*, tom. i.]

[³ *Hist. Poët. de Charlem.* liv. 1, ch. viii.]

[⁴ Vol. ii. 302.]

This third and the fourth part are comprised in Mr. Fillingham's MS., which we know only from Ellis's analysis. It contains, according to Ellis, about 11,000 lines, and relates not only the story of Otuwel (the third part of the poem), but also the conquest of Spain, the deceit of Ganelon, the fight at Roncevaux, the defeat of the Saracens by Charles,¹ and the punishment of Ganelon, which form the fourth part. The poem concludes as follows:—

Here endeth Otuel, Roland, and Olyuere,
And of the twelve duffypere.

It is worth while remarking how entirely the meaning of the title given to the peers has been lost by the English poets. Here we read of "the twelve duffypere" (les douze pairs), and in other places we find each single knight called "a dozeper," while in the Ashmole MS. of Sir Ferumbras the word becomes "*doththeper*."

4. *Ferumbras*. We have two versions of this romance; one of them the Farmer MS. analyzed by Ellis,² and now in the library

¹ [*La Conquête que fit le grand roi Charlemaigne es Espagnes* ne doit pas être confondue avec la compilation de David Aubert. Ce livre est le même que celui qui porte le nom de *Fierabras* Sous le nom de *Fierabras* M. Brunet indique une édition de 1478; sous le titre de la *Conquête de Charlemaigne* il n'en connaît pas avant 1501, mais la Bibliothèque Impériale en possède une de 1486. Cy finit Fierabras. Imprimée à Lyon par Pierre de Sainte Lucye dicit le Prince. Lan de grace MCCCCLXXXVI. Le vii jour de Septembre. Toutefois le titre au moins et les trois feuillets qui suivent cet explicit sont postérieurs. Au reste l'ouvrage est divisé en trois livres, et la traduction en prose de *Fierabras* ne forme que le second; l'ensemble a la prétention d'être une histoire de Charlemaigne. Elle y est même précédée d'un abrégé de l'histoire de France depuis Clovis, grossièrement conforme aux chroniques. Puis vient l'éloge de Charlemaigne et un sommaire de son règne; on raconte ensuite le voyage à Jérusalem d'après la légende latine—tel est le contenu du premier livre. Le troisième comprend le récit de la guerre d'Espagne d'après Turpin. L'auteur nous a donné lui-même des renseignements sur les sources. Il nous apprend d'abord qu'il a écrit sur la demande de messire Henry Bolomier, chanoine de Lausanne, grand admirateur de Charlemaigne. "Selon les matières que j'ay peu amasser, j'ay ordonné cestuy livre; car je n'ay eu intencion de déduire la matière que je ne aye esté informé par plusieurs livres et principalement par ung qui est intitulé le *Mirouer hystorial*, et aussi par les croniques qui font mention de l'oeuvre suyvante." Il est fort probable que ces *croniques*, vaguement désignées, n'ont jamais été consultées par notre auteur, qui trouvait dans le *Speculum historiale* de Vincent de Beauvais tout ce dont il parle, sauf le *Fierabras*; aussi dit-il au début du second livre: "Ce que j'ay dessus escript, je l'ay prins en ung moult autentique livre, lequel se nomme le *Mirouer hystorial*, et aussi es croniques anciennes, et l'ay translaté de latin en François; et la matière suyvante que fera le second livre est d'ung romant fait en l'ancienne façon, sans grande ordonnance, dont j'ay esté incité à le réduire en prose par chapitres ordonnez. Et est appelé celluy livre selon aucuns *Fierabras*." On voit que le travail auquel le compilateur s'est livré, "selon la capacité de son petit engin," n'était pas fort difficile; il a simplement mis en mauvaise prose française le latin de Vincent de Beauvais et les vers de *Fierabras*. Son ouvrage n'en a pas moins eu dès son apparition un succès immense, qui d'ailleurs n'est pas épuisé; car on le réimprime encore à Epinal et à Montbéliard, de plus en plus défigurée dans chaque édition successive, et de temps à autre un peu rajeuni.—Gaston Paris (*Hist. Poët de Charlemaigne*, livre i. chap. iv. § iv. pp. 97-8-9).]

² [Vol. ii. p. 369.]

of Sir Thomas Phillipps; the other a fragment¹ of great length, which will shortly be printed by the Early English Text Society. They both belong probably to the end of the fourteenth century. The original of the romance is the French *Fierabras*.² I give parallel extracts from the French and the two English versions. There is a Provençal as well as a French version of the romance, and I would suggest the enquiry whether the poem analyzed by Ellis does not follow this Provençal version, or rather perhaps the lost French original of which the French editors have shown the Provençal version to be a translation. They agree at any rate in brevity, though they both give a long introduction, which the existing French version omits. The Ashmole MS. is imperfect at the beginning and at the end; but it appears generally to follow very nearly the story of the existing French version, though it is much more diffuse, the remaining fragment containing about 10,450 lines, while the entire French poem contains only 6219. Both the English versions agree, however, in some little particulars which the French omits; e. g. the mention of Richard blessing himself in the extracts I give. Our fragment begins, like the French poem, with the relation of a long combat between Oliver and Ferumbras (*Fierabras*, *ferri brachium*), the son of the admiral (*anirans*, *Arab. amir*) Balan, who in the Farmer MS. is strangely called Laban. Ferumbras is vanquished, and embraces the Christian faith; but Oliver is surprised by the Saracens, and made prisoner, with four other peers. The rest of the peers are sent by Charles to demand the surrender of their companions, but are thrown into the same dungeon. They are, however, protected by Florippe, the daughter of Balan, and after many battles are at length delivered by Charlemagne. Balan refuses baptism, but Florippe is baptized, and here the Ashmole MS. ends, being imperfect; but the other versions relate the marriage of Florippe to Guy de Bourgoyne, and the division of the kingdom of Spain between him and Ferumbras.

With the Ashmole MS. is preserved its ancient vellum cover, made out of portions of two Latin documents, one relating to the Vicarage of Columpton, and the other to the chapel of Holne and parish of "Bukfastleghe." This cover, however, is chiefly remarkable, because it contains what is evidently part of the first draft of the poem, written in the same hand as the MS. itself. The following extracts from both will show how the poet corrected his verses:

DRAFT.

So sturne strokes thay arayte
 eyther til other the whyle
 That al the erthe about quayte
 men myxt hure a myle
 They wer so fers on hure mod
 And eger on hure fyte
 That eyther of hem thoȝte god
 to fien other if he myxt.

¹ [Ashm. MS. 33.]² [*Les Anciens Poetes de la France*, tom. iv.]

MS.

So sterne strokes thay arauȝte
 eyther til other with strengthe
 That al the erthe ther ofte quazte
 a myle and more on lenththe
 They weren so eger bothe of mod
 And eke so fers to fyȝte
 That eyther of hem than thoȝte god
 to fle other if he miȝte.¹

The poem is written in the Southern dialect, but it contains a remarkably large admixture of Northern forms, words occurring sometimes in two forms in lines close together, if not in the same line. Thus we find *ich* and *I*, *a* and *he*, *heo* and *ſche*, *hy* and *thay* (the latter most frequently), and *ſhilke* and *this*, *to* and *til*, *prykyng* and *prykande*, *vaſte* and *faſte*, and so forth, the former being the Southern, the latter the Northern form. The Southern infinitive in *y* (still used occasionally in Devonshire) continually occurs: e. g. *maky*, *aſky*, *graunty*, *robby*, *wivy* (to wed), &c. On the whole one would be inclined to suppose that the poem was written in the South (perhaps in the diocese of Exeter) by a southern man, who had, however, lived in the North sufficiently long to become familiar with northern forms. But a more careful examination (in preparation for the Early English Text Society's edition) will very likely lead to our being better informed concerning the character and history of this most interesting MS.

From *Fierabras, Chanson de Geſte*, edited from MSS. of the xiv. and xv. centuries by MM. A. Krœber and G. Servois (Paris, 1860). The extract begins with line 4354, p. 132 of this edition :

RICHARS reſgarde l'yaue, qui moult fait à douter ;
 Se eſt grande et hideuſe que il n'i oſſe entrer.
 Plus toſt cuert que ſajete, quaint on le lait aler ;
 Ne barge ne galie n'i puent abiter ;
 La rive en eſt moult haute, bien fait à redouter.
 Richars de Normendie ſe prinst à reſgarder,
 Eſcortement commence Jheſu à reclamer :
 "Glorieus ſire pere, qui te laiſas pener

¹ [Respecting the early English prose life of Charles the Great, from the press of Caxton, M. Gaston Paris remarks: "Au quinzième siècle, le célèbre imprimeur Caxton publia un livre intitulé, 'The lyf of Charles the Great,' &c. Cette *Vie de Charles le Grand*, qui est à présent d'une rareté excessive, a été généralement regardée comme une compilation faite par Caxton; on a loué le discernement qu'il avait montré dans la choix de ses sources, et on a remarqué qu'il avait donné un beau rôle au duc de Normandie, Richard sans peur, évidemment par patriotisme. Voy. *Revue britannique* [British Review?] Mars, 1844. On lui a fait honneur surtout des sentiments exprimés dans la préface, adressée à un de ses amis particuliers, Henri Bolomyer, chanoine de Lausanne. Mais ce nom suffit pour nous faire voir que Caxton avait simplement traduit, et, comme il le dit lui-même, *réduit en anglais* le livre des *Conquestes de Charlemagne* ou de *Fierabras*. . . . Quant au rôle de Richard sans peur, il se trouvait aussi développé dans le livre français, qui l'avait pris lui-même dans le poème de *Fierabras*."—*Histoire Poétique de Charlemagne*, livre i. chap. viii. p. 157.]

"En la crois benéite pour ton pule sauver,
 "Garifiés hui mon cors de mort et d'afoler,
 "Que je puisse Karlon mon message conter."
 Or oïes quel vertu Diex i vaut demonstrier
 Por le roi Karlemaine, qui tant fait à douter.
 Ançois que on eüst une liuée alé,
 Véissies si Flagot engroïsier et enfler,
 Que par desous la rive commence à seronder.
 Atant es vous . 1 . cerf, que Diex i fist aler,
 Et fu blans comme nois, biaux fu à resgarder.
 Devant le ber Richart se prent à demonstrier,
 Devant lui est tantost eus en Flagot entrés.
 Li dus voit Sarrazins après lui aroutés;
 S'il ot paour de mort ne fait à demander.
 Après le blanche bisse comme[n] cha à errer,
 Tout ainsi com ele vait, lait le ceval aler;
 Et li ciers vait devant, qui bien s'i sot garder,
 D'autre part à la rive se prent à ariver.

From the *Romance of Ferumbras*, analyzed by Ellis, who has modernized the spelling :

When Richard saw there was no gate
 But by Flagote the flood,
 His message would he not let;
 His horse was both big and good.
 He kneeled, beseeching God, of His grace,
 To save him fro mischief:
 A white hind he saw anon in that place,
 That swam over to the cliff.
 He blessed him in Goddis name,
 And followed the same way,
 The gentil hind that was so tame,
 That on that other side gan play.

From the *Romance of Ferumbras* (Ashmole MSS. 33). The following passage begins on fol. 52 :

¶ Now y-come ys he to the ryuere
 By syde a treo *and* a stod him there
 That water to by holde
 And saw the ryuer was dup *and* brod
 And ran away as he were wod
 Ys herte gan waxe colde
 ¶ Richard tok herte *and* thenche gan
 That nedelich a most entrye than
 In *and* passe that ryuere
 Outher he moste turn agee
 And figte agayn al that maygne
 That after him come there
 To ihesu thanne he had a bone
 Lord that madeft swanne mone
 Lond *and* water cler
 Kep me *thys* day fram my fone
 And if y *thys* ryuer potte me one
 That y ne a-drenche her
 And such grace thow me sende
 That y may safe to Charlis wende
 And telle hym my porpos
 So that he may come wyth socour

And delyuery ys barons of honour
That liggeth among thy fos
 ¶ Nad he nogt *that word ful speke*
Er that thar cam an hert fourth reke
As wyt ase melkys fom
Rygt euene by-fore duk Rychard
The hert hym wente to watre-ward
And fayre by-fore hym swom
Wanne the duk that wonder y-seg
And the farfyns that tho wer come wel neg
With boht and noyse gret
Wish is rigt honde than blefede he hym
And thog the ryuere were styf and grym
Wyth bothe hors in a schet
Ys stede was an hors of prys
And bar the knigt at al dyuys
Swymmynge with ys felawe
The hert that was so fair of figt
Ouer the Ryuer swam ful rigt
And Rychard doth after-drawe.

[Fol. 523.]

SECTION VI.



ALTHOUGH much poetry began to be written about the reign of Edward II., yet I have found only [two] English poet[s] of that reign whose name[s] ha[ve] descended to posterity.¹ [One] is Adam Davy or Davie. He may be placed about the year 1312. I can collect no circumstances of his life, but that he was marshal of Stratford-le-bow near London.² He has left several poems never printed, which are almost as forgotten as his name. Only one manuscript of these pieces now remains, which seems to be coeval with its author.³ They are, *Visions*, *The Battell of Jerusalem*, *The Legend of Saint Alexius*, *Scripture histories*, of fifteen toknes before the day of *Judgement*, [and] *Lamentations of Souls*.⁴

In the *Visions*, which are of the religious kind, Adam Davie draws this picture of Edward II. standing before the shrine of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey at his coronation. The lines have a strength arising from simplicity :

¹ Robert de Brunne, above mentioned, lived, and wrote some of his pieces, in this reign ; but he more properly belongs to the last.

² This will appear from citations which follow.

³ MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. 622 olim I 74, fol. 26 b. It has been much damaged. [All the extracts have now been collated with the original MS.—a process which was found highly necessary.]

⁴ In the MS. there is also a piece in prose, entitled, *The Pylgrymages of the holi land*, f. 65, 66. It begins : " Qwerr soever a cros standyth ther is a for3ivenes of payne." I think it is a description of the holy places, and it appears at least to be of the hand-writing of the rest.

To oure lorde Ihesu crist in heuene
 Ich to day shawe myne sweuene,¹
 þat ich mette² in one niȝth,
 Of a kniȝth of mychel niȝth :
 His name is ihote³ fir Edward þe kyng,
 Prince of Wales Engelonde the faire þinge ;
 Me mette þat he was armed wel,
 Boþe wiþ yrne *and* wiþ stel,
 And on his helme that was of stel,
 A Coroune of golde bicom hym wel.
 Bifore þe shryne of Seint Edward he stood,
 Myd glad chere *and* mylde of mood.⁴

Most of these Visions are compliments to the king. Our poet then proceeds thus :

ANOPER sweuene me mette on a tiwes niȝth⁵
 Bifore the feste of Allehalewen of þat ilke kniȝth,
 His name is nempned⁶ here bifore,
 Blissed be þe tyme þat he was bore, [&c.]
 Of fir Edward oure derworþ⁷ kyng
 Ich mette of hym anopere fair metyng, [&c.]
 Me þouȝth he rood vpon an Ass,
 And þat ich take god to witnesse ;
 Y-wonden he was in a Mantel gray,
 Toward Rome he nom⁸ his way,
 Vpon his heuede fate an gray hure,
 It semed hym wel a melure ;
 He rood wiþouten hose *and* sho,
 His wone was nouȝth so forto do ;
 His shankes semeden al blood-rede,
 Myne herte wop⁹ for grete drede ;
 Als a pilgryme he rood to Rome,
 And þider he com wel swiþe sone.
 þe þrid sweuene me mette a niȝth
 Righ of þat derworþe kniȝth :
 þe Wedenysday a niȝth it was
 Nexte þe day of seint lucie bifore cristenmesse, [&c.]
 Me þouȝth þat ich was at Rome,
 And þider ich com swiþe sone,
 The Pope *and* fir Edward oure kyng
 Boþe hij¹⁰ hadden a newe dubbyng, [&c.]
 Ihesu crist ful of grace
 Graunte oure kyng in euery place
 Maistrie of his wiþerwynes
 And of alle wicked Sarasynes.
 Me met a sweuene on worþinge¹¹ niȝth
 Of þat ilche derworþe kniȝth,
 God ich it shewe *and* to witnesse take
 And so shilde me fro synne *and* sake.
 In-to an chapel ich com of oure lefdy,¹²
 Ihesu crist hire leue¹³ son stood by,

¹ dream.

² thought, dreamed. In the first sense, we have *me mette* in Chaucer, *Non. Pr* T. v. 1013. And below.

³ named.

⁴ fol. 26 b.

⁵ twelfth-night.

⁶ dear-worthy.

⁷ took.

⁸ wept.

⁹ they.

¹⁰ [on worthing nyth.—*Park.*]

¹¹ lady.

¹² dear.

On rode¹ he was an louelich Man,
 Als pilke þat on rode was don
 He vnneiled² his honden two, [&c.]
 Adam þe marchal of stretforde atte bowe
 Wel swiþe wide his name is yknowe
 He hymselfe mette þis metyng,
 To witnesse he takeþ Ihesu heuene kyng,
 On wedenysday³ in clene leinte⁴
 A voice me bede I ne shulde nouȝth feinte,
 Of þe sweuenes þat her ben write
 I shulde swiþe don⁵ my lorde kyng to wite, [&c.]
 þa þuriday next þe beryng⁶ of oure lefdy
 Me þouȝth an Aungel com fir Edward by, [&c.]
 Ich telle þou forsoþe wiþoute les,⁷
 Als god of heuene maide marie to moder ches,⁸
 þe Aungel com to me Adam Dauy and fede
 Bot þou Adam shewe þis þee worþe wel yuel mede, [&c.]
 Who-so wil speke myd me Adam þe marchal
 In stretforþe bowe he is yknowe and ouere al,
 Ich ne shewe nouȝth þis forto haue mede
 Bot for god Almyȝtties drede.

There is a very old prose romance, both in French and Italian, on the subject of the *Destruction of Jerusalem*.⁹ It is translated from a Latin work in five books, very popular in the middle ages, entitled, *Hegefippus de Bello Judaico et Excidio Urbis Hierosolymitanæ Libri quinque*. This is a licentious paraphrase of a part of Josephus's Jewish history, made about the fourth century: and the name Hegefippus is most probably corrupted from Josephus, perhaps also called Josippus. The paraphrast is supposed to be Ambrose of Milan, who flourished in the reign of Theodosius.¹⁰ On the subject of Vespasian's siege of Jerusalem, as related in this book, our poet Adam

¹ cross.² unnailed.³ Wodenis day. Woden's day, i.e. *Wednesday*.⁴ Lent.⁵ [Swithe don to wite, quickly let him know.—*Ritson*.]⁶ Christmas-day.⁷ lies.⁸ "As sure as God chose the Virgin Mary to be Christ's mother."

⁹ In an ancient inventory of books, all French romances, made in England in the reign of Edward III., I find the romance of *Titus and Vespasian*. Madox, *Formul. Anglican.* p. 12. See also Scipio Maffei's *Traduttori Italiani*, p. 48. Crescimbeni (*Volg. Poes.* vol. i. l. 5, p. 317), does not seem to have known of this romance in Italian. Du Cange mentions *Le Roman de la Prise de Jerusalem par Titus*, in verse, *Gloss. Lat. i. Ind. Aut.* p. cxciv. A metrical romance on this subject is in Royal MS. 16 E viii. 2, Brit. Mus. [and has been printed by M. Michel, as already mentioned, 1836, 12mo. But it merely relates to the mythical expedition of Charlemagne to Jerusalem]. There is an old French play on this subject, acted in 1437. It was printed in 1491, fol. Beauchamps, *Rech. Fr. Theat.* p. 134. [This is probably the same as *Le Vengeance et Destruction de Iherusalem par personages executée par Vespasian et son filz Titus*, contenant en soy plusieurs chroniques Rommaines tant du regne de Neron Empereur que de plusieurs aultres belles hystoires. Printed at Paris, 1510, 4to, for Jehan Trepparel.—*Douce*. *The Destruction of Iherusalem by Vaspasian and Tytus*, of which there are two old printed edits. appears to be a paraphrase of the French.]

¹⁰ He mentions Constantinople and New Rome: and the provinces of Scotia and Saxonia. From this work the Maccabees seem to have got into romance. It was first printed at Paris, fol. 1511. Among the Bodleian MSS. there is a most beautiful copy of this book, believed to be written in the Saxon times.

Davie has left a poem entitled the *Battell of Jerusalem*.¹ It begins thus :

DE BATAILE OF JERUSALEM.

Liftnep alle þat bep alyue,
boþe cristen Men and wyue :
I wil þou telle a wonder cas,
hou Ihesus crist bihated was,
Of þe lewes felle and kene,
þat was on hem sippe isene,
Gospelles I drawe to witnesse
of þis matere more and lesse, &c.²

In the course of the story, Pilate challenges our Lord to single combat. This subje& will occur again.

Davie's *Legend of saint Alexius the confessor, son of Euphemius*, is translated from Latin, and begins thus :

[The line preceding is this :

Here endep the vengeance of goddes deth.]

Alle þat willen here in ryme,
Hou gode Men in olde tyme,
Loueden god Almiȝth ;
þat weren riche, of grete valoure,
Kynges sones and Emperoure
Of bodies stronge and liȝth ;
Ȝee habbeþ yherde ofte in geste,
Of holy men maken feste
Boþe day and niȝth,
Forto haue þe ioye in heuene
(Wip Aungels songe, and mery steuene,
þere blis is brode and briȝth :
To þou alle heiȝe and lowe
þe riȝth soþe to biknowe
Ȝoure soules forto saue, &c.)³

Our author's *Scripture Histories* want the beginning. Here they begin with Joseph, and end with Daniel :

For þritty pens⁴ þai solden þat childe
þe seller hiȝth Judas,
þo⁵ Ruben com hom and myssed hym
Sori ynoȝ he was.⁶

His *Fifteen Toknes*⁷ before the Day of Judgment are taken from the prophet Jeremiah :

¹ The latter part of this poem appears detached, in a former part of our MS. with the title *The Vengeance of Goddes Death*, viz. fol. 1. This latter part begins with these lines :

"And at þe fourty dayes ende,
Whider I wolde he bad me wende,
Vpon þe mount of Olyuete," &c.

An imperfect copy, says Mr. Furnivall, is in Addit. MS. Brit. Mus. 10,036, and another, wanting only one sheet, is in the possession of the Earl of Cardigan. See also Addit. MS. 10,269.]

² MS. *ut supr.* f. 71 b.

³ *Ibid.* f. 21 b.

⁴ Thirty pence.

⁵ [The capital "þ" in this MS. is always written thus : "þ̃".]

⁶ MS. *ut supr.* f. 65.

⁷ Tokens.

þe firſt ſigne þer aſcains, as oure lord hym-ſelf ſede,
 Hungere ſchal on erþe be, treccherie, and falſhede,
 Batailles, and litel loue, ſekeneſſe and haterede,
 And þe erþe ſchal quaken, þat vche man ſchal drede:
 þe mone ſchal turne to blood, þe ſunne to derkhede, &c.¹

Another of Davie's poems may be called the *Lamentation of Souls*. But the ſubject is properly a congratulation of Chriſt's advent, and the lamentation of the ſouls of the fathers remaining in limbo, for his delay:

Of ioye and bliſſe is my ſonge, care to bileue,²
 And to herie hym amonge þat al oure ſorow ſchal reue,
 Ycome he is þat ſwete dew, þat ſwete hony drope,
 Theſus kyng of alle kynges, to whom is al oure hope:
 Bicom he is oure brother, whare was he ſo longe?
 He it is and non oþer, þat bouȝth vs ſo ſtronge:
 Oure brother we mowe³ hym clepe wel, ſo ſeiþ hym-ſelf ilome.⁴

My readers will be perhaps ſurpriſed to find our language improve ſo ſlowly, and will probably think, that Adam Davie writes in a leſs intelligible phraſe than many more ancient bards already cited. His obſcurity, however, ariſes in great meaſure from obſolete ſpelling, a mark of antiquity which I have here obſerved in exact conformity to a manuſcript of the age of Edward II., and which in the poetry of his predeceſſors, eſpecially the minſtreſ-pieces, has been often effaced by multiplication of copies and other cauſes. In the meantime it ſhould be remarked, that the capricious peculiarities and even ignorance of tranſcribers often occaſion an obſcurity, which is not to be imputed either to the author or his age.⁵

[The ſame volume with Adam Davie's poems (fol. 27 b), and therefore ſometimes, but wrongly aſcribed to him, has a production without any author's name, of the ſame period, entitled] the *Life of Alexander*, which deſerves to be publiſhed entire on many accounts. It ſeems to be founded chiefly on Simeon Seth's romance above mentioned; but many paſſages are alſo copied from the French *Roman d'Alexandre*, a poem in our author's age perhaps equally popular both in England and France. It is a work of conſiderable length.⁶ I will firſt give ſome extraſts from the Prologue:

¹ MS. *ut ſupr.* f. 70 b.

² Leave.

³ May.

⁴ MS. *ut ſupr.* f. 71.

⁵ Chaucer in *Troilus and Cressida* mentions "the grete diverſite in Engliſh, and in writing of our tongue." He therefore prays God, that no perſon would *miſwrite*, or *miſſe-metre* his poem. Lib. ult. v. 1792, *ſeq.*

⁶ [In attributing this romance to Davie [in his original edition] Warton has followed the authority of Tanner, who was probably led into the miſtake by finding it bound up with the remaining works of this "poetic marſhall." We are indebted to Mr. Ellis for detecting—upon the force of internal evidence—this miſ-appropriation of a very ſpirited compoſition to the inſipid author of the Legend of Saint Alexius. It has ſince been publiſhed from a tranſcript of the Lincoln's-Inn MS. made by Mr. Park, and forms the firſt volume in Mr. Weber's collection.—Price. The text, conformably with Price's own opinion, has now been taken from the Laud MS. in preference to that preſerved at Lincoln's-Inn, and printed by Weber.]

Diuers is þis middellerrde
 To lewed Men *and* to lerede,¹
 Byfyneffe, care and forouþ
 Is myd Man vche morowþe [&c.]
 Napeles, wel fele *and* fulle
 Roþ y-founde in herte *and* thulle
 þat hadden leuer a Ribaudye
 þan here of god, oþer feint Marie;
 Oþer to drynke a Copful ale,
 þan to heron any gode tale;
 Swiche ich wolde were oute-bisnett;
 For certeyn lich, it were nett.
 For hire ne haþ wille ich woot welbb
 Bot in þe gute *and* in þe barel.²

[The writer] thus describes a splendid proceffion made by Olympias:

In þis tyme faire *and* Iolyfe³
 Olympias, þat faire wýfe
 Wolde make a riche feste
 Of kniȝttes *and* lefdyes honeste,
 Of Burgeys *and* of Iugelers
 And of Men of vche mesters,⁴
 For Men seiþ by north *and* south
 Wymmen beþ, euere selcouþ;
 Mychel she desireþ to shewe hire body
 Her faire here, her face rody,
 To haue loos⁵ *and* ek praisynge:
 And al is folye by heuene kynge
 So dude þe dame Olympias
 Forto shewe hire gentyl face.
 She hete Marhalow, *and* kniȝhtes
 Greiþe hem to ryde onow rysttes
 And leuedyes *and* damoysele
 Quyk hem greiþed þousandes fele,
 In faire atyre, in dyuers queyntise
 Many þere roode on riche wífe.
 A Mule, also whyte so mylke
 Wib fadel of gold, sambu of sylke
 Was y-brouȝth to þe quene
 Myd many belle of syluer shene
 Yfastned on Orfreys⁶ of mounde
 þat hengen doune to neȝ grounde.
 Forþ she ferdeu⁷ myd her rote
 A þousande lefdyes of riche soute.

¹ Leg. *lrd.* learned.

² The work begins thus:

Whilom clerkes wel ylerede
 On þre ditzten þis Middel erde,
 And clepid hit in here maistrie,
 Europe, Affryke, and Asyge:
 At Asyge al so muchul ys
 As Europe, and Affryk, I wis, &c.

And ends with this distich:

Alifaunder! me reowith thyn endyng
 That thou n'adest dyghed in cristenyng.

³ Jolly.

⁴ Of each, or every, profession, trade, sort.

⁵ Embroidered work, cloth of gold. *Aurifrigium*, Lat.

⁶ Praise.

⁷ Fared: went.

A speruer¹ þat was honeste
 So iat on þe lefdyes fyfte :
 Foure trumpes tofome² hire below :
 Many Man þat day hire knew :
 An hundreþ housfande *and* ek moo
 Alle alouten hire vnto.
 Al þe touz by-honged was³
 Azeins⁴ þe lefdy Olympyas.⁵
 Orgues, Chymbes, vche manere glee⁶
 Was dryuen azein þat leuedy free.
 Wiþouten bees tounes Murey :
 Was arered vche maner pley ;⁷
 pere was knizttes tourneyinge
 pere was maydens Carolyng
 pere was Champions skirmyng,⁸
 Of hem of oþer also wrestlyng
 Of lyons chace, of bere baityng.
 A bay of bore⁹ of bole flatyng.¹⁰
 Al þe Cite was by-honge
 Wiþ Riche Samytes *and* pelles¹¹ longe
 Dame Olympias amonge this pres¹²
 Sengle rood,¹³ al Mantel-les.—
 And naked heued in one coroune
 She rood þorouz oute al þe touz.
 Here zelewe her¹⁴ was faire atired
 Mid riche strenges of golde wyrede
 It helyd here abouten al¹⁵
 To here gentale Myddel smal
 Brizth *and* thene was her face¹⁶
 Euery fairehede¹⁷ in hir was.¹⁸

¹ sparrow-hawk ; a hawk.

² before.

³ "hung with tapestry." We find this ceremony practised at the entrance of Lady Elizabeth, queen of Henry VII. into the city of London.—"Al the strets ther whiche she shulde passe by wer clenly dressed and besene with cloth, of tappestre and arras, and some stretes as Chepe, hanged with riche clothes of golde, velvettes and filkes." This was in the year 1481. Leland. *Coll. iv. Opuscul. p. 220*, edit. 1770.

⁴ "against her coming."

⁵ See the description of the tournament in Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, where the city is hanged with cloth of gold. v. 2570.

⁶ "organs, timbrels, all manner of music."

⁷ "all sorts of sports." ⁸ skirmishing.

⁹ "baying or bayting of the boar."

¹⁰ *slaying bulls*, bull-fights. [Sir F. Madden says, *bull-baiting*.] Chaucer says that the chamber of Venus was painted with "white *bolis* grete." *Compl. of Mars and Ven.* v. 86.

¹¹ skins.

¹² crowd ; company.

¹³ rode single.

¹⁴ yellow hair.

¹⁵ "covered her all over."

¹⁶ line 155.

¹⁷ beauty.

¹⁸ John Gower, who lived an hundred years after our author, hath described the same procession. *Confess. Amant.* lib. vi. [ed. 1857, iii. 62-3.]

"But in that citee thanne was
 The quene, whiche Olimpias
 Was hote, and with solempnite
 The feste of her nativite
 As it befell, was than holde ;
 And for her lust to be beholde,
 And preifed of the people about,
 She shop her for to riden out,

Much in the same strain the marriage of Cleopatra is described :

phoo his message was hom y-come
 pere was many a blibe gome
 Of Olyue *and* of muge floures
 Weren strywed halle *and* boures :
 Wiþ Samytes *and* Baudekyns
 Weren curtyned þe gardyns.
 Alle þe Innes of þe tous
 Hadden litel foyfoun,¹
 þat day þat com Cleopatras ;
 So mychel poeple wiþ hir was.
 She rood on a Mule, white so mylke ;
 Her herneys was gold beten fylke
 þe prince hire lede of Candas,
 . And of Sydoyne Sir Ionathas,
 Ten þousande barons hir *comme* myde,
 And to chirche wiþ hire ryde.
 Yspoused she is *and* set on deys :
 Nov gynneb geft of gret nobléys :
 At þe fest was harpynge,
 And pipyng *and* tabouryng,
 And litelyng *and* trumpyng.²

We have frequent opportunities of observing, how the poets of these times engraft the manners of chivalry on ancient classical history. In the following lines Alexander's education is like that of Sir Tristram. He is taught tilting, hunting, and hawking :

Now can Alisaundre of skirmyng
 As of stedes derayeyng,

At after-mete all openly.
 Anone were alle men redy,
 And that was in the month of may
 This lufy quene in good array
 Was fet upon a mule white
 To sene it was a great delite
 The joie that the citee made.
 With freyshe thinges and with glade
 The noble town was al behonged ;
 And every wight was fore alonged
 To se this lufy ladie ride.
 There was great merth on alle side,
 Where as she passeth by the strete
 There was ful many a tymbre bete,
 And many a maide carolende.
 And thus through out the town pleinde
 This quene unto the pleine rode
 Where that she hoked and abode
 To se diverse games pley,
 The lufy folk joust and tourney.
 And so forth every other man
 Which pleie couth, his pley began,
 To plesse with this noble quene."

Gower continues this story, from a romance mentioned above, to fol. 140.

¹ provision.

² line 1023 ; f. 32 of MS. Laud.

Vpon stedes of Justuyng,
 And wip swerdes turneyeing,
 Of assailyng and defendyng.
 In grene woode and of huntynge
 And of Ryuer of haukyng:¹
 Of bataile and of alle þinge.²

In another place Alexander is mounted on a steed of Narbonne,³ and, amid the solemnities of a great feast, rides through the hall to the high table. This was no uncommon practice in the ages of chivalry:⁴

He lepeþ vp myd ydone
 On a stede of Nerebone;
 He dafsheth forþ vpon þe londe
 Þe riche coroune on his honde,
 Of Nicholas þat he wan:
 Biþide hym rideþ many a gentil man.
 To þe paleys he comeþ ryde
 And fyndeþ þis feste and al þis pride
 Forþ gooþ Alifaundre, faunþ fable
 Riȝth vnto þe heiȝe table.⁵

His horse Bucephalus, who even in classical fiction is a horse of romance, is thus described:

An horne in the forhed amyward
 þat wolde perce a thelde harde.⁶

To which these lines may be added:

Alifaunder arifen is
 And fitteþ on his deys I wys
 His dukes and his barouns faunz doute
 Stondeþ and fitteþ hym aboute.⁷

The two following extracts are in a softer strain, and not inelegant for the rude simplicity of the times:

Mery is þe blaft of þe styuoure⁸
 Mery is þe touchyng of þe harpoure;⁹

¹ Chaucer, *R. of Sir Thop.* v. 3245:

"He couth hunt al the wild dere,
 And ride an *hawkyng by the riuer.*"

And in the *Squyr of low degree* [*Rem. of the E. P. Poet. of Engl.* ii. 52]:

"—— Shall ye ryde
 On *hawkyng by the ryuers side.*"

Chaucer, *Frankleins Tale*, v. 1752:

"These fauconers upon a faire riuer
 That with the hawkis han the *heron slaine.*"

² f. 30 b. MS. Laud.

³ [The Lincoln's Inn MS. reads "faire bone," which is probably the correcter version.—*Price.*]

⁴ See *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, i. § v. p. 146.

⁵ line 1075, (ll. 1074-83 Laud. MS. f. 32.)

⁶ ll. 692, 3; f 30 b.

⁷ line 3966; (ll. 3954-7, f. 45 b.)

⁸ [The editor thinks that Mr. Halliwell is scarcely correct in defining this to be a kind of bagpipe. Mr. Herbert Coleridge (*Glossary*, 1859, *in voce*) is surely nearer the truth in describing it as a sort of trumpet, Fr. *esfrive*. In the present passage it stands for a trumpeter, or, at least, a person blowing a *sfrive*.]

⁹ This poem has likewise, in the same vein, the following well-known old rhyme, which paints the manners, and is perhaps the true reading, line 1163:

Swete is þe smellynge of þe flour
 Swete yit is in maydens boure
 Appel swete bereþ fair¹ coloure
 Of trewe loue is swe (*for*) amoure.

Again :

In tyme of May, þe niȝttingale
 In wood makeþ mery gale;
 So don þe foules grete *and* smale
 Summe on hylles, *and* summe in dale.²

Much the same vernal delights, clothed in a similar style, with the addition of knights turneyng and maidens dancing, invite King Philip on a progreß; he is entertained on the road with hearing tales of ancient heroes :

Mery tyme it is in may
 þe foules syngeþ her lay;
 þe kniȝttes loueþ þe turnay
 Maydens so dauncen *and* þay play.
 þe kyng forþ rideþ his Iournay
 Now hereþ geſte of grete noblay.³

Our author thus describes a battle : ⁴

Alisaunder tofore is ride
 And many a gentil kniȝth hym myde
 Ac, forto gadre his meigne free
 He abideþ vnder a tree.
 Fourty þouſande of thyualerie
 He takeþ in his compaignye.
 He daſsheþ hym forþ þan faſtwarde :
 And þe oþer comen afterwarde :
 He ſeeþ his kniȝttes, in Meſchief
 He takeþ it gretlich a greef.
 He taked Bulcyphal⁵ by þe ſide;
 So a ſwalewe he gynneþ forþ glide.
 A duke of Perce ſone he mette
 And wiþ his launce he hym grette;
 He perceþ his breny and cleueþ his ſhelde,
 þe herte tokerneþ þe yrne chelde:
 þe duke fel doune to þe grounde
 And ſtarf quykly in þat ſtounde.
 Alisaunder aloude þan ſeiede,

“Swithe mury hit is in halle
 When the burdes warwen alle.”

And in another place we have :

“Mury hit is in halle to here the harpe;
 The mynſtrall ſyngith, theo jogolour carpith.”—l. 5990.

Here, by the way, it appears, that the minſtrels and juglers were diſtinct characters. So Robert de Brunne, in deſcribing the coronation of King Arthur, apud Anſtis, *Ord. Gart.* i. p. 304 :

“*Jogeleurs* wer ther inouȝ
 That wer queitiſe for the drouȝ,
Mynſtrels many with dyvers glew,” &c.

And Chaucer mentions “*minſtrels* and *eke joglours*.”—*Rom.* R. v. 764. But they are often confounded or made the ſame.

¹ line 2571; (ll. 2566-71, f. 39.)

² line 2546; (ll. 2542-5, f. 39.)

³ line 3776; (ll. 3764-3853, ff. 44 b, 45.)

⁴ line 5210; (ll. 5194-9, f. 51.)

⁵ Bucephalus.

Ohere tol neuere ich ne paiede :
 Zute zee shullen of myne paie
 Or ich gon more Alsaie !
 Anober launce in honde he hente ;
 Azein be prince of Tyre he wente,
 He smoot hym porouȝ be breeste bare
 And out of sadel ouere croupe hym bare ;
 And I sigge forsoke bingē
 He braake his nek in be fallynge.
 Oxeatre, wiȝ mychel wonder
 Antiochum hadde hym vnder,
 And wiȝ swerd wolde his heuede
 From his body habbe yreuede.
 He seiz Alisaunder be gode gome
 Towardses hym swiȝe come
 He lete his pray *and* fleiz on hors
 Forto faue his owen cors.
 Antiochus on stede lep
 Of none woundes ne tooke he kep ;
 And eke he hade foure forde
 Alle ymade wiȝ speres orde.¹
 polomeus *and* alle hise felawen²
 Of his socour so weren wel fawen.
 Alisaunder made a cry hardy
 Ore toft, a ly ! a ly !
 pere be kniȝtes of Achaye
 Iusted wiȝ hem of Arabye ;
 poo³ of Rome, wiȝ hem of Mede
 Many londe wiȝ ohere bede
 Egipte iusted wiȝ hem of Tyre
 Symple kniȝth wiȝ riche syre ;
 pere nas foreȝifte ne for berynge,
 bituene vaualoure⁴ ne kyngē,
 Tofores, men miȝten *and* byhynde
 Cunteke⁵ seke *and* cuntek fynde.
 Wiȝ Perciens fouȝtten be gregeys ;⁶
 pere roos cry *and* grete honteys.
 Hy kidden⁷ bat hy neren merce
 Hy braken speres alto slice :
 pere miȝth kniȝth fynde his pere,
 pere les many his destrere :
 pere was quyk in litel brawe,⁸
 Many gentil kniȝth yslawe ;
 Many Arme, many heued,⁹
 Sone from be body reued :
 Many gentil lauedy¹⁰
 pere lese quyke her amy :¹¹
 pere was many maym ykede
 Many fair pensel biblede.¹²
 pere was swerdes lik lakynge¹³
 pere was speres batinge.¹⁴

¹ point.² fellows.³ they.⁴ servant ; subject.⁵ strife.⁶ Greeks.⁷ [shewed.]⁸ short time.⁹ head.¹⁰ lady.¹¹ paramour.¹² "many a rich banner, or flag, sprinkled with blood."

¹³ clashing. [This phrase is one of frequent occurrence in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and bears a very different import from that given by Mr. Weber : *sweord-lac*, A.-S. *gladium ludus*, from *lacan*, to play.—*Price*.]

¹⁴ [Bathynge is the same as *Beating* ; but perhaps the true word is *Bateing* = *Fluttering*.]

Boþe kynges þere, faunȝ doute
 Beeþ in daiſhet wiþ al her route ;
 þe on to ~~don~~ men of hym ſpeke
 þe oþere his harmes forto wreke.
 Many londes neiȝ *and* ferre
 Leſen her lorde in þat werre.
 þe erþe quaked of her rydyng
 þe weder¹ þicked of her crieȝng
 þe blood of hem þat weren yſawe
 Ran by flodes to þe lowe, &c.²

I have already mentioned Alexander's miraculous horn : ³

He blew an horne quyke, faunȝ doute ⁴
 His folke com ſwiþe aboute :
 And hem he ſeide wiþ voice clere,
 Ich bidde, frendes, þat ȝe me here !
 Alifaunder is comen in þis londe
 Wiþ ſtronge knniȝttes, wiþ miȝtty of honde.

Alexander's adventures in the deserts among the Gymnoſophiſts, and in India, are not omitted. The authors, whom he quotes for his vouchers, ſhew the reading and ideas of the times : ⁵

poo Alifaunder wente þorouȝ deſerte
 Many wondres he ſeiȝ aperte⁶
 Whiche he dude wel deſcryue
 By gode clerkes in her lyue
 By Ariſtote his maiſter þat was
 Better clerke ſiben non nas.
 He was wiþ hym *and* ſeiȝ *and* wroote
 Alle þiſe wondres, (god it woote)
 Salomon þat al þe werlde þorouȝ ȝede
 In ſoþ witneſſe helde hym myde.
 Yfidre⁷ alſo, þat was ſo wys
 In his bokes telleþ þis.
 Maiſter euſtroge bereþ hym witneſſe
 Of þe wondres more *and* leſſe.
 Seint Jerome, ȝee ſhullen y-wyte
 Hem haþ alſo in booke y-write ;
 And Mageſtene, þe gode clerke
 Haþ made þerof mychel werke.
 Denys þat was of gode memorie
 It ſheweþ al in his booke of ſtorie ;
 And alſo Pompeie⁸ of Rome lorde,
 Duke it writen *euery* worde.
 Beheldeþ me þerof no ſynder ;⁹
 Her bokes ben my ſhewer
 And þe lyf of Alifaunder
 Of whom ſeiȝ ſo riche ſklaunder.

¹ weather, ſky.

² (l. 3843, f. 45.)

³ [It is moſt probable that Warton interpreted this paſſage of Alexander's horn : though the context plainly ſhews that it was Darius who blew it.—*Price*.]

⁴ (l. 3848, f. 45.)

⁵ line 4772.

⁶ ſaw openly.

⁷ *Iſidore*. He means, I ſuppoſe, Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis, a Latin writer of the ſeventh century.

⁸ He means Juſtin's Troguſ Pompeius the hiſtorian, whom he confounds with Pompey the Great.

⁹ "don't look on me as the inventor."

ȝif ȝee willeȝ ȝine listnynges
 Now ȝee shullen here gode þinge
 In somers tyde þe day is longe;
 Foules syngeȝ *and* makeȝ songe
 Kynges Alisaunder y-wente is,
 Wiȝ dukes, Erles, *and* folke of pris,
 Wiȝ many kniȝth *and* douȝtȝ Men,
 Toward the Cité of facen;
 After kynges Porus þat flouen¹ was
 Into the Cité of Bandas:
 He wolde wende þorouȝ deferte
 þise wondres to seen aperte.
 Gyours he name² of þe londe
 Fyue þousande I vnderstonde
 þat hem shulden lede riȝth,³
 þorouȝ deferte by day *and* niȝth.
 Þe Gyours loueden þe kynges nouȝth
 And wolden haue hym bicauȝth:
 Hy ledden hym herfore als I fynde
 In þe straungest peryl of ynde.
 Ac, so ich fynde in the booke
 Hy weres ashtreynte in her crooke.
 Now rideȝ Alisaunder wiȝ his Oȝte,
 Wiȝ mychel pride *and* mychel booste;
 Ac ar hy comen to Castel, oȝer toun
 Hy shullen speken anothere lessoun.
 Lordynges, also I fynde
 At Mede so bigynneȝ ynde:
 Forsoȝe ich woote, it stretcheth ferreste,
 Of alle the londes in þe Este,
 And oȝ þe souȝ half fikerlyke
 To þe cee takeȝ of Affryke;
 And þe norȝ half to a mountayne,
 þat is ycleped Caucasyne.⁴
 Forsoȝe ȝee shullen vnderstonde
 Twyes is Somer in þe londe
 And neuermore wynter ne chelen.⁵
 þat londe is ful of al wele;
 Twyes hy gaderen fruyte þere
 And wyne *and* Corne in one ȝere.
 In þe londe als I fynde, of ynde
 Ben Citès fyue þousynde;
 Wiȝouten ydles *and* Castels,
 And Boroughȝ tounes swiȝe feles.⁶
 In þe londe of ynde þou miȝth lere
 Nyne þousynde folk of selcouȝ⁷ manere
 þhat þer non is oȝer yliche;
 Ne helde þou it nouȝth ferlich
 Ac by þat þou vnderstonde þe geistes
 Boȝe of Men *and* eke of beestes, [*&c.*]⁸

Edward II. is said to have carried with him to the siege of Stirling Castle a poet named Robert Baston.⁹ He was a Carmelite friar of

¹ fled.² took.³ strait.⁴ Caucasus.⁵ chill, cold.⁶ very many.⁷ uncommon.⁸ [l. 4831, f. 49 b.]

⁹ [Winstanley, in his *Account of the English Poets*, 1687, has introduced the name of BASTON, and has quoted the opening of his involuntary eulogium on Scotland and her king:

Scarborough; and the king intended that Baſton, being an eye-witneſs of the expedition, ſhould celebrate his conqueſt of Scotland in verſe. Holinſhed, an hiſtorian not often remarkable for penetration, mentions this circumſtance as a ſingular proof of Edward's preſumption and confidence in his undertaking againſt Scotland: but a poet ſeems to have been a ſtated officer in the royal retinue when the king went to war.¹ Baſton, however, appears to have been chiefly a Latin poet, and therefore does not properly fall into our ſeries. At leaſt his poem on the ſiege of Stirling Caſtle is written in monkish Latin hexameters:² and our royal bard, being taken priſoner in the expedition, was compelled by the Scots, for his ranſom, to write a panegyric on Robert Bruſ, which is compoſed in the ſame ſtyle and language.³ Bale mentions his *Poemata et Rhythmi, Tragædiæ et Comædiæ vulgares*.⁴ Some of theſe indeed appear to have been written in Engliſh: but no Engliſh pieces of this author now remain. In the meantime, the bare exiſtence of dramatic compoſitions in England at this period, even if written in the Latin tongue, deſerve notice in investigating the progreſs of our poetry. I muſt not paſs over a Latin [dialogue in verſe], written about the year [1367]. This [dialogue] is thus entitled in the Bodleian MS.: *De Babione et Croceo domino Babionis et Viola filiaſtra Babionis quam Croceus duxit invito Babione, et Pecula uxore Babionis et Fodio ſuo, &c.*⁵ It is

“In dreery verſe my Rymes I make,
Bewailing whileſt ſuch Theme I take.”

which appears to be Winſtanley's own rendering of the opening lines.]

¹ Leland. *Script. Brit.* p. 338. Holinſh. *Hiſt.* ii. pp. 217, 220. Tanner mentions, as a poet of England, one Gulielmus Peregrinus, who accompanied Richard I. into the Holy Land, and ſang his achievements there in a Latin poem, entitled *Odoeporicon Ricardi Regis*, lib. i. It is dedicated to Hurbert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Stephen Turnham, a captain in the expedition. He flouriſhed about A. D. 1200. *Bibl.* p. 591. See Voſs. *Hiſt. Lat.* p. 441. He is called “poeta per eam ætatem excellens.” See Bale, iii. 45. Pitts, 266. See Leland *Script. Brit.* p. 228. And a note in the editor's firſt Index, under Gulielmus de Canno.

² It is extant in Fordun's *Scoti-Chron.* c. xxiii. l. 12.

³ Leland. *ut ſupr.* And MSS. Harl. 1819. Brit. Mus. See alſo Wood, *Hiſt. Ant. Univ. Oxon.* i. p. 101.

⁴ Tanner, p. 79.

⁵ Arch. B. 52. [In the Cotton MS. Titus A. xx. the ſeveral parts of the dialogue are diſtinguiſhed by initial capitals; and on the oppoſite ſide ſtand marginal notices of the change of perſon. Thus: “Babio, Violæ; Viola, Babioni; Fodius, Babioni; Babio, Croceo.” The *Geta* [by Vitalis Bleſenſis], noticed below, and alſo occurring in the Cotton MS., is founded on the ancient fable of Jupiter's intrigue with Alcmena, [and is a mediæval verſion of the *Geta* of Plautus.] It is in the ſame ſtyle of dialogue with Babio, and has ſimilar marginal directions; ſuch as “Jupiter Alcmenæ; Alcmena Jovi,” The line quoted by Warton occurs in what may be called the Prologue. The Cotton MS. affords no clue as to the date of theſe ſingular productions, [but Mr. Wright has ſhown the extreme probability that they belong to the middle of the thirteenth century.] It contains a farrago of rhythmical pieces from the time of Gualo (1160) to Baſton and perhaps later. But in France ſuch pieces appear to have been current during the twelfth century. Du Boulay has noticed a tragedy *de Flaura et Marco*, and a comedy called *Alda*, written by [Matthæus Vindocinenſis].—*Price*. “Three manuſcripts are known of this poem. One is in the Cotton MS. Titus, A. xx, which, amongſt a vaſt maſs of

written in long and short Latin verses. The story is in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. Whether Gower had it from this performance I will not enquire. It appears at least that he took it from some previous book.

I find write of Babio,
Which had a love at his menage,
Ther was no fairer of her age,
And highte Viola by name, &c.
And had affaited to his honde
His servant, the which Spodius
Was hote, &c.
A frefshe a free a frendly man, &c.
Which Croceus by name hight, &c.¹

There is nothing dramatic in the structure of this nominal comedy; and it has certainly no claim to that title, only as it contains a familiar and comic story carried on with much scurrilous satire intended to raise mirth. But it was not uncommon to call any short poem, not serious or tragic, a comedy. In the Bodleian MS. which comprehends [the *Babio*] just mentioned, there follows [the] *Geta*: this is in Latin long and short verses,² and has no marks of dialogue.³ In the library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge is a piece entitled *Comedia ad monasterium de Hulme ordinis S. Benedicti Diocesis Norwic. directa ad Reformationem sequentem, cujus data est primo die Septembris sub anno Christi 1477, et a morte Joannis Fastolfe militis eorum benefactoris⁴ precipui 17, in cujus monasterii ecclesia humatur.⁵* This is nothing more than a satirical ballad in Latin; yet some allegorical personages are introduced, which, however, are in no respect accommodated to scenical representation. About the reign of Edward IV. one Edward Watson, a scholar in grammar at Oxford, is permitted to proceed to a degree in that faculty, on condition that within two years he would write one hundred verses in praise of the university, and also compose a comedy.⁶ The nature and subject of Dante's *Commedia*, as it is styled, are well known.⁷ The comedies

Anglo-Latin poetry of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, contains also a copy of the *Geta*. . . . The two other MSS. of the *Babio* are preserved in the Bodleian Library."—*Wright*.]

¹ [Gower's *C. F.* ed. Pauli, ii. 288-9.]

² Carmina composuit, voluitque placere poeta. [The best edition of the *Geta* of Vitalis Blesensis is in Mr. Wright's volume of *Early Mysteries*, &c. 1838, 8vo. p. 79 et seqq.] ³ f. 121.

⁴ In the episcopal palace at Norwich is a curious piece of old wainscot brought from the monastery of Hulme at the time of its dissolution. Among other antique ornaments are the arms of Sir John Falstaff, their principal benefactor. This magnificent knight was also a benefactor to Magdalene College in Oxford. He bequeathed estates to that society, part of which were appropriated to buy liveries for some of the senior scholars. But this benefaction, in time, yielding no more than a penny a week to the scholars who received the liveries, they were called, by way of contempt, *Falstaff's Buckram-men*.

⁵ *Miscell. M.* p. 274.

⁶ *Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* ii. 4, col. 2.

⁷ [In the dedication of his *Paradiso* to Can della Scala, Dante thus explains his own views of Tragedy and Comedy: "Est comœdia genus quoddam poetiæ nar-

ascribed to Chaucer are probably his *Canterbury Tales*. We learn from Chaucer's own words, that tragic tales were called *Tragedies*. In the Prologue to the *Monkes Tale*:

Tregedis is to sayn a certeyn storie,
As olde bookes maken us memorie,
Of hem that stood in greet prosperite,
And is y-fallen out of heigh degre, &c.¹

Some of these, the monk adds, were written in prose, others in metre. Afterwards follow many tragical narratives, of which he says:

Tragidies first wol I tell
Of which I have an hundred in my cell.

Lidgate further confirms what is here said with regard to comedy as well as tragedy:

My maister Chaucer with fresh comedies,
Is dead, alas! chief poet of Britaine:
That whilom made ful piteous tragedies.²

The stories in the *Mirror for Magistrates* are called tragedies, so late as the sixteenth century. Bale calls his play or Mystery of God's *Promises*, which appeared about the year 1538, a tragedy.

I must however observe here that dramatic entertainments, representing the lives of saints and the most eminent scriptural stories, were known in England for more than [a century] before the reign of Edward II. These spectacles they commonly styled miracles. I have already mentioned the play of Saint Catharine, acted at Dunstable about the year 1110.³ [Two of the oldest miracle-plays in the English language are perhaps the *Harrowing of Hell*⁴ and the *Incredulity of St. Thomas*, the latter of which was exhibited by the Scriveners' Guild at York.⁵ The *Harrowing of Hell* exists in a MS. which may

rationalis ab omnibus aliis differens. Differt ergo in materia a tragœdia per hoc, quod tragœdia in principio est admirabilis et quieta, in fine sive exitu fœtida et horribilis. . . . Comœdia vero inchoat asperitatem alicujus rei, sed ejus materiam prospere terminatur. Similiter differunt in modo loquendi." He has also expatiated upon the distinctive styles peculiar to such compositions in his treatise, *De vulgari Eloquentia*; though his precepts when opposed to his practice have proved a sad stumbling-block to the critics: "Per Tragœdiam superiorem styllum induimus, per Comœdiam inferiorem. . . . Si tragice canenda vicentur, tum adsumendum est vulgare illustre. Si vero comice, tum quandoque mediocre, quandoque humile vulgare sumatur." Lib. ii. c. iv.—*Price*.]

¹ v. 85. See also, *ibid.* v. 103, 786, 875.

² Prol. F. Pr. v. i. See also Chaucer's *Troil. and Cr.* v. 1785, 1787.

³ Dissertation ii. [The earliest examples of such compositions now known are three plays written in France by Hilarius, an Englishman, and disciple of the famous Abelard, the subjects of which are the Raising of Lazarus, a miracle of St. Nicholas, and the History of Daniel; they were written early in the twelfth century—*Wright*. There is an edition of them at Paris, 1838, 8vo.]

[Perhaps the plays of Roswitha, a nun of Gandersheim in Lower Saxony, who lived towards the close of the tenth century, afford the earliest specimens of dramatic composition, since the decline of the Roman Empire. They were professedly written for the benefit of those Christians who, abjuring all other heathen writers, were irresistibly attracted by the graces of Terence, to the imminent danger of their

be nearly coeval with the performance itself ; of the other piece we have apparently only a copy made at a much later date.] William Fitz-Stephen, a writer of the twelfth century, in his *Description of London*, relates that "London, for its theatrical exhibitions, has holy plays, or the representation of miracles wrought by confessors, and of the sufferings of martyrs."⁶ These pieces must have been in high vogue at our present period ; for Matthew Paris, who wrote about the year 1240, says that they were such as "Miracula vulgariter

spiritual welfare and the certain pollution of their moral feelings. Roswitha appears to have been impressed with a hope, that by contrasting the laudable chastity of Christian virtue, as exhibited in her compositions, with what she is pleased to term the lewd voluptuousness of the Grecian females, the Catholic world might be induced to forget the ancient classic, and to receive with avidity an orthodox substitute, combining the double advantage of pleasure and instruction. How far her expectations were gratified in this latter particular, it is impossible to [say ; but we can easily conceive, that the almost total obliviscence of the Roman author during the succeeding ages must have surpassed even her sanguine wishes. It does not appear that these dramas were either intended for representation, or exhibited at any subsequent period. They have been published twice : by Conrad Celtes in 1501, and Leonhard Schurzfleisch in 1707. They have also been analysed by Gottfried in his *Materials for a History of the German Stage*. Leip. 1757.—Pez (in his *Thesaur. Noviss. Anecd.* vol. ii. p. iii. f. 185) has published an ancient Latin Mystery, entitled *De Adventu et Interitu Antichristi*, which he acknowledges to have copied from a manuscript of the twelfth century. It approaches nearer to the character of a pageant, than to the dramatic cast of the later mysteries. The dumb-show appears to have been considerable, the dialogue but occasional ; and ample scope is given for the introduction of pomp and decoration. The passages to be declaimed are written in Latin rhyme. Lebeuf also mentions a Latin Mystery written so early as the time of Henry I. of France (1031—1065). In this Virgil is associated with the prophets who come to offer their adorations to the new-born Messiah ; and at the conclusion he joins his voice with theirs in singing a long *Benedicamus*. A fragment of what may be a German translation of the same mystery, copied from a manuscript of the thirteenth century, will be found in Dieterich's *Specimen Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, p. 122. But here Virgil appears as an acknowledged heathen ; and he is only admitted with the other prophets from his supposed predictions of the coming Messiah contained in his *Pollio*. In conformity with this opinion, Dante adopted him as his guide in the *Inferno*.—*Price*. Mr. Price's assertion as to the almost total obliviscence of Terence in the middle ages is not founded on fact. No classic author is oftener quoted by monkish writers, and in the British Museum alone there are above thirty MSS. copies written between the tenth and fifteenth centuries.—*Madden*.]

⁴ [Edited from Harl. MS. 2253 by Mr. Halliwell, 1840, 8vo, and from the Auchinleck MS. by Mr. Laing (*Owain Miles and other Pieces of Ancient English Poetry*, 1837, 8vo).]

⁵ [Printed in Croft's *Excerpta Antiqua*, 1797, and again by Collier, *Camden Miscellany*, iv.]

⁶ "Lundonia pro spectaculis theatralibus, pro ludis scenicis, ludos habet sanctiores, representationes miraculorum quæ sancti confessores operati sunt, seu representationes passionum quibus claruit constantia martyrum." Stow's *Survey of London*, p. 480, edit. 1599. The reader will observe, that I have construed *sanctiores* in a positive sense. [But here Warton merely follows Pegge in his translation of Fitz-Stephen : neither states a reason. See Collier's *Hist. of E. D. P.* i. 2, *note*.] Fitz-Stephen mentions at the end of his tract, "Imperatricem Matildem, Henricum regem tertium, et beatum Thomam, &c." p. 483. [Fitz-Stephen is speaking of Henry the younger, son of Henry II. and grandson to the Empress Matilda, who was crowned king in the lifetime of his father, and is expressly styled *Henricus Tertius* by Matthew Paris, William of Newbury, and several other of our early historians.—*Risdon*.]

appellamus.”¹ And we learn from Chaucer, that in his time Plays of Miracles were the common resort of idle gossips in Lent :

Therefore made I my visitations,
To prechings eke and to pilgrimagis,
To Plays of Miracles, and mariagis, &c.²

¹ *Vit. Abbat.* ad calc. *Hist.* p. 56, edit. 1639.

[William de Wadington (who possibly was a contemporary of Matthew Paris) has left a violent tirade against this general practice of acting miracles. As it contains some curious particulars relative to the manner in which they were conducted, and the places selected for exhibiting them, an extract from it may not be out of place here :

“ Une autre folie apert
Unt les fols clers cuntrové ;
Qe miracles sunt apelé.
Lur faces unt la deguise,
Par visers li forfene,
Qe est defendu en decree ;
Tant est plus grant lur peché.
Fere poent representement,
Mes qe ceo seit chastement.
En office de seint eglise
Quant hom fet la, Deu servise.
Cum Ihu Crist le fix Dee,
En sepulcre esteit posé ;
Et la resurrexiun :
Par plus aver devociun.
Mes fere foles assemblez,
En les rues des citez,
Ou en cymiters apres mangiers,
Quant venent les fols volonters,
Tut dient qe il le sunt pur bien :
Crere ne les devez pur rien,
Qe fet seit pur le honur de Dee.
E iuz del Deable pur verité.
Seint Ysidre me ad testimonie,
Qe fut si bon clerc lettré.
Il dit qe cil qe sunt spectacles,
Cum lem fet en miracles,
Ou iuz qe vus nomames einz,
Burdiz ou turnemens,
Lur baptesme unt refusez,
E Deu de ciel reneiez, &c.
Ke en lur iuz se delitera,
Chevals ou harneis les apretera,
Vesture ou autre ournement,
Sachez il fet folement.
Si vestemens serent dediez,
Plus grant dassez est le pechez.
Si preste ou clerc le uft preste,
Bien dust estre chaustie ;
Car sacrilege est pur verité.
E ki par vanite les verrunt,
De lur fet partaverunt.”

Harl. MS. 273, f. 141.—*Frice.*

This has been printed by Mr. Furnivall in his edition of Robert de Brunne's *Hand-lyng Synne*, Roxburghe Club, 1862.]

² *Prol. Wif. B.* v. 555.

This is the genial *Wife of Bath*, who amuses herself with these fashionable diversions, while her husband is absent in London, during the holy season of Lent. And in *Pierce the Plowman's Crede*, a friar Minorite mentions the miracles as not less frequented than markets or taverns :

We haunten no tavernes, ne hobelen abouten,
Att markets and Miracles we medeley us never.¹

Among the plays usually represented by the guild of Corpus Christi at Cambridge, on that festival, *Ludus filiorum Israelis* was acted in the year 1355.² Our drama seems hitherto to have been almost entirely confined to religious subjects, and these plays were nothing more than an appendage to the specious and mechanical devotion of the times. I do not find expressly, that any play on a profane subject, either tragic or comic, had as yet been exhibited in England. Our very early ancestors scarce knew any other history than that of their religion. Even on such an occasion as the triumphant entry of a king or queen into the city of London, or other places, the pageants were almost entirely Scriptural.³ I likewise find in the wardrobe-rolls of Edward III., 1348, an account of the dresses, *ad faciendum Ludos domini regis ad festum Natalis domini celebratos apud*

¹ Signat. A iii b, edit. 1561.

² *Matters' Hist. C. C. C. C.* p. 5, vol. i. What was the antiquity of the *Guarry-Miracle*, or *Miracle-Play* in Cornwall, has not been determined. In the Bodleian library are three Church interludes, written on parchment. [Bodley, 791.] In the same library there is also another, written on paper in the year 1611. Arch. [N. 219.] Of this last there is a translation in the British Museum. MSS. Harl. 1867, 2. It is entitled the *Creation of the World*, [and bears traces of an obligation on the part of the compiler to the earlier production printed by Norris—the *Origo Mundi*.] It is called a Cornish play or opera, and said to be written by Mr. William Jordan. The translation into English was made by John Keigwin of Moushole in Cornwall, at the request of Trelawney, Bishop of Exeter, 1691. Of this William Jordan I can give no account. [Mr. Davies Gilbert published the *Creation of the World* in 1827, 8vo., and more recently, Mr. Edwin Norris has edited from the Bodleian MS. the three Cornish Dramas, *Origo Mundi*, *Passio Domini Nostri*, and *Resurrectio Domini Nostri*, 1859, 2 vols. 8vo. Mr. Gilbert also edited the poem of *Mount Calvary* in 1826, 8vo.; but his text is very bad both there and in the *Creation*. See Mr. Norris's remarks and explanations in his Appendix, ii. 439 *et seqq.* I fear that Mr. Norris's own text is not very trustworthy. In the library of Mr. C. Wynne, at Peniarth, Montgomeryshire, is another Cornish play, unknown to Gilbert and Norris.]

In the British Museum there is an ancient Cornish poem on the death and resurrection of Christ. It is on vellum, and has some rude pictures. The beginning and end are lost. The writing is supposed to be of the fifteenth century. MSS. Harl. 1782, 4to. [This is the poem on *Mount Calvary* already referred to, but three other copies are known.] See the learned Lwhyd's *Archæol. Brit.* p. 265. And Borlase's *Cornwall, Nat. Hist.* p. 295, edit. 1758.

³ When our Hen. VI. entered Paris in 1431, in the quality of King of France, he was met at the gate of Saint Denis by a Dumb Shew, representing the birth of the Virgin Mary and her marriage, the adoration of the three kings, and the parable of the sower. This pageant indeed was given by the French: but the readers of Holinshed will recollect many instances immediately to our purpose. See Monstrelet *apud* Fonten. *Hist. Theatr.* ut *supr.* p. 37.

Guldeford, for furnishing the plays or sports of the king, held in the castle of Guildford at the feast of Christmas.¹ In these Ludi, says my record, were expended eighty tunics of buckram of various colours, forty-two visors of various similitudes, that is, fourteen of the faces of women, fourteen of the faces of men with beards, fourteen of heads of angels, made with silver; twenty-eight crests,² fourteen mantles embroidered with heads of dragons: fourteen white tunics wrought with heads and wings of peacocks, fourteen heads of swans with wings, fourteen tunics painted with eyes of peacocks, fourteen tunics of English linen painted, and as many tunics embroidered with stars of gold and silver.³ In the *Wardrobe* rolls of Richard II. there is also an entry which seems to point out a sport of much the same nature [in 1389, 12 Rich. II.] “Pro xxi coifs de tela linea pro hominibus de lege contrafactis pro ludo regis tempore natalis domini anno xii.”⁴ That is, “for twenty-one linen coifs for counterfeiting men of the law in the king’s play at Christmas.” It will be sufficient to add here on the last record, that the serjeants at law at their creation anciently wore a cap of linen, lawn, or silk, tied under the chin: this was to distinguish them from the clergy who had the tonsure. Whether in both these instances we are to understand a dumb-show, or a dramatic interlude with speeches, I leave to the examination of those who are professedly making enquiries into the history of our stage from its rudest origin. But that plays on general subjects were no uncommon mode of entertainment in the royal palaces of England, at least at the commencement of the fifteenth century, may be collected from an old memoir of shews and ceremonies exhibited at Christmas, in the reign of Henry VII. in the palace of Westminster. It is in the year 1489. “This cristmas I saw no disguyfings, and but *right few* Plays. But ther

¹ Comp. J. Cooke, *Provisoris Magnæ Garderob. ab ann. 21 Edw. [III.] ad ann. 23. Memb. ix.*

² I do not perfectly understand the Latin original in the place, viz. “xiiij *Crestes* cum tibiis reverfatis et calceatis, xiiij *Crestes* cum montibus et vniculis.” Among the stuffs are “viii pelles de Roan.” In the same wardrobe rolls, a little above, I find this entry, which relates to the same festival. “Et ad faciendum vi pennecellos pro tubis et clarionibus contra Festum natalis domini, de syndone, vapulatos de armis regis quartellatis.” Membr. ix.

³ Some perhaps may think, that these were dresses for a Masque at court. If so, Holinshed is mistaken in saying, that in the year 1512, “on the daie of Epiphanie at night, the king with eleven others were disguised after the manner of Italie called a maske, a thing not seen before in England. They were apparalled in garments long and broad wrought all with gold, with visors and caps of gold,” &c. *Hist.* vol. iii. p. 812, a, 40. Besides, these maskings most probably came to the English, if from Italy, through the medium of France. Holinshed also contradicts himself: for in another place he seems to allow their existence under our Henry IV., A. D. 1400. “The conspirators ment upon the sudden to have set upon the king in the castell of Windsor, under colour of a *maske* to *mummerie*,” &c. *ibid.* p. 515, b. 50. Strype says there were Pageaunts exhibited in London when Queen Eleanor rode through the city to her coronation, in 1236. And for the victory over the Scots by Edward I. in 1298. *Anec. Brit. Topograph.* p. 725, edit. 1768.

⁴ Comp. *Magn. Garderob.* an. 14 Ric. II. f. 198. b.

was an abbot of Mistrule, that made much sport, and did right well his office.” And again, “At nyght the kynge, the qweene, and my ladye the kynges moder, cam into the Whitehall, and ther hard a Play.”¹

As to the religious dramas, it was customary to perform this species of play on holy festivals in or about the churches. In the register of William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, under the year 1384, an episcopal injunction is recited, against the exhibition of *Speſtacula* in the cemetery of his cathedral.² Whether or no these were dramatic *Speſtacles*, I do not pretend to decide.³ In several of our old scriptural plays, we see some of the scenes directed to be represented *cum cantu et organis*, a common rubric in the missal. That is, because they were performed in a church where the choir assisted. There is a curious passage in Lambard's *Topographical Dictionary* written about 1570, much to our purpose, and which I am therefore tempted to transcribe:—“In the Dayes of ceremonial religion, they used at Wytney (in Oxfordshire) to set foorth yearly in manner of a Shew, or Enterlude, the Resurrection of our Lord, &c. For the which Purpose, and the more lyvely thearby to exhibite to the Eye the hole Action of the Resurrection, the Priestes garnished out certain smalle Puppets, representinge the Parsons of *Christe*, the Watchmen, *Marie*, and others; amongest the which, one bare the Parte of a wakinge Watchman, who (espynge *Christ* to arise) made a continual Noyce, like to the Sound that is caused by the Metinge of two Styckes, and was therof comonly called *Jack Snacker of Wytney*. The like Toye I my selfe (beinge then a Childe,) once saw in Poules Church at London, at a Fealt of *Whitsuntyde*; where the comynge downe of the *Holy Gost* was set forthe by a white Pigion, that was let to fly out of a Hole, that yet is to be sene in the myddt of the Rooſe of the great Ile, and by a longe Censer, which descendinge out of the same Place almost to the verie Grounde, was swunged up and downe at suche a Lengthe, that it reached with thone Swepe almost to the West Gate of the Church, and with the

¹ Leland, *Coll.* iii. *Append.* p. 256, edit, 1770.

² *Registr.* lib. iii. f. 88. “Canere Cantilenas, ludibriorum *speſtacula* facere, saltationes et alios ludos inhonestos frequentare, choreas,” &c. So in Statut. Eccles. Nannett. A. D. 1405. No “mimi vel joculariores, ad *monſtra larvarum* in ecclesia et cemeterio,” are permitted. Marten. *Theſaur. Anecd.* iv. p. 993. And again, “Joculares, hiſtriones, saltatrices, in ecclesia, cemeterio, vel porticu.—nec aliquæ choreæ.” Statut. *Synod Eccles. Leod.* A. D. 1287, *apud* Marten. *ut ſupr.* 846. Fontenelle ſays, that anciently among the French, comedies were acted after divine service in the church-yard. “Au ſortir du ſermon ces bonnes gens alloient a la *Comedie*, c’eſt a dire, qu’ils changeoient de Sermon.”—*Hiſt. Theatr.* *ut ſupr.* p. 24. But theſe were ſcriptural comedies, and they were conſtantly preceded by a Benedicite, by way of prologue. The French ſtage will occur again below.

³ [“Had he (Warton) ſeen the paſſage in the *Manuel de Peché*, where *Miracles* are expreſſly called *Speſtacles*, his doubt (as to the nature of theſe *Speſtacula*) would have been removed. The author of the French original is very particular in ſtating to what performances he refers.”—*Collier.*]

⁴ 1730, 459. [Warton's tranſcript was full of errors in the orthography, although he muſt have copied from the ed. of 1730.]

other to the Quayre Staires of the same; breathinge out over the whole Church and Companie a most pleasant Perfume of such swete Things as burned thearin; withe the like doome Shewes also, they used every whear to furnishe sondrye Partes of their Church Service, as by their Spectacles of the Nativitie, Passion, and Ascension" &c.

This practice of acting plays in churches, had at last grown to such an enormity, and was attended with such inconvenient consequences, that in the reign of Henry VIII., Bonner, bishop of London, issued a proclamation to the clergy of his diocese, dated 1542, prohibiting "all maner of common plays, games, or interludes to be played, set forth, or declared, within their churches, chapels," &c.¹ This fashion seems to have remained even after the Reformation, and when perhaps profane stories had taken place of religious.² Archbishop Grindal, in the year 1563, remonstrated against the danger of interludes: complaining that players "did, especially on holy days, set up bills inviting to their play."³ From this ecclesiastical source of the modern drama, plays continued to be acted on Sundays so late as the reign of Elizabeth, and even till that of Charles I., by the choristers or singing-boys of Saint Paul's Cathedral in London, and of the royal chapel.

It is certain that these *Miracle-plays* were the earliest of our dramatic exhibitions. But as these pieces frequently required the introduction of allegorical characters, such as Charity, Sin, Death, Hope, Faith, or the like, and as the common poetry of the times, especially among the French, began to deal much in allegory, at length plays were formed entirely consisting of such personifications. These were called *Moralities*. The miracle-plays, or *Mysteries*, were totally destitute of invention or plan: they tamely represented stories according to the letter of scripture, or the respective legend. But the Moralities indicate dawnings of the dramatic art; they contain some rudiments of a plot, and even attempt to delineate characters, and to paint manners. Hence the gradual transition to real historical personages was natural and obvious. It may be also observed, that many licentious pleasantries were sometimes introduced in these religious representations. This might imperceptibly lead the way to subjects entirely profane and to comedy, and perhaps earlier than is imagined. In a *Mystery* of the *Massacre of the Holy Innocents*, part of the subject of a sacred drama given by the English fathers at the famous council of Constance in the year 1417,⁴ a

¹ Burnet, *Hist. Ref.* i. Coll. Rec. p. 225.

² From a puritanical pamphlet entitled *The [second and] third Blast of Retraitt from Plaies*, &c. 1580, p. 77 [*English Drama & Stage*, 1869, p. 134.] Where the author says, the players are "permitted to publish their mamettree in euerie Temple of God, and that through England," &c. This abuse of acting plays in churches is mentioned in the canon of James I., which forbids also the profanation of churches by court-lects, &c. The canons were given in the year 1603.

³ Strype's *Grindal*, p. 82.

⁴ [Ancient *Mysteries* from the Digby MSS., 1835.]

⁵ L'Enfant, ii. 440.

low buffoon of Herod's court is introduced, desiring of his lord to be dubbed a knight, that he might be properly qualified to *go on the adventure* of killing the mothers of the children of Bethlehem. This tragical business is treated with the most ridiculous levity. The good women of Bethlehem attack our knight-errant with their spinning-wheels, break his head with their distaffs, abuse him as a coward and a disgrace to chivalry, and send him home to Herod as a recreant champion with much ignominy. It is in an enlightened age only that subjects of scripture history would be supported with proper dignity. But then an enlightened age would not have chosen such subjects for theatrical exhibition.¹ It is certain that our ancestors intended no sort of impiety by these monstrous and unnatural mixtures. Neither the writers nor the spectators saw the impropriety, nor paid a separate attention to the comic and serious part of these motley scenes; at least they were persuaded that the solemnity of the subject covered or excused all incongruities. They had no just idea of decorum, consequently but little sense of the ridiculous: what appears to us to be the highest burlesque, on them would have made no sort of impression. We must not wonder at this, in an age when courage, devotion, and ignorance composed the character of European manners; when the knight, going to a tournament, first invoked his God, then his mistress, and afterwards proceeded with a safe conscience and great resolution to engage his antagonist. In these Mysteries I have sometimes seen gross and open obscenities. In a play of *the Old and New Testament*,² Adam and

¹ [Even what may be called *the vices* of literature have their favourable side; for, if in our early drama from the Mysteries downward, there had not been the uncouth vernacular diction, the gross anachronisms, the ribaldry, and the totally unartistic construction, which we see, those remains would never have possessed the interest in our eyes, which under the circumstances they have, as storehouses of information upon many points connected with ancient manners and opinions.]

² MSS. Harl. 2013, &c. Exhibited at Chester in the year 1327, at the expense of the different trading companies of the city. *The Fall of Lucifer* by the Tanners. *The Creation* by the Drapers. *The Deluge* by the Dyers. *Abraham, Melchisedech, and Lot* by the Barbers. *Moses, Balak, and Balaam* by the Cappers. *The Salvation and Nativity* by the Wrights. *The Shepherds feeding their flocks by night* by the Painters and Glaziers. *The three Kings* by the Vintners. *The Oblation of the three Kings* by the Mercers. *The Killing of the Innocents* by the Goldsmiths. *The Purification* by the Blacksmiths. *The Temptation* by the Butchers. *The last Supper* by the Bakers. *The Blindmen and Lazarus* by the Glovers. *Jesus and the Lepers* by the Corvelarys. *Christ's Passion* by the Bowyers, Fletchers, and Ironmongers. *Descent into Hell* by the Cooks and Innkeepers. *The Resurrection* by the Skinners. *The Ascension* by the Taylors. *The election of S. Mathias, Sending of the holy ghost, &c.* by the Fishmongers. *Antechrist* by the Clothiers. *Day of Judgment* by the Websters. The reader will perhaps smile at some of these combinations. This is the substance and order of the former part of the play:—God enters creating the world: he breathes life into Adam, leads him into Paradise, and opens his side while sleeping. Adam and Eve appear naked and *not ashamed*, and the old serpent enters lamenting his fall. He converses with Eve. She eats of the forbidden fruit and gives part to Adam. They propose, according to the stage-direction, to make themselves *subligacula a foliis quibus tegamus Pudenda*. Cover their nakedness with leaves, and converse with God. God's curse. The serpent *exit* hissing. They are driven from Paradise by four angels and the cherubim with a flaming sword. Adam appears digging the ground, and Eve spinning.

Eve are both exhibited on the stage naked, and conversing about their nakedness: this very pertinently introduces the next scene, in which they have coverings of fig-leaves. This extraordinary spectacle was beheld [at Chester] by a numerous assembly of both sexes with great composure: they had the authority of scripture for such a representation, and they gave matters just as they found them in the third chapter of Genesis. It would have been absolute heresy to have departed from the sacred text in personating the primitive appearance of our first parents, whom the spectators so nearly resembled in simplicity: and if this had not been the case, the dramatists were ignorant what to reject and what to retain.

["The original date and the authorship of the Chester plays," says Mr. Wright, "have been subjects of considerable discussion. My own impression, from the phraseology and forms of words, which may frequently be discovered in the blunders of the modern scribes, is that the original manuscript from which they copied was of the earlier part of the fifteenth or of the end of the fourteenth century." The transcript from which the edition superintended by Mr. Wright is printed, appears to have been made late in the reign of Elizabeth.¹ Besides the Coventry and Chester series, and the other miscellaneous productions of the same class in the Digby and other MSS., there were the York and Towneley or Widkirk Mysteries. The former, in fact, have had a most unfortunate destiny in being secreted by successive owners. It is to be regretted that they were not secured, when they occurred for sale about twenty years ago, for the national library, since only one of the York series, the Scriveners' Play, exists in a duplicate copy. The Towneley plays, however, which are also known only in one MS. (and that not entirely perfect), have been published.]²

In the meantime, profane dramas seem to have been known in France at a much earlier period.³ Du Cange gives the following

Their children Cain and Abel enter: The former kills his brother. Adam's lamentation. Cain is banished, &c.

[The *Chester Mysteries* have been published entire by T. Wright, Esq., 2 vols. 8vo. 1843-7. Mr. Wright observes: "The traditions adopted or imagined by some old Chester antiquaries, which carried the composition of these plays so far back as the mayoralty of John Arneway (1268 to 1270), and the supposition of Warton that they were the productions of Ralph Higden the chronicler, appear to me too improbable to deserve our serious consideration, unless they were founded on more authentic statements, or on more substantial arguments."]

¹ [Mr. Whitley Stoke edited for the Philological Society (1860-1) *The Play of the Sacrament*, which he terms a middle-English "drama." A pageant called *The Salutation of Gabriel* was exhibited at Edinburgh in 1503, at the nuptials of James IV. and the Princess Margaret.]

² [By the Surtees Society, 1836, 8vo.]

³ At Constantinople it seems that the stage flourished much under Justinian and Theodora, about the year 540. For in the Basilical codes we have the oath of an actress *μη αναχρησεν της σπουδης*. Tom. vii. p. 682, edit. Fabrot. Græco-Lat. The ancient Greek fathers, particularly Saint Chrysostom, are full of declamation against the drama, and complain that the people heard a comedian with much more pleasure than a preacher of the Gospel.

picture of the king of France dining in public before the year 1300. During this ceremony, a sort of farces or drolls seems to have been exhibited. All the great officers of the crown and the household, says he, were present. The company was entertained with instrumental music of the minstrels, who played on the kettle-drum, the flageolet,¹ the cornet, the Latin cittern, the Bohemian flute, the trumpet, the Moorish cittern, and the fiddle. Besides there were "des FARCEURS, des joueurs, et des plaisantins, qui divertissoient les compagnies par leur faceties et par leur COMEDIES, pour l'entretien." He adds, that many noble families in France were entirely ruined by the prodigious expenses lavished on those performers.² The annals of France very early mention buffoons among the minstrels at these solemnities; and more particularly that Louis le Debonnaire, who reigned about the year 830, never laughed aloud, not even when, at the most magnificent festivals, players, buffoons, minstrels, singers, and harpers, attended his table.³ In some constitutions given to a cathedral church in France, in the year 1280, the following clause occurs: "Nullus SPECTACULIS aliquibus quæ aut in Nuptiis aut in Scenis exhibentur, intersit."⁴ Where, by the way, the word *Scenis* seems to imply somewhat of a professed stage, although the establishment of the first French theatre is dated not before the year 1398.⁵ The play of *Robin and Marian* is said to

¹ I believe, a sort of pipe. This is the French word, viz. Demy-canon. See Carpent. Du Cange, *Gl. Lat.* i. p. 760.

² *Dissertat. Jeuv.* p. 161.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Montfauc. *Cat. Manuscrip.* p. 1158. See also Marten. *Theſaur. Anecd.* tom. iv. p. 506. *Stat. Synod.* A. D. 1468. "Larvaria ad Nuptias," &c. Stow, in his *Survey of London*, mentions the practice of acting plays [masques] at weddings.

⁵ [A modern French antiquary (M. Roquefort) has claimed a much higher antiquity for the establishment or rather origin of the French stage; though upon principles, it must be allowed, which have a decided tendency to confound all distinctions between the several kinds of poetic composition. The beautiful tale of Aucassin and Nicolette is the corner-stone upon which this theory reposes, and as the narrative is interspersed with song, seems to have induced a belief, that the recitations were made by a single Trouvere, and the poetry chaunted by a band of attendant minstrels. Admitting this to be the case—yet for it no authority is offered—the approximation to dramatic composition is as remote as when left in the hands of a solitary declaimer. Upon this ground every ballad or romantic tale, which is known to have been accompanied by music and the voice, might be styled "a monument of theatric art;" and by analogy the rhapsodists of Greece, who sang the *Iliad* at the public games, might be said to have "enacted the plays" of Homer. Nor is the argument in favour of the *Jeux-partis* or such fabliaux as the *deux Borderors ribauds*, in any degree more admissible. In all these pieces there is nothing more than a simple interchange of opinion, whether argumentative or vituperative, without pretension to incident, fable, or development of character. Indeed, if a multiplicity of interlocutors would alone constitute a drama, the claim of Wolfram von Eschenbach to be the founder of the German stage (as some of his countrymen have maintained) would be undeniable. In his *Krieg auf Wartburg*, a singular monument of early (1207) improvisatorial skill, the declaimers in the first part are six and in the second three Master or Minne-singers. But this poem, like the *Tensons* of the Troubadours, is a mere trial of poetical ingenuity, and bears a strong resemblance both in matter and manner to the *Torneyaments* of the same writers. That it was not considered a play in earlier

have been performed by the schoolboys of Angiers, according to annual custom, in the year 1392.¹ A royal caroufal given by Charles V. of France to the emperor Charles IV. in the year 1378, was closed with the theatrical representation of the *Conquest of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bulloign*, which was exhibited in the hall of the royal palace.² This indeed was a subject of a religious tendency; but not long afterwards, in the year 1395, perhaps before, the interesting story of *Patient Grisfel* appears to have been acted at Paris. This piece still remains, and is entitled *Le Mystere de Grisildis marquise de Saluce*.³ For all dramatic pieces were indiscriminately called *Mysteries*, whether a martyr or a heathen god, whether Saint Catharine or Hercules was the subject.

In France the religious *Mysteries*, often called *Piteaux*, or *Pitoux*, were certainly very fashionable and of high antiquity: yet from any written evidence I do not find them more ancient than those of the English. In the year 1384, the inhabitants of the village of Aunay, on the Sunday after the feast of Saint John, played the *Miracle of Theophilus*, "ou quel Jeu avoit un personnage de un qui devoit getter d'un canon."⁴ In the year 1398, some citizens of Paris met

times, is clear from an illumination published by Docen, where the actors in this celebrated contest are represented seated and singing together, and above them is this decisive inscription: "Hie krieget mit sange, Herr walther von der vogilweide," &c. *Here bataileth in song*, &c. However, should this theory obtain, Solomon, bishop of Constance in the tenth century, will perhaps rank as the earliest dramatist at present known: Metro primus et coram Regibus plerumque pro ludicro cum aliis certator. Ekkehardus de Casibus S. Galli, p. 49.—Price.]

¹ The boys were *deguisez*, says the old French record: and they had among them *un Fillette desguizé*. Carpent. *ubi supr.* v. *Robinet Pentecoste*. Our old character of *Mayd Marian* may be hence illustrated. It seems to have been an early fashion in France for schoolboys to present these shews or plays. In an ancient MS. under the year 1477, there is mentioned "Certaine MORALITE, ou FARCE, que les escolliers de Pontoise avoit fait, ainsi qu'il est de coutume." Carpent. *ubi supr.* v. *Moralitas*. The *Mystery of the old and new Testament* is said to have been represented in 1424 by the boys of Paris placed like statues against a wall, without speech or motion, at the entry of the duke of Bedford, regent of France. See J. de Paris, p. 101. And Sauval, *Ant. de Paris*, ii. 101. [*Le Jeu de Robin et de Marion*, the piece alluded to in the text, has been analysed by M. le Grand in the second volume of his *Fabliaux et Contes*. It is there called *Le Jeu du Berger et de la Bergere*, and by him attributed to Adan de la Hale, nicknamed le Boçu d'Arras. In this he is followed by M. Meon, the editor of Barbazan's *Fabliaux*, who also ascribes to the same author a play called *Le Jeu du Mariage*. M. Roquefort catalogues *Robin et Marion* among the works of Jehan Bodel d'Arras, the author of three plays called *Le Jeu de Pelerin*, *Le Jeu d'Adam ou de la Feuillée*, *Le Jeu de St. Nicholas*; and a mystery called *Le Miracle de Theophile*. This latter may be the same referred to below. Adan de la Hale appears to have lived in the early part of the thirteenth century (Roquefort, p. 103), and Jehan Bodel during the reign of Saint Louis (1226-70). These perhaps are the earliest specimens extant of anything resembling dramatic composition in the French language.—Price.]

² Felib. tom. ii. p. 681. [The thirteenth century romance (on this subject) was published by M. Hippeau of Caen; Paris, 1868, 8vo.—F.]

³ [Printed at Paris about 1550, 4to, 20 leaves. See Brunet, *dern.* edit. iii. 1968-9.]

⁴ Carpentier, Suppl. Du Cange, *Lat. Gl.* v. *Ludus*. [The story of a man who sold himself to the devil, and was redeemed by the virgin to whom he had recom-

at Saint Maur to play the *Passion of Christ*. The magistrates of Paris, alarmed at this novelty, published an ordonnance, prohibiting them to represent "aucuns jeux de personages soit de vie de saints ou autrement," without the royal licence, which was soon afterwards obtained.¹ In the year 1486, at Anjou, ten pounds were paid towards supporting the charges of acting the *Passion of Christ*, which was represented by masks, and, as I suppose, by persons hired for the purpose.² The chaplains of Abbeville, in the year 1455, gave four pounds and ten shillings to the players of the *Passion*; ³ [and at Angiers, about the same period, Jean Michel's very curious *mystere de la passion iesu Crist* was performed; it was subsequently exhibited at Paris in 1507; and the old editions of it are tolerably numerous]. But the French *Mysteries* were chiefly performed by the religious communities, and some of their Fetes almost entirely consisted of a dramatic or personated shew. At the *Feast of Asses*, instituted in [commemoration of the Flight into Egypt,] the clergy walked on Christmas-day in procession, habited to represent the prophets and others. Moses appeared in an alb and cope, with a long beard and rod. David had a green vestment. Balaam with an immense pair of spurs, rode on a wooden ass, which inclosed a speaker. There were also six Jews and six Gentiles. Among other characters the poet Virgil was introduced as a gentile prophet and a translator of the Sibylline oracles. They thus moved in procession, chanting verses, and conversing in character on the nativity and kingdom of Christ, through the body of the church, till they came into the choir. Virgil speaks some Latin hexameters during the ceremony, not out of his fourth eclogue, but wretched monkish lines in rhyme. This feast was, I believe, early suppressed. In the year 1445, Charles VII. of France ordered the masters in theology at Paris to forbid the ministers of the collegiate⁴ churches to celebrate at Christmas the

mended himself, occurs in a collection of miracles put in verse by Guatier de Quenfi, a French poet of the thirteenth century, from whose work and others of the same kind an abridgment was printed at Paris in the beginning of the sixteenth century. This was made by Jean le Comte, a friar minor. Quenfi's work is among the Harl. MSS. No. 4400.—Douce. It is also the legend of the *Knyght and his Wyfe* (*Rem. of the Early Pop. P. of Engl.* i. 16, et seqq. and Brunet, *ut sup.* 1979).]

¹ Beauchamps, *ut sup.* p. 90. This was the first theatre of the French: the actors were incorporated by the king, under the title of the *Fraternity of the Passion of our Saviour*. Beauch. *ibid.* See above, sect. ii. The *Jeu de personages* was a very common play of the young boys in the larger towns, &c. Carpentier, *ut sup.* v. *Personagium*, and *Ludus Personag.* [But almost all the old French miracle-plays purport to have been *jeux de personages*.] At Cambray mention is made of the shew of a boy *larvatus cum maxa in collo* with drums, &c. Carpent. *ibid.* v. *Kalenda Januar.*

² "Decem libr. ex parte nationis, ad onera supportanda hujus Misterii." Carpent. *ut sup.* v. *Personagium*.

³ [Brunet, *ut sup.* 1971.] Carpent. *ut sup.* v. *Ludus*. He adds, from an ancient Computus, that three shillings were paid by the ministers of a church, in the year 1537, for parchment for writing *Ludus Resurrectionis Domini*.

⁴ Marten. *Anecd.* tom. i. col. 1804. See also Belet. *De Divin. Offic.* cap. 72. And Guffanvill. *poët. Not. ad Petr. Blesens.* Felibien confounds *La Fete de Fous et la*

Feast of Fools in their churches, where the clergy danced in masques and antic dresses, and exhibited "plusieurs mocqueries spectacles publics, de leur corps deguiselements, farces, rigmereis," with various enormities shocking to decency. In France as well as England it was customary to celebrate the feast of the boy-bishop. In all the collegiate churches of both nations, about the feast of St. Nicholas,¹ or the Holy Innocents, one of the children of the choir, completely apparelled in the episcopal vestments, with a mitre and crozier, bore the title and state of bishop, and exacted canonical obedience from his fellows, who were dressed like priests. They took possession of the church, and performed all the ceremonies and offices,² the mass excepted, which might have been celebrated by the bishop and his prebendaries.³ In the statutes of the archiepiscopal cathedral of Tullis, given in the year 1497, it is said, that during the celebration of the festival of the boy-bishop, "Moralities were presented, and shews of Miracles, with farces and other sports, but compatible with

Fete de Sotise. The latter was an entertainment of dancing called *Les Saukes*, and thence corrupted into *Soties* or *Sotise*. See *Mem. Acad. Inscript.* xvii, 225, 226, and *Probat. Hist. Antifiodor.* p. 310. Again, the *Feast of Fools* seems to be pointed at in *Statut. Senonens.* A.D. 1445. Infr. tom. xii. *Call. Christian.* Coll. 96. "Tempore divini servitii larvatos et monstruosos vultus deferendo, cum vestibus mulierum, aut lenonum, aut histrionum, choreas in ecclesia et choro ejus ducendo," &c. With the most immodest spectacles. The nuns of some French convents are said to have had *Ludibria* on Saint Mary Magdalene's and other festivals, when they wore the habits of seculars, and danced with them. *Carpent. ubi supr. v. Kalendæ.* There was the office of the *Rex Stultorum* in Beverley church, prohibited 1391. *Dugd. Mon.* iii. Append. 7. [In the Constitutions of Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, is the following prohibition: "Execrabilem etiam consuetudinem quæ consuevit in quibusdam ecclesiis observari de faciendō Festo Stultorum specialī auctoritate rescripti Apostolici penitus inhibemus; ne de domo orationis fiat domus ludibrii," &c. See *Brown Fascicul. rerum expetendarum*, ii. 412. And in his 32nd Letter, printed in the same collection, ii. 331, after reciting that the house of God is not to be turned into a house of buffoonery, &c. he adds: "Quapropter vobis mandamus in virtute obedientiæ firmiter injungentes, quatenus Festum Stultorum, cum sit vanitate plenum et voluptatibus spurcum, Deo odibile et dæmonibus amabile, de cætero in ecclesia Lincoln. die venerandæ solennitatis circumcisionis Domini nullatenus permittatis fieri."—*Douce.*]

¹ [This feast was probably celebrated on St. Nicholas's day, on account of his being the patron saint of children. See his legend, printed at Naples, 1645, 4to.—*Douce.* See also *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, by Hazlitt, i. 232-40.]

² In the statutes of Eton College, given 1441, the *Episcopus Puerorum* is ordered to perform divine service on Saint Nicholas's day. Rubr. xxxi. In the statutes of Winchester College, given 1380, *Pueri*, that is, the boy-bishop and his fellows, are permitted on Innocents'-day to execute all the sacred offices in the chapel, according to the use of the church of Sarum. Rubr. xxix. This strange piece of religious mockery flourished greatly in Salisbury cathedral. In the old statutes of that church there is a chapter *De Episcopo Chorisarum*: and their Processionale gives a long and minute account of the whole ceremony, edit. 1555.

³ This ceremony was abolished by a proclamation, no later than 33 Hen. VIII. MSS. Cott. Tit. B 1, f. 208. In the inventory of the treasury of York cathedral, taken in 1530, we have "Item una mitra parva cum petris pro episcopo puerorum," &c. *Dugd. Monast.* iii. 169, 170. See also 313, 314, 177, 279. See also *Dugd. Hist. S. Paul's*, pp. 205, 206, where he is called *Episcopus Parvulorum*. And *Anstis Ord. Gart.* ii. 309, where, instead of *Nihilenis*, read *Nicolensis*, or *Nicolatenis*.

decorum. After dinner they exhibited, without their masks, but in proper dresses, such farces as they were masters of, in different parts of the city."¹ It is probable that the same entertainments attended the solemnisation of this ridiculous festival in England:² and from this supposition some critics may be inclined to deduce the practice of our plays being acted by the choir-boys of St. Paul's church and the chapel royal, which continued, as I before observed, till Cromwell's usurpation. The English and French stages mutually throw light on each other's history. But perhaps it will be thought, that in some of these instances I have exemplified in nothing more than farcical and gesticulatory representations. Yet even these traces should be attended to. In the meantime we may observe upon the whole, that the modern drama had no foundation in our religion, and that it was raised and supported by the clergy. The truth is, the members of the ecclesiastical societies were almost the only persons who could read, and their numbers easily furnished performers: they abounded in leisure, and their very relaxations were religious.

I did not mean to touch upon the Italian stage. But as so able a judge as Riccoboni seems to allow that Italy derived her theatre from those of France and England, by way of an additional illustration of the antiquity of the two last, I will here produce one or two Miracle-Plays, acted much earlier in Italy than any piece mentioned by that ingenious writer or by Crescimbeni. In the year 1298, on "the feast of Pentecost, and the two following holidays, the representation of the *Play of Christ*, that is, of his passion, resurrection, ascension, judgment, and the mission of the holy ghost, was performed by the clergy of Civita Vecchia, 'in curia domini patriarchæ Austriæ civitatis honorifice et laudabiliter.'"³ And again, "In 1304, the chapter of Civita Vecchia exhibited a play of the creation

¹ *Statut. Eccles. Tullens.* apud Carpent. *Suppl. Lat. Gl. Du Cang.* v. *Kalendæ.*

² It appears that in England the boy-bishop with his companions went about to different parts of the town; at least visited the other religious houses. As in *Rot. Comp. Coll. Winton.* A. D. 1461. "In Dat. episcopo Nicolateni." This I suppose was one of the children of the choir of the neighbouring cathedral. In the statutes of the collegiate church of S. Mary Ottery, founded by Bishop Grandison in 1337, there is this passage: "Item statuimus, quod nullus canonicus, vicarius, vel secundarius, pueros choristas in festo sanctorum Innocentium extra Parochiam de Otery trahant, aut eis licentiam vagandi concedant."—cap. 50, *MS. Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton.* quat. 9. In the wardrobe-rolls of Edward III. an. 12, we have this entry, which shews that our mock-bishop and his chapter sometimes exceeded their adopted clerical commission, and exercised the arts of secular entertainment. "Episcopo puerorum ecclesiæ de Andeworp cantanti coram domino rege in camera sua in festo sanctorum Innocentium, de dono ipsius dom. regis. xiii s. vi d."

³ *Chron. Forojul.* in Append. ad *Monum. Eccl. Aquilej.* p. 30, col. 1. [An earlier record of the exhibition of these miracle-plays in Italy will be found in the *Catalogo de' Podeste di Padova*: "In quest anno (1243) fu fatta la rappresentation della Passione e Refurrectione di Christo nel Pra della Valle." Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.* v. 8, p. 365.—The chief object of the Compagna del Confalone instituted at Rome in the year 1264, was to represent the Mysteries, "della Passione del Redentore." Tiraboschi, vol. iv. p. 343.—*Price.*]

of our first parents, the annunciation of the Virgin Mary, the birth of Christ, and other passages of sacred scripture.”¹ In the mean time, those critics, who contend for the high antiquity of the Italian stage, may adopt these instances as new proofs in defence of that hypothesis.

This show of the Boy-BISHOP, not so much for its superstition as its levity and absurdity, had been formerly abrogated by King Henry VIII. fourteen years before, in the year 1542, as appears by a “Proclamation deuised by the Kings Maiesty by the advys of his Highness Counsell the xxii day of Julie, 33 Hen. viii, commanding the Feasts of saint Luke, saint Mark, saint Marie Magdalene, Inuention of the Crosse, and saint Laurence, which had been abrogated, should be nowe againe celebrated and kept holie days,” of which the following is the concluding clause. “And where as heretofore dyuers and many superstitious and chyldysh obseruances have be vsed, and yet to this day are obserued and kept, in many and fundry partes of this realm, as vpon saint Nicholas,² saint Catharine,³ saint Clement,⁴ the holie Innocents, and such like,⁵ Children [boys]

¹ *Ibid.* p. 30, col. 1. It is extraordinary that the Miracle-plays, even in the churches, should not cease in Italy till the year 1660.

² In Barnaby Googee’s *Papish Kingdom*, 1570, a translation from Naogeorgus’s *Regnum Antichristi*, fol. 55 :—

“Saint Nicholas monie vſde to give to maydens secretlie,
Who that be still may vſe his wonted liberalitie :
The mother all their children on the Eeve do cause to fast,
And when they euerie one at night in ſenſeleſſe ſleepe are caſt,
Both apples, nuts and payres they bring, and other thinges beſide,
As cappes, and ſhoes, and petticoates, wich ſecretly they hide,
And in the morning found, they ſay, that ‘this Saint Nicholas brought,’” &c.

I have already given traces of this practice in the colleges of Winchester and Eton. To which I here add another. *Regiſtr. Coll. Wint. ſub ann. 1427.* “Crux deaurata de cupro [copper] cum Baculo, pro Episcopo puerorum.” But it appears that the practice ſubſiſted in common grammar-ſchools. “Hoc anno, 1464, in feſto ſancti Nicolai non erat Episcopus Puerorum in ſchola grammaticali in civitate Cantuarie ex defectu Magiſtrorum, viz. J. Sidney et T. Hikſon,” &c. *Lib. Johannis Stone, Monachi Eccles. Cant. ſc. De Obiitibus et aliis Memorabilibus ſui cœnobii ab anno 1415, ad annum 1467.* MS. C.C.C.C.Q. 8. The abuſes of this cuſtom in Wells Cathedral are mentioned ſo early as Decemb. 1. 1298. *Regiſtr. Eccl. Wellens.*

³ The reader will recollect the old play of Saint Catharine, *Ludus Catharine*, exhibited at Saint Albans Abbey in 1160. Strype ſays, in 1556, “On Saint Katharines day, at fix of the clock at night, S. Katharine went about the battlements of S. Paul’s church accompanied with fine ſinging and great lights. This was ſaint Katharine’s Proceſſion.” *Eccl. Mem.* iii. 309. ch. xxxix. Again, her proceſſion in 1553 is celebrated with five hundred great lights, round Saint Paul’s ſteeple, &c. *Ibid.* p. 51. ch. v. And p. 57. ch. v.

⁴ Among the church-proceſſions revived by Queen Mary, that of S. Clement’s church, in honour of this ſaint, was by far the moſt ſplendid of any in London. Their proceſſion to Saint Paul’s in 1557 “was made very pompous with fourſcore banners and ſtreamers, and the waits of the city playing, and threeſcore prieſts and clarkes in copes. And divers of the Inns of Court were there, who went next the prieſts,” &c. Strype, *ubi ſupr.* iii. 337, ch. xlix.

⁵ In the Synodus Carnotenſis, under the year 1526, it is ordered, “In feſto ſancti Nicolai, Catharinæ, Innocentium, aut alio quovis die, prætextu recreationis, ne Scholaſtici, Clerici, Sacerdotesve, ſtultum aliquod aut ridiculum faciant in

be strangellie decked and apparayled, to counterfeit Priests, Bishopes, and Women, and so be ledde with Songes and Dances from house to house, blessing the people, and gathering of money; and Boyes do singe masse, and preache in the pulpitt, with such other vnfittinge and inconuenient vsages, rather to the derysyon than anie true glorie of God, or honor of his sayntes: The Kynges maiestie therefore, myndinge nothing so moche as to aduance the true glory of God without vain superstition, wylleth and commandeth, that from henceforth all sych superstitious obseruations be left and clerely extinguished throwout all this his realme and dominions, for-as moche as the same doth resemble rather the vnlawfull superstition of gentilitie, than the pure and sincere religion of Christe." With respect to the disguisings of these young fraternities, and their processions from house to house with singing and dancing, specified in this edit, in a very mutilated fragment of a Computus, or annual Accompt-roll, of Saint Swithin's Cathedral Priory at Winchester, under the year 1441, a disbursement is made to the singing-boys of the monastery, who, together with the choristers of Saint Elizabeth's collegiate chapel near that city, were dressed up like girls, and exhibited their sports before the abbess and nuns of Saint Mary's Abbey at Winchester, in the public refectory of that convent, on Innocents' day.¹ "Pro Pueris Eleemosynariæ una cum Pueris Capellæ sanctæ Elizabethæ, ornatis more puellarum, et saltantibus, cantantibus, et ludentibus, coram domina Abbatissa et monialibus Abbathiæ beatæ Mariæ virginis, in aula ibidem in die sanctorum Innocentium."² Again, in a fragment of an Accompt of the Cellarer of Hyde Abbey at Win-

ecclesia. Denique ab ecclesia ejiciantur vestes fatuorum personas scenicas agentium." See Bochart, *Decret. Eccles. Gall.* lib. iv. Tit. vii. C. 43. 44. 46. p. 586. Yet these sports seem to have remained in France so late as 1585. For in the Synod of Aix, 1585, it is enjoined, "Cessent in die Sanctorum Innocentium ludibria omnia et pueriles ac theatrales lusus." Bochart, *ibid.* C. 45. p. 586. A Synod of Tholouse, an. 1590, removes plays, spectacles, and *histrionum circulationes* from churches and their cemeteries. Bochart, *ibid.* lib. iv. tit. i. c. 98, p. 560.

¹ In the Register of Wodeloke Bishop of Winchester, the following is an article among the injunctions given to the nuns of the convent of Rumsey in Hampshire, in consequence of an episcopal visitation, under the year 1310. "Item prohibemus, ne cubent in dormitorio pueri masculi cum monialibus, vel foemellæ, nec per moniales ducantur in Chorum, dum ibidem diuinum officium celebratur." fol. 134. In the same register these injunctions follow in a literal French translation, made for the convenience of the nuns.

² *MS. in Archiv. Wulves, apud Winton.* It appears to have been a practice for itinerant players to gain admittance into the nunneries, and to play Latin mysteries before the nuns. There is a curious canon of the council of Cologne, in 1549, which is to this effect. "We have been informed that certain Actors of Comedies, not content with the stage and theatres, have even entertained the nunneries, in order to recreate the nuns, *ubi virginibus commoveant voluptatem*, with their profane, amorous, and *secular* gesticulations. Which spectacles or plays, although they consisted of sacred and pious subjects, can yet notwithstanding leave little good, but on the contrary much harm, in the minds of the nuns, who behold and admire the outward gestures of the performers, and understand not the words. Therefore we decree, that henceforward no plays, *Comediarum*, shall be admitted into the convents of nuns," &c. *Sur. Concil.* tom. iv. p. 852. Binius, tom. iv. p. 765.

chester, under the year 1490. "In larvis et aliis indumentis Puerorum videntium Dominum apud Wulsey, et Constabularium Castri Winton, in apparatu suo, necnon subintrantium omnia monasteria civitatis Winton, in Festo sancti Nicholai."¹ That is, "In furnishing masks and dresses for the boys of the convent, when they visited the bishop at Wulvesey-palace, the constable of Winchester-castle, and all the monasteries of the city of Winchester, on the festival of saint Nicholas." As to the divine service being performed by children on these feasts, it was not only celebrated by boys, but there is an injunction given to the Benedictine nunnery of Godstowe in Oxfordshire by Archbishop Peckham, in the year 1278, that on Innocents' day, the public prayers should not any more be said in the church of that monastery per parvulas, that is, by little girls.²

The ground-work of this religious mockery of the boy-bishop, which is evidently founded on modes of barbarous life, may perhaps be traced backward at least as far as the year 867.³ At the Constantinopolitan synod under that year, at which were present three hundred and seventy-three bishops, it was found to be a solemn custom in the courts of princes, on certain stated days, to dress some layman in the episcopal apparel, who should exactly personate a bishop both in his tonsure and ornaments: as also to create a burlesque patriarch, who might make sport for the company.⁴ This scandal to the clergy was anathematized. But ecclesiastical synods and censures have often proved too weak to suppress popular spectacles, which take deep root in the public manners, and are only concealed for a while, to spring up afresh with new vigour.

After the form of a legitimate stage had appeared in England, mysteries and miracles were also revived by Queen Mary, as an appendage of the papistic worship:

En, iterum crudelia retro
Fata vocant!⁵

In the year 1556 a goodly stage-play of the *Passion of Christ* was

¹ MS. *Ibid.* See *supr.*

² Harpsfield, *Hist. Eccl. Angl.* p. 441, edit. 1622.

³ Or, 870. [See Mr. Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*.—Price.]

[A tract explaining the origin and ceremonial of the Boy-bishop was printed [by John Gregory] in 1649 with the following title: "*Episcopus puerorum in die Innocentium*; or a Discoverie of an ancient Custom in the church of Sarum, making an anniversary Bishop among the Choristers." This tract was written in explanation of a stone monument still remaining in Salisbury Cathedral, representing a little boy habited in episcopal robes, with a mitre upon his head, a crozier in his hand, &c. and the explanation was derived from a chapter in the ancient statutes of that church entitled *De Episcopo Choristarum*. See a long account of the *Boy Bishop*, in Hawkins's *History of Music*, vol. ii.—Park. See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Episcopus Puerorum*.]

⁴ Surius, *Concil.* iii. 529. 539. Baron. *Annal.* Ann. 869. § 11. See *Concil.* Basil. num. xxxii. The French have a miracle play, *Beau Miracle de S. Nicolas*, to be acted by twenty-four personages, printed at Paris, for Pierre Sergeant, in quarto, without date, Bl. lett. [Compare Brunet, iii. 1742-3.]

⁵ Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 495.

presented at the Grey-Friars in London, on Corpus-Christi day, before the lord mayor, the privy-council, and many great estates of the realm.¹ Strype also mentions, under the year 1557, a stage-play at the Grey-Friars, of the *Passion of Christ*, on the day that war was proclaimed in London against France, and in honour of that occasion.² On Saint Olave's day in the same year, the holiday of the church in Silver-street which is dedicated to that saint, was kept with much solemnity. At eight of the clock at night began a stage-play of goodly matter, being the miraculous history of the life of that saint,³ which continued four hours, and was concluded with many religious songs.⁴

Many curious circumstances of the nature of these miracle-plays appear in a roll of the churchwardens of Basingborne in Cambridge-shire, which is an account of the expenses and receptions for acting the play of *Saint George* at Basingborne, on the feast of Saint Margaret in the year 1511. They collected upwards of four pounds in twenty-seven neighbouring parishes for furnishing the play. They disbursed about two pounds in the representation. These disbursements are to four minstrels, or waits, of Cambridge for three days, v s. vj d. To the players, in bread and ale, iij s. ij d. To the garnement-man for garnements, and propyrts,⁵ that is, for dresses, decorations, and implements, and for play-books, xx s. To John Hobard, brotherhoode preeffe, that is, a priest of the guild in the church, for the play-book, ij s. viij d. For the crofte, or field in which the play was exhibited, j s. For propyrte-making, or furniture, j s. iv d. "For fish and bread, and to setting up the stages, iv d." For painting three fanchoms and four tormentors, words which I do not understand, but perhaps phantoms and devils. . . . The rest was expended for a feast on the occasion, in which are recited, "Four chicken for the gentlemen, iv d." It appears from the *Coventry Plays* that a temporary scaffold only was erected for these performances; and Chaucer says of Abfolon, a parish-clerk,

¹ MSS. Cotr. Vitell. E. 5. Strype. See *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, Pref. p. xii.

² Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. ch. xlix.

³ Strype, *ibid.* p. 379. With the religious pageantries, other ancient sports and spectacles also, which had fallen into disuse in the reign of Edward VI., began to be now revived. As thus, "On the 30th of May was a goodly May-game in Fenchurch-street, with drums, and guns, and pikes, with the Nine Worthies who rid. And each made his speech. There was also the morice-dance, and an elephant and castle, and the lord and lady of the May appeared to make up this show." Strype, *ibid.* 376, ch. xlix.

⁴ Ludovicus Vives relates that it was customary in Brabant to present annual plays in honour of the respective saints to which the churches were dedicated: and he betrays his great credulity in adding a wonderful story in consequence of this custom. *Not. in Augustin. De Civit. Dei*, lib. xii. cap. 25, C.

⁵ The property-room is yet known at our theatres. ["Malone (Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 25), following Warton, has remarked upon the use of the word *properties* in the reign of Henry VIII., but we here (in the *Castle of Perseverance*) find it employed, and in the same sense of furniture, apparel, &c., a century earlier."—*Collier.*]

and an actor of King Herod's character in these dramas, in the *Miller's Tale*:

And for to shew his lightnesse and maistr
He playth Herawdes on a scaffold hie.¹

Scenical decorations and machinery² which employed the genius and invention of Inigo Jones, in the reigns of the first James and Charles, seem to have migrated from the masques at court to the public theatre. In the instrument here cited, the priest who wrote the play, and received only two shillings and eight pence for his labour, seems to have been worse paid in proportion than any of the other persons concerned. The learned Oporinus, in 1547, published in two volumes a collection of religious interludes, which abounded in Germany. They are in Latin, and not taken from legends, but from the Bible.

The Puritans were highly offended at these religious plays now revived.³ But they were hardly less averse to the theatrical repre-

¹ *Mill. T.* v. 275. Mr. Steevens and Mr. Malone have shown that the accommodations in our early regular theatres were but little better. That the old scenery was very simple, may partly be collected from an entry in a Computus of Winchester College, under the year 1579, viz. *Comp. Burs. Coll. Winton.* A. D. 1573. Eliz. xv.—“Custos Aulae. Item, pro diversis expensis circa Scaffoldam erigendam et deponendam, et pro Domunculis de novo compositis cum carriagio et recarriagio *ly joystes*, et aliorum mutuatorum ad eandem Scaffoldam, cum *vj linckes* et *jº* [uno] duodeno candelarum, pro lumine expensis, tribus noctibus in Ludis comediarum et tragediarum, xxv s. viij d.” Again in the next quarter, “Pro *vij ly linckes* deliberatis pueris per M. Informatorem [the schoolmaster] pro Ludis, iij s.” Again, in the last quarter, “Pro removendis Organis e templo in Aulam et præparandis eisdem erga Ludos, v s.” By Domunculis I understand little cells of board, raised on each side of the stage, for dressing-rooms, or retiring places. Strype, under the year 1559, says that after a grand feast at Guildhall, “the same day was a scaffold set up in the hall for a play.” *Ann. Ref.* i. 197, edit. 1725.

² [Dr. Ashby suggests that some distinction should perhaps be made between scenery and machinery: and it may probably be ceded that scenic decoration was first introduced.—*Park.*]

³ A very late scripture-play is *The History of Jacob and Esau*, 1568. But this play had appeared in Queen Mary's reign, “An enterlude vpon the history of Jacobe and Esawe,” &c. Licensed to Henry Sutton in 1557. *Registr. Station.* A. fol. 23, a. It is certain, however, that the fashion of religious interludes was not entirely discontinued in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; for I find licensed to T. Hackett, in 1561, “A newe enterlude of the ij synnes of Kynge Dauid.” *Ibid.* fol. 75, a. [For other pieces of the same nature, see *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, arts. *Plays*, *Wager*, &c. The “enterlude of the synnes of Kynge Dauid” is not known, unless it was the *ballad* reprinted by Chappell (*Roxburghe Ballads*, vol. i. part ii.)] Ballads on Scripture subjects are now innumerable. Peele's *David and [Bethsabe]* is a remain of the fashion of Scripture-plays. I have mentioned the play of *Holofernes* acted at Hatfield in 1556. *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, p. 87. In 1556 was printed “A ballet intituled the historye of Judith and Holofernes.” *Registr.* ut sup. fol. 154, b. And *Registr. B.* fol. 227. In Hearne's *Manuscript Collection* there is a licence, dated 1571, from the queen, directed to the officers of Middlesex, permitting one John Swinton Powlter, “to have and use some plays and games at or uppon nine severall sondaies,” within the said county. “And because greate resort of people is lyke to come thereunto, he is required, for the preservation of the peace and for the sake of good order, to take with him four or five discreet and substantial men of those places where the games shall be put in practice, to superintend duringe the contynuanee of the games or plays.” Some of

sentation of the Christian than of the Gentile story: yet for different reasons. To hate a theatre was a part of their creed, and therefore plays were an improper vehicle of religion. The heathen fables they judged to be dangerous, as too nearly resembling the superstitions of popery.¹

In this transient view of the origin and progress of our drama, which was incidentally suggested by the mention of Bafton's supposed comedies, I have trespassed upon future periods. But I have chiefly done this for the sake of connection, and to prepare the mind of the reader for other anecdotes of the history of our stage, which will occur in the course of our researches, and are reserved for their respective places. I could have enlarged what is here loosely thrown together, with many other remarks and illustrations: but I was unwilling to transcribe from the collections of those who have already treated this subject with great comprehension and penetration, and especially from the author of the Supplement to the Translator's Preface of Jarvis's *Don Quixote*.² I claim no other merit from this digression, than that of having collected some new anecdotes relating to the early state of the English and French stages, the original of both which is intimately connected, from books and manuscripts not easily found, nor often examined. These hints may perhaps prove of some service to those who have leisure and inclination to examine the subject with more precision.

SECTION VII.



EDWARD III. was an illustrious example and patron of chivalry. His court was the theatre of romantic elegance. I have examined the annual rolls of his wardrobe, which record various articles of costly stuffs delivered occasionally for the celebration of his tournaments; such as standards, pennons, tunics, caparisons, with other splendid furniture of the same sort: and it appears that he commanded these solemnities to be kept, with a magnificence superior to that of former ages, at Lichfield, Bury, Guilford, Eltham, Canterbury, and twice at Windsor, in little more than the space of one year.³ At his tri-

the exhibitions are then specified, such as "Shotinge with the brode arrowe, The lepping for men, The pitchynge of the barre," and the like. But then follows this very general clause, "With all suche other games, as haue at anye time heretofore or now be lycensed, used, or played." *Coll. MSS. Hearne*, tom. lxi. p. 78. One wishes to know whether any interludes, and whether religious or profane, were included in this instrument.

¹ [Opposite sects, as Romanists and Protestants, often adopt each other's arguments. See Bayle's *DiB.—Afsby*.]

² [This subject is resumed in Sect. 34.]

³ *Comp. J. Cooke, Provisoris Magn. Garderob.* ab ann. 21 Edw. III. ad ann. 23, *supr. citat.* I will give, as a specimen, this officer's account for the tournament

umphant return from Scotland, he was met by two hundred and thirty knights at Dunstable, who received their victorious monarch with a grand exhibition of these martial exercises. He established in the castle of Windsor a fraternity of twenty-four knights, for whom he erected a round table, with a round chamber still remaining, according to a similar institution of King Arthur.¹ Antist treats the notion, that Edward in this establishment had any retrospect to King Arthur, as an idle and legendary tradition.² But the fame of Arthur was still kept alive, and continued to be an object of veneration long afterwards: and however idle and ridiculous the fables of the round table may appear at present, they were then not only universally known, but firmly believed. Nothing could be more natural to such a romantic monarch, in such an age, than the renovation of this most ancient and revered institution of chivalry. It was a prelude to the renowned order of the garter, which he soon afterwards founded at Windsor, during the ceremonies of a magnificent feast, which had been proclaimed by his heralds in Germany, France, Scotland, Burgundy, Hainault, and Brabant, and lasted fifteen days.³ We must not try the modes and notions of other ages, even if they have arrived to some degree of refinement, by those of our own. Nothing is more probable, than that this latter foundation of Edward III. took its rise from the exploded story of the garter of the Countess of Salisbury.⁴ Such an origin is interwoven with the manners and ideas of the times.

at Canterbury. "Et ad faciendum diversos apparatus pro corpore regis et suorum pro hastiludio Cantuariensi, an. reg. xxii. ubi Rex dedit octo hermesia de syndone ynde facta, et vapulata de armis dom. Stephani de Cofyngton militis, dominis principibus comiti Lancastrie, comiti Suffolcie, Johanni de Gray, Joh. de Beauchamp, Roberto Maule, Joh. Chandos, et dom. Rogero de Beauchamp. Et ad faciendum unum harnesium de bokeram albo pro rege, extencellato cum argento, viz. tunicam et scutum operata cum dictamine Regis,

‘ Hay Hay the wythe swan
By Godes soule I am thy man.’

Et croparium, pectorale, testarium, et arcenarium extencellata cum argento. Et ad parandum i. tunicam Regis, et i. clocam et capucium cum c. garteris paratis cum boucles, barris, et pendentibus de argento. Et ad faciendum unum dublettum pro Rege de tela linea habente, circa manicas et fimbriam, unam borduram de panno longo viridi operatam cum nebulis et vineis de auro, et cum dictamine Regis, *li is as it is.*" Membr. xi. [A.D. 1349.]

¹ Walsing. p. 117.

² *Ord. Gart.* ii. 92.

³ Barnes, i. ch. 22, p. 292. Froissart, c. 100. Antist, *ut supr.*

⁴ Ashmole proves, that the orders of the Annuciada, and of the Toison d'Or, had the like origin. *Ord. Gart.* pp. 180, 181. Even in the ensigns of the order of the Holy Ghost, founded so late as 1578, some love-mysteries and emblems were concealed under ciphers introduced into the blazonry. See Le Laboureur, *Contin. des Mem. de Castelnau*, p. 895. "Il y eut plus de mysteres d'amourettes que de religion," &c. But I cannot in this place help observing, that the fantastic humour of unriddling emblematical mysteries, supposed to be concealed under all ensigns and arms, was at length carried to such an extravagance, at least in England, as to be checked by the legislature. By a statute of Queen Elizabeth, a severe penalty is laid, "on all fond phantastical prophecies upon or by the occasion of any arms, fields, beastes, badges, or the like things accustomed in arms, cognifauces, or signetts," &c. *Statut.* c. Eliz. ch. 15, A.D. 1564.

Their attention to the fair sex entered into every thing. It is by no means unreasonable to suppose, that the fantastic Collar of SS., worn by the knights of this Order, was an allusion to her name. Froissart, an eye-witness, and well acquainted with the intrigues of the court, relates at large the king's affection for the countess, and particularly describes a grand carousal which he gave in consequence of that attachment.¹ The first festival of this order was not only adorned by the bravest champions of Christendom, but by the presence of Queen Philippa, Edward's consort, accompanied by three hundred ladies of noble families.² The tournaments of this stately reign were constantly crowded with ladies of the first distinction, who sometimes attended them on horseback, armed with daggers, and dressed in a succinct soldier-like habit or uniform prepared for the purpose.³ In a tournament exhibited at London, sixty ladies on palfries appeared, each leading a knight with a gold chain. In this manner they paraded from the Tower to Smithfield.⁴ Even Philippa, a queen of singular elegance of manners,⁵ partook so much of the heroic spirit which was universally diffused, that just before an engagement with the king of Scotland, she rode round the ranks of the English army encouraging the soldiers, and was with some difficulty persuaded or compelled to relinquish the field.⁶ The Countess of Montfort is another eminent instance of female heroism in this age. When the strong town of Hennebond, near Rennes, was besieged by the French, this redoubted amazon rode in complete armour from street to street on a large courser, animating the garrison.⁷ Finding from a high tower that the

¹ *Ubi sup.* [In *Notes and Queries*, from time to time, a good deal of information has been printed on this subject. See General Indices.]

² They soon afterwards regularly received robes, with the knights companions, for this ceremony, powdered with garters. *Ashmol. Ord. Gart.* 217, 594. And *Antis.* ii. 123.

³ Knyghton, *Dec. Script.* p. 2597.

⁴ Froissart *apud* Stow's *Surv. Lond.* p. 718, edit. 1616. At an earlier period, the growing gallantry of the times appears in a public instrument. It is in the reign of Edward I. Twelve jurymen depose upon oath the state of the king's lordship at Woodstock: and among other things it is solemnly recited, that Henry II. often resided at Woodstock, "pro amore cujusdam mulieris nomine Rosamunda." Hearne's *Avesbury*, Append. 331.

⁵ And of distinguished beauty. Hearne says, that the statuarys of those days used to make Queen Philippa a model for their images of the Virgin Mary. *Glofr. Rob. [de] Brun.* p. 349. He adds, that the holy virgin, in a representation of her assumption was constantly figured young and beautiful; and that the artists before the Reformation generally "had the most beautiful women of the greatest quality in their view, when they made statues and figures of her." *Ibid.* p. 550.

⁶ Froissart, i. c. 138.

⁷ Froissart says, that when the English proved victorious, the countess came out of the castle, and in the street kissed Sir Walter Manny the English general, and his captains, one after another, twice or thrice, *comme noble et valliant dame*. On another like occasion, the same historian relates, that she went out to meet the officers, whom she kissed and sumptuously entertained in her castle, i. c. 86. At many magnificent tournaments in France, the ladies determined the prize. See *Mem. anc. Cheval.* i. p. 175, *seq.* p. 223, *seq.* An English squire, on the side of the French, captain of the castle of Beaufort, called himself *le Pourpursuant d'amour*, in 1369. Froissart, i. i. c. 64. In the midst of grand engagements between the French and English armies,

whole French army was engaged in the assault, she issued, thus completely accoutred, through a convenient postern at the head of three hundred chosen soldiers, and set fire to the French camp.¹ In the mean time riches and plenty, the effects of conquest, peace and prosperity, were spread on every side; and new luxuries were imported in great abundance from the conquered countries. There were few families, even of a moderate condition, but had in their possession precious articles of dress or furniture: such as silks, fur, tapestry, embroidered beds, cups of gold, silver, porcelain and crystal, bracelets, chains, and necklaces, brought from Caen, Calais, and other opulent foreign cities.² The increase of rich furniture appears in a foregoing reign. In an act of Parliament of Edward I.³ are many regulations, directed to goldsmiths, not only in London, but in other towns, concerning the sterling alloy of vessels and jewels of gold and silver, &c.; and it is said, "Gravers or cutters of stones and seals shall give every one their just weight of silver and gold." It should be remembered, that about this period Europe had opened a new commercial intercourse with the ports of India.⁴ No fewer than eight sumptuary laws, which had the usual effect of not being observed, were enacted in one session of parliament during this reign.⁵ Amid these growing elegances and superfluities, foreign manners, especially of the French, were perpetually increasing; and the native simplicity of the English people was perceptibly corrupted and effaced. It is not quite uncertain that masques had their beginning in this reign. These shews, in which the greatest personages of the court often bore a part, and which arrived at their height in the reign of Henry VIII., encouraged the arts of address and decorum, and are symptoms of the rise of polished manners.⁶

In a reign like this, we shall not be surprised to find such a poet as Chaucer, with whom a new era in English poetry begins, and on whose account many of these circumstances are mentioned, as they serve to prepare the reader for his character, on which they throw no inconsiderable light.

But before we enter on so ample a field, it will be perhaps less embarrassing, at least more consistent with our prescribed method,

when perhaps the interests of both nations are vitally concerned, Froissart gives many instances of officers entering into separate and personal combat to dispute the beauty of their respective mistresses. *Hist.* l. ii. ch. 33, 43. On this occasion an ingenious French writer observes, that Homer's heroes of ancient Greece are just as extravagant: who, in the heat of the fight, often stop on a sudden, to give an account of the genealogy of themselves or their horses. *Mem. anc. Cheval.* ubi supr. Sir Walter Manny, in 1343, in attacking the castle of Guigard, exclaims, "Let me never be beloved of my mistress, if I refuse this attack," &c. Froissart, i. 81.

¹ Froissart, i. c. 80. Du Chesne, p. 656. Mezeray, ii. 3, p. 19, *seq.*

² Walsing. *Ypodigm.* 121, *Hist.* 159.

³ A.D. 1300, Edw. I. *an.* 28, cap. xx.

⁴ Anderlon, *Hist. Comm.* i. p. 141.

⁵ *Ann.* 37 Edw. III. cap. viii. *seq.*

⁶ This spirit of splendour and gallantry was continued in the reign of his successor. See the genius of that reign admirably characterized, and by the hand of a master, in Bishop Lowth's *Life of Wykeham*, p. 222. See also Holinsh. *Chron.* sub ann. 1399, p. 508, col. 1.

if we previously display the merits of two or three poets, who appeared in the former part of the reign of Edward III., with other incidental matters.

The first of these is Richard [Rolle, of] Hampole, [near Doncaster, commonly called Richard Hampole, who is said to have been a hermit] of the Order of Saint Augustine. He was a doctor of divinity, and lived a solitary life near the nuns of Hampole, four miles from Doncaster in Yorkshire.¹ The neighbourhood of this female society could not withdraw our recluse from his devotions and his studies. He [died] in the year 1349.² His Latin theological tracts, both in prose and verse, in which Leland justly thinks he has displayed more erudition than eloquence, are numerous. His principal pieces of English rhyme are a *Paraphrase of part of the Book of Job*, of the *Lord's Prayer*, and of the *seven penitential Psalms*, and the *Pricke of Conscience*. But our hermit's poetry, which indeed from these titles promises but little entertainment, has no tincture of sentiment, imagination, or elegance. The following verses are extracted from the *Pricke of Conscience*, one of the most common manuscripts in our libraries, and I prophesy that I am its last transcriber.³ But I must observe first that this piece is divided into seven parts. I. Of man's nature. II. Of the world. III. Of death. IV. Of purgatory. V. Of the day of judgment. VI. Of the torments of hell. VII. Of the joys of heaven.⁴

¹ Wharton, App. ad Cave, p. 75. *Sæcul. Wickley*.

² [Of the Black Death of 1348, no doubt.—F. The fact of not finding MSS. older than the fourteenth century would seem to show that Hampole compiled the *Pricke of Conscience* but a few years before his death (A.D. 1349).—*Morris*.]

³ [The *Pricke of Conscience*, notwithstanding Warton's prediction to the contrary, has been edited by Richard Morris, 1863, 8vo., his text being chiefly taken from Cotton. MS. Galba, E. ix.; an imperfect copy of the poem in Canterbury cathedral library exhibits, I am informed by Mr. Furnivall, dialectic changes, as *ho* for *wha*, *to* for *till*, *schal* for *sal*, &c. The ensuing extracts are from edit. Morris, pp. 11-12. In the *Archæologia*, vol. xix. pp. 314-335, 4to. 1821, is a long analysis of Hampole's poem, by Mr. J. B. Yates, illustrated by extracts; in which the writer advocates with very doubtful success the poetical talent of the recluse against the opinion of Warton. But it is somewhat remarkable, that previous to the publication of Mr. Yates's paper, a pamphlet of limited circulation (only fifty copies having been printed), written by W. J. Walter, appeared, 8vo. London, 1816, pp. 17, under the title of *An Account of a MS. of ancient English Poetry, entitled Clavis Scientie, or Bretayne's Skyll-key of Knawing, by John de Dageby, monk of Fountains Abbey*. This MS. in reality, is only one of the numerous copies existing of Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience*, somewhat altered and abbreviated, with some lines added at the conclusion by the scribe John de Dageby, whose name appears in the colophon. Mr. Walter gives a copious analysis of the work; and, like his successor Mr. Yates, is inclined to place the author much higher in the scale of poets than Warton's critique would justify.—*Madden*. The MS. was subsequently fold to the British Museum.]

⁴ Stimulus Conscientie *thys boke ys namyd*. MS. Ashmol. fol. No. 41. There is much transposition in this copy. In MS. Digb. Bodl. 87, it is called *The Key of knowing*. Princ.

“The myȝt of the fader admiti
The wisdom of the sone al witti.”

[Mr. Corser's MS. adds an eighth part of the state of the world after doomsday; it

Here bygynnes the first part
 That es of mans wrechednes,
 First whan God made al thyng of noght,
 Of the foulest matere man he wrought
 That was of erthe; for twa skyls to halde;
 The tane es forthy that God walde
 Of foul matere, mak man in despyte
 Of Lucifer that fel als tyte
 Til helle, als he had synned thurgh pryde,
 And of alle that with him fel that tyde;
 For thai suld have than the mare shenshepe,
 And the mare sorow when thai tuk kepe,
 That men of swa foul matere suld duelle
 In that place fra whilk thai felle.
 The ather skille es this to se;
 For man suld here the meker be
 Ay, when he lese and thynkes in thought,
 Of how foul mater he is wrought;
 For God, thurgh his gudnes and his myght,
 Wold, that then that place in heven bright
 Was made voyde thurgh the syn of pryde,
 It war filled ogayne on ilka fyde
 Thurgh the vertu of mekenes,
 That euen contrary til pride es;
 Than may na man thider come
 Bot he that meke es, and boghsome;
 That proves the gospelle that says us,
 How God sayd till his disciples thus:

Nisi efficiamini sicut parvulus, non intrabitis in regnum celorum.

Bot yhe, he sayde, be als a childe,
 That es to say, bathe meke and inylde,
 Yhe sal noght entre, be na way
 Hevenryke that sal last ay, &c.

In the Bodleian library I find three copies of the *Pricke of Conscience* very different from that which I have just cited. In these this poem is given to Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, above mentioned.¹ With what probability, [we need not] inquire; but I hasten to give a specimen. I will premise, that the language and handwriting are of considerable antiquity, and that the lines are here much longer. The poet is describing the future rewards and punishments of mankind:¹

The goode soule schal have in his herynge
 Gret joye in hevene and grete lykyng:

is the end of the fifth in edit. Morris, with additions.—F. But all these texts are decidedly very inferior to the MS. in the Northern dialect selected by Dr. Morris.]

¹ Compare Tanner, *Bibl.* p. 375, col. 1, and p. 374, col. 1, notes. MSS. Ash. 52, pergamen. 4to. Laud. K. 65, pergamen. And G. 21. And MSS. Digb. 14 [and 87. The former begins:]

“The mist of the fader of hevene
 The wit of his son with his giftes sevene.”

[Other copies are in Royal MS. Br. Mus. 18 A v; Harl. MS. 2261; Add. MS. 11,305. See MS. Ashmol. 60 (Catalogue, p. 306, col. 1), and MSS. 41 and 52.—F.]

For hi schulleth yhere the aungeles song,
 And with hem hi schulleth¹ syng ever among,
 With delitable voys and swythe clere,
 And also with that hi schullen have [there]
 All other maner of ech a melodye,
 Off well lykyng noyse and menstrelsyne,
 And of al maner tenes² of musike,
 The whuche to mannes herte³ migte like,
 Withoute eni maner of travayle,
 The whuche schal never cesse ne fayle :
 And so schil⁴ schal that noyse bi, and so swete,
 And so delitable to smale and to grete,
 That al the melodye of this worlde heer
 That ever was yhuryd ferre or neer
 Were therto bote⁵ as forwe⁶ and care
 To the blisse that is in hevene well zare.⁷

Of the contrarie of that blisse.

Wel grete forwe schal the synfolke⁸ bytyde,
 For he schullen yhere in ech a fyde⁹
 Well gret noyse that the feondes¹⁰ willen make,
 As thei al the worlde scholde alto schake ;
 And alle the men lyvyng that migte hit yhere,
 Scholde here wit¹¹ loofe, and no lengere alyve dure.¹²
 Thanne hi¹³ schulleth for forwe here hondes wringe,
 And ever weilaway hi schullethe be cryinge, &c.
 The gode men schullethe have worschipes grete,
 And eche of them schal be yset in a riche sete,
 And ther as kynges be ycrownid fayre,
 And digte with riche perrie¹⁴ and so ysetun¹⁵ in a chayre,
 And with stonnes of vertu and preciouste of choysse,
 As David [thus sayth]¹⁶ to god with a mylde voyse,
Pojuisfi, domine, super caput eorum, &c.
 "Lorde," he seyth, "on his heved thou settest wel arigt
 A coronne of a pretious ston richeliche ydigt."
 [Ac¹⁷] so fayre a coronne nas never non ylene,
 In this worlde on kynges hevede,¹⁸ ne on quene :
 For this coronne is the coronne of blisse,
 And the ston is joye whereof hi schilleth never misse, &c.
 The synfolke schulleth, as I have afore ytold,
 Ffele outrageous hete, and afterwards to muche colde ;
 For now he schullethe freose, and now brenne,¹⁹
 And so be ypynd that non schal other kenne,²⁰
 And also be ybyte with dragonnes felle and kene,
 The whuche schulleth hem destrye outrigte and clene,
 And with other vermyn and bestes felle,
 The whiche beothe nougt but fendes of helle, &c.

We have then this description of the New Jerusalem :

[¹ Not Hampole's version ; I cannot find this in edit. Morris. See it, slightly altered, in Add. MS. 11,305, leaf 119, *verso*.]

² tunes.

³ beorte. W.

⁴ shrill.

⁵ but.

⁶ sorrow.

⁷ prepared.

⁸ sinners.

⁹ either side.

¹⁰ devils.

¹¹ senses.

¹² remain.

¹³ they.

¹⁴ precious stones.

¹⁵ seated.

¹⁶ thy said. W.

¹⁷ and. W.

¹⁸ Head.

¹⁹ This is the Hell of the monks, which Milton has adopted.

²⁰ know.

This cite is yfet on an hei hille,
 That no synful man may therto tille :¹
 The whuche ich likne to beril clene,
 [Ac²] so fayr berel may non be yfene.
 Thulke hyl is nougt elles to underfondynge
 Bote holi thugt, and defyr brennyng,
 The whuche holi men hadde heer to that place,
 Whiles hi hadde on eorthe here lyves space ;
 And I likne, as ymay ymagene in my thought,
 The walles of hevene, to walles that were ywrougt
 Of all maner precioufe stones yfet yfere,³
 And yfemented with gold brignt and clere ;
 Bot so brignt gold, ne non so clene,
 Was in this worlde never yfene, &c.
 The wardes of the cite of hevene brignt
 I likne to wardes that wel were ydygt,
 And clenly ywrougt and fotely enteyled,
 And on silver and gold clenly anamayled,⁴ &c.
 The torettes⁵ of hevene grete and smale
 I likne to the torrettes of clene cristale, &c.

I am not, in the mean time, quite convinced that any MS. of the *Pricke of Conscience* in English belongs to Hampole. That this piece is a translation from the Latin appears from these verses :

Therefore this boke is in Englis drawe
 Of fele⁶ matters that bene unknowe
 To lewed men that are unkonande,⁷
 That con no latyn undirfonde.⁸

¹ come.² and. W.³ together.⁴ aumayled.⁵ turrets.⁶ many.⁷ ignorant.

⁸ MSS. Digb. *ut sup.* 87, *ad princip.* [Mr. Ritson conceived this passage "by no means conclusive of a Latin original," and inferred that it might "be nothing more than [Hampole's] reason for preferring English to Latin." Lydgate, however, considered Hampole as a translator only :

"In perfit living which passeth poysie
 Richard hermite contemplative of sentence

Drough in Englishe, the Pricke of Conscience."—*Bochas*, f. 217, b.

And this opinion is confirmed by the exprefs acknowledgment of the King's MS.

"Now have I firfte as I undertoke
 Fulfilled the sevene materes of this boke,
 And oute of Latyn I have hem idrawe,
 The whiche to som man is unknowe,
 And namely to lewed men of Yngelonde
 That konneth no thinge but Englishe undirfonde.
 And therfor this tretys oute drawe I wolde
 In Englishe that men undirfonde hit sholde,
 And prikke of conscience is this tretys yhote, &c.
 For the love of our Lord Jesu Christ now
 Praieth specially for hym that hit oute drow,
 And also for hym that this boke hath iwrite here,
 Whether he be in water, other in londe ferre or nere."

Indeed it would be difficult to account for the existence of two English versions, essentially differing in metre and language ; though generally agreeing in matter, unless we assume a common Latin original. Which of these is Hampole's translation, can only be decided by inspecting a copy once in the possession of Dr. Monro ; and which Hampole "left to the society of Friars-minors at York, after his and his brother's death." No manuscript, which has fallen under the Editor's notice,

The Latin original in prose, entitled *Stimulus Conscientiæ*,¹ was most probably written by Hampole: and it is not very likely that he should translate his own work. The author and translator were easily confounded. As to the copy of the English poem given to Bishop Grosseteste, he could not be the translator, to say nothing more, if Hampole wrote the Latin original. On the whole, whoever was the author of the two translations, at least we may pronounce with some certainty, that they belong to the reign of Edward III.

makes mention of Hampole in the text; nor has he been able to discover any shadow of authority for attributing to this faintest bard, the pieces numbered from 6 to 16 in Mr. Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica*.—Price.]

¹ In the Cambridge MS. of Hampole's *Paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer*, above mentioned, containing a prolix description of human virtues and vices, at the end this remark appears. "Explicit quidam tractatus super Pater noster secundum Ric. Hampole qui obiit A.D. MCCCLXXXIV." [But the true date of his death is in another place, viz. 1349.] MSS. More, 215, Princ.

"Almighty God in trinite
In whom is only perfonnes thre."

The *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, mentioned also before, seems to have existed first in Latin prose under the title of *Parvum Job*. The English begins thus:

"Lieff lord my soul thou spare."


In Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud. F 77. 5, &c. &c. It is a paraphrase of some Excerpta from the book of Job. The *seven penitential Psalms* begin thus:

"To goddis worshippe that dere us bougt."

MSS. Bodl. Digb. 18. Hampole's *Expositio in Psalterium* is not uncommon in English. [Copies are in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and at Eton College.—F.] It has a preface in English rhymes in some copies, in praise of the author and his work. Pr. "This bleffyd boke that hire." MSS. Laud. F 14, &c. Hampole was a very popular writer. Most of his many theological pieces seem to have been translated into English soon after they appeared: and those pieces abound among our MSS. Two of his tracts were translated by Richard Mifyn, prior of the Carmelites at Lincoln, about the year 1435. The *Incendium Amoris* at the request of Margaret Hellingdon a recluse. Princ. "To the askynge of thi desire." And *De Emendatione Vitæ*. "Tarry thou not to oure." They are in the translator's own handwriting in the library of C.C.C. Oxon. MSS. 237. I find other ancient translations of both these pieces. Particularly, *The Pricke of Love after Richard Hampol tretynge of the three degrees of love*. MSS. Bodl. Arch. B. 65, f. 109. As a proof of the confusions and uncertainties attending the works of our author, I must add, that we have a translation of his tract *De Emendatione* under this title: *The form of perfyte living, which holy Richard the hermit wrote to a recluse named Margarete*. MS. Vernon. But Margarete is evidently the recluse, at whose request Richard Mifyn, many years after Hampole's death, translated the *Incendium Amoris*. These observations, to which others might be added, are sufficient to confirm the suspicions insinuated in the text. Many of Hampole's Latin theological tracts were printed very early at Paris and Cologne.

[In 1866, Mr. Perry edited some of his English Prose Treatises for the Early English Text Society. See Mr. Perry's Preface.]

SECTION VIII.¹

N this section we shall proceed to give some account of the poem which is commonly called the *Vision of Piers the Plowman*, with several extracts from the best edition. The remarks of our earlier antiquaries upon the subject are frequently misleading; and in the following sketch the reader's attention will often be most invited to those points on which preceding writers have gone most widely astray.

The title of the poem has been constantly misunderstood. In the MSS. it is *Dialogus de Petro Plowman*, and is divided into two sections; the former being *Visio Willelmi de Petro Plowman*, and the latter *Visio ejusdem [or Vita] de Dowel, Dobet, et Dobeſt*; from which it follows that the author's name was *William*, and that "*Piers Plowman*" is the subject of the poem. Yet it is quite usual, in nearly all text books, to speak of *Piers Plowman's Vision* as though *Piers Plowman* were the author's name! But this mistake is made even by Spenser, in his epilogue to the *Shepherd's Calendar*, where he alludes to Chaucer under the name of Tityrus, and next speaks of "the Pilgrim that the Ploughman playde awhyle." Let it be noted that the term "*Piers Plowman's Vision*" is sheer nonsense, because the words "*of Piers the Plowman*" mean "*concerning Piers the Plowman*," *of* not being here the sign of a possessive case.

This blunder is frequently doubled by confusing the "*VISION*" with an imitation of it by another author, which will be considered in the next section.

The name of the author of the *VISION* is not certainly known, but all accounts agree in giving him the name of *LANGLAND*, whilst numerous allusions in the poem concur with the Latin title in assigning to him the Christian name of *WILLIAM*. There are two notices of him, in handwriting of the fifteenth century. The one, discovered on the flyleaf of a MS. of the poem in Trinity College, Dublin, by Sir F. Madden, is as follows, "*Memorandum, quod Stacy de Rokayle, pater Willielmi de Langland, qui Stacius fuit generosus, et morabatur in Schipton vnder Whicwode [about 4 miles from Burford, co. Oxford] tenens domini le Spenser in comitatu Oxon. qui predictus Willielmus fecit librum qui vocatur Perys Ploughman.*" The other is on the flyleaf of a MS. (numbered cxxx) now in the possession of Lord Ashburnham, which says—"Robert or william langland made pers ploughman;" beneath which is added, in the handwriting of John Bale—"Robert Langlande, natus in comitatu Salopie in villa Mortimers Clybery in the Clayland and within viij miles of Malvern hills, scripsit piers ploughman," &c.

[¹ Communicated by the Rev. W. W. Skeat, whose text and remarks have been for the most part substituted for those of Warton and his earlier editors.]

It has commonly been assumed that we know very little more about the author than this; but the internal evidence of his poem really reveals much more, quite enough, in fact, to give us a clear conception of him. But it is necessary first to give some account of the poem itself, and to correct the common notion which assigns to it the date 1362, as if it were most of it written all at once.

The poem assumes at least five shapes in the various MSS., of which more than forty are still extant. Two of these are due to errors of copyists, but it is clear that three of these forms are due to the author himself, and that he rewrote his poem, not once only, but twice, and that rather long intervals intervened between the first and second, and between the second and third, versions.

(A). The *first* version, which is by much the shortest, and written with great rapidity and vigour, consists of a prologue and twelve Passus. It may be called the A-text, or the “Vernon” text, as the best copy of it exists in the Vernon MS. in the Bodleian library, and it has been published by the Early English Text Society, with the title—“The Vision of William concerning *Piers [the] Plowman*, together with *Vita de Dowel, Dobet, et Dobeſt, ſecundum Wit et Reſoun*, by William Langland, A. D. 1362.”¹ None of these MSS. contains the twelfth Passus, except the University Coll. MS., which preserves only eighteen lines of it; but there is one *complete* copy in the Bodleian library, viz. MS. Rawl. Poet. 137, in which the twelfth Passus begins at fol. 40. The date 1362 was suggested by Tyrwhitt, who observed with great sagacity and justice, that the “Southwestern wind on a Saturday at even,” which the author refers to as a recent event, was certainly the terrible storm of Saturday, Jan. 15, 1361-2, which is noticed by many writers, and in particular, is thus recorded by Thorn, apud Decem Scriptores: “A. D. MCCCXLII. 15 die Januarii, circa horam *vesperarum*, ventus vehemens notus australis Africus tantâ rabie erupit,” &c.² Mention is made in the same passage of the poem (p. 52) of “these pestilences,” *i. e.* the pestilences of 1348-1349, and 1361-1362. This version consists of about 2567 lines.

(B). Not foreseeing the popularity which his poem was destined to enjoy, the author resorted to the not uncommon device of killing himself off, in the concluding lines of the earliest version, where he says:

“Wille³ wiffe thurgh inwit⁴ · thou woſt wel the ſothe,
That this ſpeche was ſpedelich · and ſped him wel faſte,
And wroughthe that here is wryten⁵ · and other werkes bothe

¹ [Edited from the “Vernon” MS., collated with MS. R. 3. 14 in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. Harl. 875 and 6041, the MS. in University College, Oxford, MS. Douce, 323, &c.: by the Rev. W. W. Skeat; London, 1867.]

² [Cf. Walsingham, ed. H. T. Riley, vol. i. p. 296, Fabyan’s Chronicle, ed. Ellis, p. 475, Hardyng’s Chronicle, ed. Ellis, p. 330.]

³ [*i. e.* William, the author himself.]

⁴ [conscience.]

⁵ [*i. e.* the Vision of Do-wel; the “other werkes” refer to the Vision of Piers the Plowman, properly so called.]

Of *peres the plowman* · and mechel puple¹ also ;
 And whan this werk was wrought · ere wille² myghte aspie,
 Deth delt him a dent³ · and drof him to the erthe,
 And [he] is clofed vnder clom⁴ · crift haue his soule !”

And so the matter rested for nearly fifteen years. But the grief of the whole nation at the death of the Black Prince, the disquieting political events of 1377, the last year of Edward III., the dissatisfaction of the commons with the conduct of the Duke of Lancaster, roused our poet, as it roused other men. Then it was that, taking his text from Ecclesiasticus, x. 16, *Væ terræ ubi rex puer est*, he composed his famous version of the well-known fable of the rats wishing to bell the cat, a fable which has never been elsewhere told so well or so effectively. Then it was that, taking advantage of his now more extensive acquaintance with Scripture, and his familiarity with the daily scenes of London life, he rewrote and added to his poem till he had trebled the extent of it, and multiplied the number of his Latin quotations by seven. The additions are, most of them, exceedingly good, and distinguished by great freedom and originality of thought ; indeed, we may say that, upon the whole, the “B-text” is the best of the three, and the best suited for giving us a fair idea of the author’s peculiar powers. The complete text comprises the two Visions, viz. of Piers Plowman, and of Do-wel, Do-bet, and Do-beft ; the former consisting of a Prologue and seven Passus, and the latter of three Prologues and ten Passus, viz. a Prologue and six Passus of Do-wel, a Prologue and three Passus of Do-bet, and a Prologue and 1 Passus of Do-beft. But in many (perhaps all) of the MSS. the distinctions between the component parts are not much regarded, and in some there is no mention of Do-wel, Do-bet, and Do-beft whatever, but the whole is called *Liber* (or *Dialogus*) *de petro plowman*, and made to consist of a Prologue and twenty Passus. Not to go into further details, it is necessary to add that there are two perfect MSS. of it which are of special excellence, and which do not greatly vary from each other ; from one of these, MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. B. 15, 17, Mr. Wright printed his well-known and convenient edition of the whole poem, and the other, MS. Laud 581, forms the basis of the text published by the Early English Text Society in 1869. Other good MSS. of this version are Rawl. Poet. 38 (which contains some extra lines), MS. Dd. 1. 17, in the Cambridge University library, MS. 79 in Oriel College, Oxford, &c.

The B-text was also printed by Robert Crowley, in 1550, from a very good MS. Indeed, Crowley printed three impressions of it in the same year, the first and scarcest being the most correct, and the third (called “second” impression on the title-page) being the worst. Crowley’s edition was very incorrectly reprinted by Owen Rogers in 1561.

The third version was probably not composed till 1380 or even later, or, still more probably, it contains additions and revisions made

¹ [much people.]

³ [dint, blow.]

² [*i. e.* William, the author himself.]

⁴ [loam, clay.]

at various periods later than 1378. Throughout these the working of the same mind is clearly discernible, but there is a tendency to diffuseness and to a love for theological subtleties. It is of still greater length, containing a Prologue and nine Passus of *Piers the Plowman*, a Prologue and six Passus of *Do-wel*, a Prologue and three Passus of *Do-bet*, and a Prologue and one Passus of *Do-best*; or, according to the shorter notation, a Prologue and twenty-two Passus. It may be remarked that the short poem of *Do-best* stands almost exactly the same in both the B and C versions.

An edition of this text was printed (very incorrectly) by Dr. Whitaker, in 1813, from a MS. now belonging to Sir Thomas Phillipps.¹

We may safely date the A-text about A.D. 1362, the B-text about A.D. 1377, and the C-text about A.D. 1380. To assume the date 1362 for all three is to introduce unnecessary confusion.

Besides this extraordinary work, with its three varying editions, I hold that we are indebted to the same author for a remarkable poem on the *Deposition of Richard II.* of course written in 1399, and which has been twice printed by Mr. Wright, the more convenient edition being that published for the Camden Society in 1838. This is not the place to discuss a question of some difficulty, and concerning which a careful reader may form an opinion for himself, and can come, I think, to no other conclusion. It is true that Mr. Wright has expressed a different opinion, but he was misled by a marginal note in his MS. to which he attached some importance.²

Returning to the author, we may now piece together the following account of him, which is probably true, and, at any rate, rests chiefly upon his own statements. At the time of writing the B-text of *Do-wel*, he was forty-five years of age, and he was therefore born

¹ [For further information concerning the MSS. see the prefaces to the Early English Text Society's edition, and a pamphlet also published by the same society, with the title—"Parallel Extracts from twenty-nine MSS. of *Piers Plowman*," &c.: ed. Skeat, 1866.]

For general remarks upon the poem, see the same prefaces; Mr. Wright's preface to his edition of 1842, reprinted in 1856; Professor Morley's *English Writers*, vol. i.: Marsh's *Lectures on the Origin and History of the English Language*, 8vo., 1862, p. 296, &c.; and a fine passage in Dean Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. vi. p. 536, ed. 1855. Respecting Whitaker's edit. 1813, to extracts from which the former editors of Warton very uselessly, as the present writer thinks, devoted several pages, Mr. Wright has observed: "Dr. Whittaker was not well qualified for this undertaking; he also laboured under many disadvantages; he had access to only three manuscripts, and those not very good ones; and he has not chosen the best text even of these. Unless he had some reason to believe that the book was originally written in a particular dialect, he ought to have given a preference to that among the oldest manuscripts, which presents the purest language."]

² [See his edition (Camd. Soc.) p. vi., where "liber hic" should have been printed "liber homo," an error which vitiates the whole argument. The unique copy of this poem is found in MS. Ll. 4. 14. in the Cambridge University library, where it follows a copy of *Piers the Plowman*, and is in the same handwriting with it, though that of course proves but little. I argue from internal evidence, of which I can adduce a great deal.]

about A.D. 1332, probably at Cleobury Mortimer. His father and his friends put him to school (possibly in the monastery at Great Malvern), made a *clerk* or scholar of him, and taught him what holy writ meant. In 1362, at the age of about thirty, he wrote the A-text of the poem, without any thought of continuing or enlarging it. In this he refers to Edward III. and his son the Black Prince, to the murder of Edward II., to the great pestilences of 1348 and 1361, to the treaty of Bretigny in 1360, and Edward's wars in Normandy, and also most particularly to the great storm of wind which took place on Saturday evening, Jan. 15th, 1361-2.¹ This version of the poem he describes as having been partly composed in May, whilst wandering on Malvern Hills, which are thrice mentioned in the part rightly called *Piers the Plowman*. In the introduction or prologue to *Do-wel*, he describes himself as wandering about all the summer till he met with two Minorite Friars, with whom he discoursed concerning *Do-wel*. It was probably not long after this that he went to reside in London, with which he already had some acquaintance; there he lived in Cornhill, with his wife Kitte and his daughter Calote, for many long years.² In 1377, he began to expand his poem into the B-text, wherein he alludes to the accession of Richard II. in the words—"ȝif I regne any while,"³ and also explicitly to the dearth in the dry month of April, 1370, when Chichester was mayor; a dearth due to the excessive rains in the autumn of 1369. Chichester was elected in 1369 (probably in October) and was still mayor in 1370. In Riley's *Memorials of London*, p. 344, he is mentioned as being mayor in that very month of April in that very year in the words—"Afterwards, on the 25th day of April in the year above-mentioned, it was agreed by John de Chichestre, Mayor," &c. It is important to insist upon this, because the MS. followed by Mr. Wright, in company with many inferior ones, has a corrupt reading which turns the words—"A þoufand and thre hondreth · tweis *thretty* and ten" into "twice *twenty* and ten," occasioning a great difficulty, and misleading many modern writers and readers, since the same mistake occurs in Crowley's edition. Fortunately, the Laud MS. 581 and MS. Rawl. Poet. 38 set us right here, and all difficulty now vanishes; for it is easily ascertained that Chichester was mayor in 1369-70, and at no other time, having never been re-elected. Stow and other old writers have the right date. In the C-text, written at some time after 1378, the poet represents himself as still in London, and in the commencement of Passus v. (also called Passus vi, as in Whitaker) gives us several particulars concerning himself, wherein he alludes to his own tallness, saying that he is too "long" to stoop low, and he has also some remarks concerning the sons of freemen which imply that he

¹ [That is, the year 1362, which was formerly called 1361, when the year was supposed not to begin till March. See, for these allusions, B-text, Pass. iii. 186, 188; iv. 45; and v. 14.]

² [C-Text, Pass. v.]

³ [B. iv. 177.]

was himself the son of a franklin or freeman, and born in lawful wedlock. He wore the clerical tonsure, probably as having taken minor orders, and earned a precarious living by finging the *placebo*, *dirige*, and "seven psalms" for the good of men's souls; for, ever since his friends died who had first put him to school, he had found no kind of life that pleased him except to be in "these long clothes," and by help of such (clerical) labour as he had been bred up to he contrived not only to live "*in* London, but *upon* London" also. The supposition that he was married (as he says he was) may, perhaps explain why he never rose in the church. He has many allusions to his extreme poverty. Lastly, in the deposition of Richard II. he describes himself as being in Bristol in the year 1399, when he wrote his last poem. This poem is but short, and in the only MS. wherein it exists, terminates abruptly in the middle of a page, and it is quite possible that it was never finished. This is the last trace of him, and he was then probably about sixty-seven years of age, so that he may not have long survived the accession of Henry IV. In personal appearance, he was so tall that he obtained the nickname of "Longe Wille," as he tells us in the line :

"I have lyued in londe," quod I · "my name is Longe wille."¹

This nickname may be paralleled from Mr. Riley's *Memorials of London*, p. 457, where we read of John Edward, "otherwise called Longe Jack," under the date 1382. In Passus xv. (B-text) he says that he was loath to reverence lords or ladies, or persons dressed in fur, or wearing silver ornaments; he never would say "God save you" to serjeants whom he met, for all of which proud behaviour, then very uncommon, people looked upon him as a fool. It requires no great stretch of imagination to picture to ourselves the tall gaunt figure of Long Will in his long robes and with his shaven head, striding along Cornhill, saluting no man by the way, minutely observant of the gay dresses to which he paid no outward reverence. It ought also to be observed how very frequent are his allusions to lawyers, to the law-courts at Westminster, and to legal processes. He has a mock-charter, beginning with the ordinary formula *Sciatis presentes et futuri*, a form of making a will, and in one passage (B-text, Pass. xi.) he speaks with such scorn of a man who draws up a charter badly, who interlines it, or leaves out sentences, or puts false Latin in it, that I think we may fairly suppose him to have been conversant with the writing out of legal documents, and to have eked out his subsistence by the small sums received for doing so. The various texts are so consistent, that we may well suppose him to have been his own scribe in the first instance. Indeed, there are some reasons for supposing the MS. *Laud Misc.* 581 to be an autograph copy.

Wood confuses Langland with John Maluerne, a continuation of

¹ [See Wright's edition, p. 304, where "quod I" is printed "quod he," an error which a collation of many MSS. has removed. It is very curious that the words *londe*, *longe*, and *wille* in this line form *Wille Longelonde* when read backwards.]

the *Polychronicon*, who is said to have been a fellow of Oriel, and was certainly a prior of the Benedictine monastery at Worcester.

The poem itself contains a series of distinct visions, which the author imagines himself to have seen, while he was sleeping, after a long ramble on Malverne-hills in Worcestershire. It is a satire on the vices of almost every profession; but particularly on the corruptions of the clergy, and the absurdities of superstition. These are ridiculed with much humour and spirit, couched under a strong vein of allegorical invention.

But it is untrue that Langland adopts the style of the Anglo-Saxon poets, as has been well shown by Mr. Marsh who, in the passage already referred to, thus refutes this notion:

"The Vision of the Ploughman furnishes abundant evidence of the familiarity of its author with the Latin Scriptures, the writings of the fathers, and the commentaries of Romish expositors, but exhibits very few traces of a knowledge of romance literature. Still the proportion of Norman-French words, or at least of words which, though of Latin origin, are French in form, is quite as great as in the works of Chaucer.¹ The familiar use of this mixed vocabulary, in a poem evidently intended for the popular ear, and composed by a writer who gives no other evidence of an acquaintance with the literature of France, would, were other proof wanting, tend strongly to confirm the opinion I have before advanced, that a large infusion of French words had been not merely introduced into the literature, but incorporated into the common language of England; and that only a very small proportion of those employed by the poets were first introduced by them.

"The poem, if not altogether original in conception, is abundantly so in treatment. The spirit it breathes, its imagery, the turn of thought, the style of illustration and argument it employs, are *as remote as possible from the tone of Anglo-Saxon poetry*, but exhibit the characteristic moral and mental traits of the Englishman as clearly and unequivocally as the most national portions of the works of Chaucer or of any other native writer."

The whole poem is in alliterative verse, not because Langland wished here again to "imitate the Anglo-Saxon style," but because that rhythm was more thoroughly English than any other kind, and familiar to most Englishmen, especially in the northern and western parts. Neither did the necessity of finding similar initial letters cramp his expression, as Warton intimated; for it is clear that Langland was often careless about his alliteration, and wrote with great ease, sacrificing sound to sense in every case of perplexity. It ought further to be noticed that the poem is something more than a satire; the author, dreaming like another Bunyan, sees his ideal type of excellence in the shape of Piers the Ploughman, and his chief

¹ [The Prologue to Piers the Plowman and the first 420 lines of Chaucer's Prologue alike contain 88 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon words. See Marsh, *Lectures on English*; 1st Series, p. 124.]

aim is to develop the whole history of the religious life of man, so that Piers answers in some sense to Bunyan's "Christian," though he is still more like "Greatheart." In fact, Piers is spoken of under several aspects. At one time he is the honest and utterly truthful labourer, whose strong common sense can give good advice to his betters; at another, he is identified with the human nature of Christ; and again, he represents the whole Christian church in its primitive and best condition. At all times he is the impersonation of the spiritual part of human nature which ever wars against evil, but which can never wholly triumph in this world. Unless this be kept in view, the poem indeed seems wanting in unity.

The satire is conducted by the agency of several allegorical personages, such as Avarice, Bribery, Simony, Theology, Conscience, &c. There is much imagination in the following picture, which is intended to represent human life and its various occupations:

Thanne gan I to meten · a merueilouſe ſweuene,¹
 That I was in a wilderneſſe · wiſt I neuer where;
 As I bihelde in-to þe eft · an hiegh to þe ſonne,
 I ſeiȝ a toure on a toſt · trielich ymakid;
 A depe dale binethe · a dongeon þere-Inne,
 With depe dyches & derke · and dredful of ſight.
 A faire felde ful of folke · fonde I there bytwene,
 Of alle maner of men · þe mene and þe riche,
 Worchyng and wandryng · as þe worlde asketh.
 Some putten hem to þe plow · played ful ſelde,
 In ſettyng and in ſowyng · ſwonken ful harde,
 And wonnen that waitours · with glotonye deſtroyeth.
 And ſome putten hem to pruyde, &c.

The following extracts from Passus viii-x. (Text B.) are not only striking specimens of our author's allegorical satire, but contain much sense and observation of life, with some strokes of poetry:

Thus yrobed in ruffet · I romed aboute
 Al a ſomer ſeſoun · for to ſeke dowel,²
 And frayned³ ful oft · of folke þat I mette,
 If ani wyȝte wiſte · where dowel was at Inne,⁴
 And what man he miȝte be · of many man I axed.
 ¶ Was neuere wyȝte, as I went · þat me wiſſe couthe⁵
 Where þis lede lēged⁶ · laſſe ne more;
 ¶ Tyl it biſel on a fryday · two freres I mette,
 Maiſtres of þe Menoures⁷ · men of grete witte.
 I hailſed hem hendely⁸ · as I hadde lēned,
 And preyed hem *par* charitee · ar þei paſſed forther,
 If þei knewe any contre · or coſtes, as þei went,
 Where þat dowel dwelleth · doth me to wytene.⁹
 ¶ For þei ben men on þis molde · þat moſte wyde walken,
 And knowen contrees, and courtes · and many kynnes places,¹⁰
 Bothe prynces paleyſes · and pore mennes cotes,
 And do-wel and do-yuel · where þei dwelle bothe.
 ¶ "Amonges vs," *quod* þe Menours · "þat man is dwellynge,
 And euere hath, as I hope · and euere ſhal here-after."

¹ B-text; Prol. ll. 11-22 (ed. Skeat).

² [Do-well.]

³ [inquired.]

⁴ [lived.]

⁵ [could inform me.]

⁶ [lingered, dwelt.]

⁷ [Friars Minors.]

⁸ [saluted them civilly.]

⁹ [know.]

¹⁰ [Places of many a kind; *i. e.* many sorts of places.]

¶ "Contra," quod I as a clerke · and comfod to disputen,
 And seide hem sothli, "*sepcies · in die cadit iustus*;
 Seuene sythes,¹ seith þe boke · synneth þe ristful.
 And who-so synneth," I seyde · "doth yuel, as me pinketh,
 And dowel and do-yuel · mow nouȝt dwelle togideres.
Ergo, he nys nauȝt alway · amonge ȝow freres;
 He is othervhile ellis where · to wisse þe peple."
 ¶ "I shal sey þe, my sone" · seide þe frere þanne,
 "How seuene sithes þe sad man² · on þe day synneth;
 By a forbiſene,"³ quod þe frere · "I shal þe faire shewe.
 ¶ Lat Brynge a man in a bote · amydde a brode water,
 þe wynde and þe water · and the bote waggyng
 Maketh þe man many a tyme · to falle and to stonde;
 For stonde he neuere so styf · he stonbleth ȝif he moeue;
 Ac ȝit is he sauſ and sounde · and so hym bihoueth,
 For ȝif he ne arise þe rather · and rauȝte to þe ſtiere;
 þe wynde wolde, wyth þe water · þe bote ouerthrowe;
 And þanne were his lyf losse · þourgh laccheſſe⁴ of hym-self.
 ¶ And þus it falleth," quod þe frere · "bi folke here on erthe;
 þe water is likned to þe worlde · þat wanyeth and wexeth,
 þe godis of þis grounde aren like · to þe grete waves,
 þat as wyndes and wederes · walweth aboute.
 þe bote is likned to owre body · þat brutel is of kynde,
 þat þorough þe fende and þe fleſhe · and þe frele worlde
 Synneth þe sadman · a day, seuene sythes.
 ¶ Ac dedly synne doth he nouȝt · for dowel hym kepith,
 And þat is charite þe champiou · chief help aȝein synne;
 For he strengtheth man to stonde · and stereth mannes soule,
 And þowgh bi body bow · as bote doth in þe water,
 Ay is bi soule sauſ · but if bi-self wole
 Do a dedly synne · and drenche so bi soule;
 God wole ſuffre wel bi ſleuthe · ȝif bi-self lyketh.
 For he ȝaf þe to ȝeresȝue · to ȝeme wel bi-ſelue,
 And þat is witte and fre wille · to euery wyȝte a porciouȝ,
 To fleghyng foules · to fiſches & to beſtes.
 Ac man hath moſte þerof · and moſte is to blame,
 But if he worche wel þer-with · as dowel hym techeth."
 ¶ "I haue no kynde knowyng," quod I · "to conceyue alle ȝowre wordes,
 Ac if I may lyue and loke · I shal go lerne bettere."
 "I bikenne þe cryſt, quod he · þat on þe croſſe deyde."
 And I seyde, "þe ſame · ſaue ȝow fro myſchaunce,
 And ȝiue ȝow grace on þis grounde · good men to worthe."
 ¶ And þus I went wide-where · walkyng myne one,
 By a wilde wilderneſſe · and bi a wode-ſyde.
 Bliffe of þo briddes · abyde me made,
 And vnder a lynde⁵ vpon a launde · lened I a ſtounde,⁶
 To lythe⁷ þe layes · þe louely foules made.
 Murthe of her mouthes · made me þere to ſlepe;
 þe merueillouſeſt meteles · mette me⁸ þanne
 þat euer dremed wyȝte · in worlde, as I wene.
 ¶ A moche man, as me þouȝte · and lyke to my-ſelue
 Come and called me · by my kynde⁹ name.
 "What artow," quod I þo · "þat þou my name knoweſt?"
 "þat þou woſt wel," quod he · "and no wyȝte bettere."

¹ [times.]² [sober, good man.]³ [similitude, example.]⁴ [laziness.]⁵ [lime-tree.]⁶ [a while.]⁷ [listen to.]⁸ [I dreamed.]⁹ [own; i. e. Christian name of "Will."]

¶ "Wote I what þow art?" "bought," seyde he þanne,
 "I haue suwed¹ þe þis seuene ȝere · sey þow me no rather?"
 ¶ "Art þow thought?" quod I þo · "þow coutheft me wisse
 Where þat dowel dwelleth · and do me þat to knowe?"
 ¶ "Dowel and dobet · and dobest þe thridde," quod he,
 "Aren three faire vertues · and beth nauȝte fer to fynde.
 Who-so is trewe of his tonge · and of his two handes,
 And þorough his labour or þorough his londe · his lyfode wynneth,²
 And is trusti of his tailende³ · taketh but his owne,
 And is nouȝt dronkenlew⁴ ne dedeignous · dowel hym folweth.
 Dobet doth ryȝt þus · ac he doth moche more;
 He is as low as a lombe · and loueliche of speche,
 And helpeth alle men · after þat hem nedeth;
 þe bagges and þe bigurdeles · he hath to-broken⁵ hem alle,
 þhat þe Erl auarous · helde, and his heires;
 And þus with Mammonaes moncie · he hath made hym frendes,
 And is ronne in-to Religious · and hath rendred⁶ þe bible,
 And precheth to the poeple · feynt Poules wordes,
Libenter sufferis insipientes, cum sitis ipsi sapientes,
 'And suffreth þe vnwise · with ȝow for to libbe,
 And with gladd wille doth hem gode · for so god ȝow hoteth.'
 ¶ Dobest is aboue bothe · and bereth a bisshopes crosse,
 Is hoked on þat one ende · to halie⁷ men fro helle.
 A pyke is on þat potente⁸ · to pulte adown þe wikked,
 þat wayten any wikkednesse · dowel to tene.
 And dowel and dobet · amonges hem ordeigned
 To croune one to be kynge · to reule hem bothe;
 þat ȝif dowel or dobet · did aȝein dobest,
 þanne shal þe kynge come · and casten hem in yrens,
 And but if dobest bede for hem · þei to be ȝere for euere.
 ¶ Thus dowel and dobet · and dobest þe thridde,
 Crouned one to be kynge · to kepen hem alle,
 And to reule þe Reume · bi her⁹ thre wittes,
 And none other-wise · but as þei thre assented."
 ¶ I thonked thouȝt þo · þat he me þus tauȝte;
 "Ac ȝete sauouereþ me nouȝt þi seggyng · I coueite to lerne
 How dowel, dobet, and dobest · don amonges þe peple."
 ¶ "But witte conne wisse þe," quod þouȝt · where þo¹⁰ thre dwelle;
 Ellis wote I none þat can · þat now is alyue."
 ¶ þouȝte and I thus · thre days we ȝeden,¹¹
 Disputyng vpon dowel · day after other,
 And ar we were ywar · with witte gan we mete.
 He was longe and lene · liche to none other,
 Was no pruyde on his apparaille · ne pouerte noȝther,
 Sadde of his semblaunt · and of soft chiere.
 I dorste meue no matere · to make hym to iangle,
 But as I bad þouȝt þo · be mene bitwene,
 And put forth somme purpos · to prouen his wittes,
 What was dowel fro dobet · and dobest fram hem bothe.
 ¶ þanne þouȝt in þat tyme · seide þise wordes,
 "Where dowel, dobet · and dobest ben in londe,
 Here is wille wolde ywyte · yif witte couthe teche hym,
 And whether he be man or [no] man · þis man fayne wolde aspye,
 And worchon as þei thre wolde · þis is his entente."

¹ [followed.]² [The Oriol MS. has *layling*, i.e. dealing, reckoning.]³ [broken in pieces.]⁴ [staff.]⁵ [went, travelled.]⁶ [translated.]⁷ [their.]⁸ [earns.]⁹ [drunken.]¹⁰ [hale, draw.]¹¹ [those.]

PASSUS IX. (B-TEXT).

"Sire dowel dwelleth," *quod* witte · "nouȝt a day hennes,
 In a castel þat kynde¹ made · of foure kynnes þinges;
 Of erthe and eyre is it made · medled togideres,
 With wynde and with water · witterly² enioyned.
 Kynde hath clofed þere-Inne · craftily with-alle,
 A lemman³ þat he loueth · like to hym-selue,
Anima she hatte · ac enuye hir hateth,
 A proude pryker of Fraunce · *prynceps huius mundi*,
 And wolde winne hir away · with wyles, and he myȝte.
 ¶ Ac kynde knoweth þis wel · and kepeth hir þe bettere,
 And hath do hir with sire dowel · is duke of þis marches.
 Dobet is hir damoisele · fire doweles douȝter,
 To serue this lady lelly⁴ · bothe late and rathe.⁵
 Dobeft is aboute bothe · a bisschopes pere;
 Þat he bit, mote be do⁶ · he reuleth hem alle;
Anima þat lady · is ladde bi his lerynge.
 ¶ Ac þe conftable of þat castel · þat kepeth al þe wacche,
 Is a wys knyȝte with-al · fire Inwitte he hatte,
 And hath fyue feyre sones · bi his first wyf;
 Sire sewel and saywel · and herewel þe hende,
 Sire worche-wel-wyth-þine-hande · a wiȝte man of strengthe,
 And fire godfrey gowel · gret lordes for sothe.
 Þise fyue ben sette · to saue þis lady *anima*,
 Tyl kynde come or sende · to saue hir for euere."
 ¶ "What kynnes thyng is kynde," *quod* I · "canstow me telle?"
 ¶ "Kynde," *quod* witte, "is a creatour · of alle kynnes þinges;
 Fader and fourmow · of al þat euere was maked;
 And þat is þe gret god · þat gynnyng had neuere,
 Lorde of lyf and of lyȝte · of lyffe and of peyne.
 Angeles and al þing · aren at his wille.
 Ac man is hym moſte lyke · of marke⁷ and of schafte;
 For þorough þe worde þat he spake · wexen forth beſtes,
Dixit, & facta sunt;
 ¶ And made man likkeſt · to hym-self one,
 And Eue of his ribbe-bon · with-outen eny mene.
 For he was ſynguler hym-self · and ſeye *faciamus*,
 As who ſeiȝh, 'more mote here-to · þan my worde one;
 My myȝte mote helpe · now with my ſpeche.'
 Riȝte as a lorde ſholde make *lettres* · and hym lakked *perchemyn*,
 pough he couth write neuere ſo wel · ȝif he had no penne,
 þe *lettre[s]* for al þe lordſhip · I leue were neuere ymaked.
 ¶ And ſo it ſemeth bi hym · as þe bible telleth,
 Pere he ſeyde, *dixit, & facta sunt*;
 He moſte worche with his worde · and his witte ſhewe.
 And in þis manere was man made · þorough myȝte of god almiȝti,
 With his worde and werkemanſhip · and with lyf to laſte.
 And þus god gaf hym a gooft⁸ · of þe godhed of heuene,
 And of his grette grace · graunted hym bliſſe,
 And þat is lyf þat ay ſhal laſt · to al his lynage after.
 And þat is þe caſtel þat kynde made · *caro* it hatte,
 And is as moche to mene · as man with a ſoule;
 And þat he wrouȝt with werke · and with worde bothe,
 þorough myȝte of þe maieste · man was ymaked.

¹ [nature.]⁴ [loyally.]⁷ [form, fashion.]³ [verily, truly.]⁵ [early.]⁸ [spirit.]² [lover.]⁶ [What he bids, muſt be done.]

¶ Inwit and alle wittes · clofed ben þer-inne,
 For loue of þe lady *anima* · þat lyf is ynempned ;¹
 Ouer al in mannes body · he walketh and wandreth,
 Ac in þe herte is hir home · and hir moſte² reſte.
 Ac Inwitte is in þe hed · and to the herte he loketh,
 What *anima* is lief or loth³ · he lat⁴ hir at his wille ;
 For after þe grace of god · þe gretteſt is Inwitte.

PASSUS X. (B-TEXT.)

Thanne hadde witte a wyf · was hote dame ſtudyē,
 þat lene was of lere · and of liche bothe.
 She was wonderly wroth · þat witte me þus tauȝte,
 And al ſtarynge dame ſtudyē · ſterneliſ ſeyde,
 “ Wel artow wyſe,” quod ſhe to witte · “ any wyſdomes to telle
 To flatereres or to folis · þat frantyk ben of wittes ! ”
 And blamed hym and banned hym · and badde hym be ſtylle,
 With ſuche wiſe wordes · to wiſſen any ſottes ;
 And ſeyde, “ *noli mittere*, man · margerye perlis
 Amanges hogges, þat han · hawes at wille.
 þei don but dryuele þer-on · draffe⁵ were hem leuere⁶
 þan al þe precious perre · þat in paradys wexeth.⁷
 I ſey it bi ſuche,” quod ſhe · “ þat ſheweth bi her werkes,
 þat hem were leuer⁸ londe · and lordſhip on erthe,
 Or riccheſſe or rentis · and reſte at her wille,
 þan alle þe ſothe ſawes · þat ſalamon ſeyde euere.
 ¶ Wiſdome and witte now · is nouȝt worth a carſe,⁹
 But if it be carded with coueytiſe⁹ · as clotheres kemben here wolle.
 Who-ſo can controue deceytes · an conſpire wronges,
 And lede forth a loue-day¹⁰ · to latte with treuthe ;
 He þat ſuche craſtes can · to conſeille is clepid ;
 þei lede lordes with leſynges · and bilyeth treuthe.
 ¶ Iob þe gentel · in his geſtes witneſſeth,
 þat wikked men, þei welden · þe welthe of þis worlde,
 And þat þei ben lordes of eche a londe · þat oute of lawe libbeth ;
*Quare impij viuunt ? bene eſt omnibus, qui preuaricantur & inique
 agunt !*
 ¶ Þe ſauter ſeyth þe ſame · bi ſuche þat don ille,
Ecce ipſi peccatores habundantes ; in ſeculo optinuerunt diuitias.
 ‘ Lo ! ’ ſeiþ holy letterrure · ‘ whiche lordes beth þis ſhrewes ! ’
 þilke þat god moſte gyueþ · leſte good þei deleþ,
 And moſte vnkynde to be comune · þat moſte catel weldeth ;¹¹
Que perfecisti, destruxerunt ; iuſtus autem quid fecit !
 Harlotes for her harlotrye · may haue of her godis,
 And iaperes and iogeloures¹² · and iangelers of geſtes.
 ¶ Ac he þat hath holy writte · ay in his mouth,
 And can telle of Tobye · and of þe twelue apoſtles,
 Or prechen of þe penaunce · þat pilat wrouȝt
 To Iheſu þe gentil · þat Iewes to-drowe :—
 Litel is he loued · þat ſuche a leſſoun ſcheweth,
 Or daunted or drawe forth · I do it on god hym-ſelf !

¹ [named.] ² [greatest, chief.] ³ [unwilling.] ⁴ [leadeth.]
⁵ [dregs, refuse ; used by Chaucer.]
⁶ [dearer to them ; i. e. they would rather have.] ⁷ [grows.]
⁸ [Some MSS. have *kerſe*, i. e. a water-cress.] ⁹ [covetouſneſs.]
¹⁰ [A day for the amicable ſettlement of differences was called a *love-day*.]
¹¹ [wields ; i. e. poſſeſſes.] ¹² [jugglers.]

¶ But þo¹ þat feynen hem folis · and with faityng² libbeth,
 Aȝein þe lawe of owre lorde · and lyen on hem-selue,
 Spitten and spewen · and speke foule wordes,
 Drynken and dryuelen · and do men for to gape,
 Lickne men and lye on hem · þat leneth hem no ȝiftes,
 þei conne³ namore mynstralcy · ne musyke, men to glade,
 Than Munde þe mylnere · of *multa fecit deus*!
 Ne were here vyle harlotrye · haue god my treuthe,
 Shulde neuere Kyng ne kniȝt · ne chanoux of seynt Poules
 ȝyue hem to her ȝeresȝiue · þe ȝifte of a grote!
 ¶ Ac murthe and mynstralcy · amonges men is nouthe
 Leccherye, losengerye,⁴ · and loscles tales;
 Glotonye and grete othes · þis murthe þei louieth.
 ¶ Ac if þei carpen⁵ of cryst · þis clerkis and þis lewed,
 Atte mete in her murthes · whan mynstralles ben stille,
 panne telleth þei of þe trinite · a tale other tweyne,
 And bringen forth a balled resous · and taken Bernard⁶ to witnesse,
 And putten forth a *presumpcioun* · to preue þe sothe.
 þus þei dryuele at her deyse⁷ · þe deite to knowe,
 And gnawen god with þe gorge⁸ · whan her gutte is full.
 ¶ Ac þe careful⁹ may crye · and carpen atte ȝate,
 Bothe asfyngred¹⁰ and a-thurst · and for chele¹¹ quake;
 Is none to nymen hym nere · his noye¹² to amende,
 But hoen on hym as an hounde · and hoten hym go þennes.
 Litel loueth he þat lorde · þat lent hym al þat blisse,
 þat þus parteth with þe pore · a parcel whan hym nedeth.
 Ne were mercy in mene men · more þan in riche,
 Mendinantȝ meteles¹³ · miȝte go to bedde.
 God is moche in þe gorge · of þise grete maystres,
 Ac amonges mene men · his mercy and his werkis;
 And so seiþ þe fauter · I haue ysseye it ofte,

*Ecce audiuius eam in effrata, inuenimus eam in campis
 filue.*

Clerkes and other kynnes men · carpen of god faste,
 And haue hym moche in þe mouthe · ac mene men in herte.
 ¶ Freres and faitoures · han founde suche questiouus
 To plesē with proude men · sithen þe pestilence tyme,
 And præchen at seint poules · for pure enuye of clerkis,
 þat folke is nouȝte ferved in þe feith · ne fre of her goodes,
 Ne fori for her synnes · so is pryde waxen
 In religioun in alle þe rewme · amonges riche & pore,
 þat prayeres haue no power · þe pestilence to lette.
 And ȝette þe wrecches of his worlde · is none ywar bi other,
 Ne for drede of þe deth · withdrawe nouȝt her pryde,
 Ne beth plentyuous to þe pore · as pure charite wolde,
 But in gaynesse and in glotonye · for-glotton her goode hem-selue,
 And breken nouȝte to þe beggar · as þe boke techeth,

Frangere esurienti panem tuum, &c.

And þe more he wynneth and welt · welthes & riccheſſe,
 And lordeth in londes · he lasse good he deleth.

¶ Thobyte telleth ȝow nouȝt so · take hede, ȝe riche,
 How þe boke bible · of hym bereth witnesse:

*Si tibi sit copia, habundanter tribue; si autem exiguum,
 illud impertiri stude libenter:—*

Who-so hath moche, spene manliche · so meneth Thobie,

¹ [thofe.]

² [speak.]

³ [poor.]

¹³ [Beggars supperleis.]

³ [deceit.]

⁶ [St. Bernard.]

¹⁰ [very hungry.]

³ [know.]

⁷ [dais, high table.]

¹¹ [cold.]

⁴ [flattery.]

⁸ [throat.]

¹² [trouble.]

And who-so litel weldeth · reule him þer-after ;
 For we haue no *lettre* of owre lyf · how longe it shal dure.
 Suche lessounes lordes shulde · louie to here,
 And how he myzte most meyne · manliche fynde.
 ¶ Nouȝt to fare as a fitheler or a frere · for to seke festes,
 Homelich at other mennes houses · and hatyen her owne.
 Elyng¹ is þe halle · vche daye in þe wyke,
 þere þe lorde ne þe lady · liketh nouȝt to fyttē.
 Now hath vche riche a reule² · to eten bi hym-selue
 In a pryue parloure · for pore mennes sake,
 Or in a chambre with a chymneye · and leue þe chief halle,
 þat was made for meles · men to eten Inne;
 And al to spare to spille · þat spende shal an other.
 ¶ And whan þat witte was ywar · what dame studye tolde,
 He bicome so confus · he couth nouȝt loke,
 And as doumbe as deth · and drowe hym arrere³;
 ¶ And for no carpyng I couth after · ne knelyng to þe grounde,
 I myzte gete no greyn · of his grete wittis,
 But al laughyng he louted · and loked vpon studye,
 In signe þat I shulde · biſeche hir of grace.
 ¶ And whan I was war of his wille · to his wyf gan I loute,
 And seyde, “mercy, madame · þowre man shal I worthe,
 As longe as I liue · bothe late & rathe,
 Forto worche þowre wille · be while my lyf dureth,
 With þat þe kenne me kyndely · to knowe what is dowel.”
 ¶ “For þi mekenesse, man,” quod she · “and for þi mylde speche,
 I shal kenne þe to my cosyn · þat clergie is boten.⁴
 He hath wedded a wyf · with-Inne þis syx monethes,
 Is sybbe⁵ to þe seuene artz · scripture is hir name.
 Þei two, as I hope · after my techyng,
 Shullen wissen þe to dowel · I dar it vndertake.”
 ¶ Þanne was I also fayne⁶ · as foule⁷ of faire morwe,
 And gladder þan þe gleman⁸ · þat golde hath to ȝifte,
 And axed hir be heighe weye · where þat clergie⁹ dwelte,
 “And telle me some token,” quod I · “for tyme is þat I wende.”
 ¶ “Axe þe heighe waye,” quod she · “hennes to suffre-
 Bothe-wel-&-wo · ȝif þat þow wolt lerne,
 And ryde forth by riccheſſe · ac rest þow nauȝt þerinne,
 For if þow couplest þe þer-with · to clergie comestow neuere.
 ¶ And also þe likerouſe launde · þat leccherye hatte,
 Leue hym on þi left halue · a large myle or more,
 Tyl þow come to a courte · kepe-wel-þi-tonge-
 Fro-leſynges-and-lither¹⁰-speche · and-likerouſe-drynkes.
 Þanne shaltow ſe ſobrete · and ſymplete-of-speche,
 Þat eche wiȝte be in wille · his witte þe to ſhewe,
 And þus shaltow come to clergie · þat can many þinges.
 ¶ Saye hym þis ſigne · I ſette hym to ſcole,
 And þat I grete wel his wyf · for I wrote hir many bokes,
 And ſette hir to ſapience · and to be ſauter gloſe.
 Logyke I lerned hir · and many other lawes,
 And alle þe muſours in muſike · I made hir to knowe.
 ¶ Plato þe poete · I put hym fyrſte to boke,
 Ariſtotle and other moo · to argue I tauȝte.
 Grammer for gerles · I garte firſt wryte,
 And bette hem with a baleis · but if þei wolde lerne.

¹ [strange, deserted. Henry VIII. in a letter to Anne Bullen speaks of his *El-lengneſſe* ſince her departure. Hearne's *Avesbury*, p. 360.] ² [cuſtom.]

³ back.

⁴ named.

⁵ akin.

⁶ glad.

⁷ bird.

⁸ harper.

⁹ learning.

¹⁰ wanton, bad.

Of alkinnes craftes · I contreued toles,
 Of carpentrie, of kerueres · and compassed masours,
 And lerned hem leuel and lyne · þough I loke dymme.
 ¶ Ac theologie hath tened me · ten score tymes,
 The more I muse þere-Inne · þe mistier it semeth,
 And þe depper I deuyne · þe derker me it þinketh;
 It is no science for sothe · forto sotyle Inne;
 A ful lethy þinge it were · ȝif þat loue nere.
 Ac for it let best by loue · I loue it þe better;
 For þere þat loue is leder · ne lacked neuere grace, &c.]

The artifices and persuasions of the monks to procure donations to their convents are thus humorously ridiculed, in a strain which seems to have given rise to Chaucer's *Sompnour's Tale* :—

Thanne he affoilled hir sone · and sithen he seyde,
 "We han a wyndowe a wirchyng · wil sitten vs ful heigh;
 Woldestow glase þat gable · and graue þere-inne þi name,
 Siker sholde þi foule be · heuene to haue." [B. iii. 47.]¹

Covetise or Covetousness is thus drawn in the true colours of satirical painting.

And þanne cam coueytise · can I hym nouȝte descryue,
 So hungirliche and holwe · sire Heruy hym loked.
 He was bitelbrowed · and baberlipped also,
 With two blered eyghen · as a blynde hagge;
 And as a letheren purs · lolled his chekes,
 Wel sydder þan his chyn · þei chiuēled for elde;
 And as a bondman of his bacoun · his berde was bidraueled.
 With an hode on his hed · a lousi hatte aboue,
 And in a tauny tabarde² · of twelue wynter age,
 Al totorme and baudy · and ful of lys crepyng;
 But if þat a lous couthe · haue lopen þe better,
 She sholde nouȝte haue walked on þat welche · so was it thredebare.
 "I haue ben coueytouse," quod þis caityue · "I biknowe it here;
 For some tyme I serued · Symme atte Stile,

¹ These, and the following lines, are plainly copied by Chaucer, viz. :—

"And I shall cover your kyrke, and your cloisture do maken."

Chaucer, *Sompn. T.* v. 399, Morris edit. But with new strokes of humour.

"Yif me than of thy good to make our cloyster,"
 Quod he, "for many a muscle and many an oyster
 Hath ben oure foode, our cloyster to arreyse,
 Whan other men han ben ful wel at eyse;
 And yit, God wot, unnethe the foundement
 Performed is, ne of oure payment
 Is nought a tyle yit withinne our wones;
 Bi God, we owe yit fourty pound for stones."

So also in the *Ploughman's Crede*, hereafter mentioned, l. 396, a friar says—

"So that thou mowe amenden our hous · with money other elles,
 With som katell, other corne · or cuppes of siluer."

And again, l. 123—

"And mightestou amenden vs · with money of thyn owne,
 Thou sholdest enly bifore Crift · in compas of gold,
 In the wide windowe · westwarde · wel nighe in the myddell."

That is, "your figure shall be painted in glass, in the middle of the west window," &c. But of this passage hereafter.

² tabard. A coat.

And was his prentis yplize · his profit to wayte.

Firft I lerned to lye · a leef other twayne,

Wikkedlich to weye · was my furft leffouz.

To Wy¹ and to Wyncheſtre² I went to be faire,

¹ Wy is probably Weyhill in Hampshire, where a famous fair ſtill ſubſiſts.

² Anciently, before many flouriſhing towns were eſtabliſhed, and the neceſſaries or ornaments of life, from the convenience of communication and the increaſe of provincial civility, could be procured in various places, goods and commodities of every kind were chiefly ſold at fairs, to which, as to one univerſal mart, the people reſorted periodically, and ſupplied moſt of their wants for the enſuing year. The diſplay of merchandiſe, and the conflux of customers at theſe principal and almoſt only emporia of domeſtick commerce, was prodigious; and they were often held on open and extenſive plains. One of the chief of them ſeems to have been that of St. Giles's hill or down near Wincheſter, to which our poet here refers. It was inſtituted and given as a kind of revenue to the biſhop of Wincheſter by William the Conqueror, who by his charter permitted it to continue for three days. But in conſequence of new royal grants, Henry III. prolonged its continuance to ſixteen days. Its juriſdiction extended ſeven miles round, and comprehended even Southampton, then a capital trading town: and all merchants who ſold wares within that circuit forfeited them to the biſhop. Officers were placed at a conſiderable diſtance, at bridges and other avenues of acceſs to the fair, to exact toll of all merchandiſe paſſing that way. In the meantime all ſhops in the city of Wincheſter were ſhut. In the fair was a court called the pavilion, at which the biſhop's juſticiaries and other officers aſſiſted, with power to try cauſes of various ſorts for ſeven miles round: nor among other ſingular claims could any lord of a manor hold a court-baron within the ſaid circuit without licence from the pavilion. During this time the biſhop was empowered to take toll of every load or parcel of goods paſſing through the gates of the city. On Saint Giles's eve the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens of the city of Wincheſter delivered the keys of the four city gates to the biſhop's officers who, during the ſaid ſixteen days, appointed a mayor and bailiff of their own to govern the city, and alſo a coroner to act within the ſaid city. Tenants of the biſhop, who held lands by doing ſervice at the pavilion, attended the ſame with horſes and armour, not only to do ſuit at the court there, but to be ready to aſſiſt the biſhop's officers in the execution of writs and other ſervices. But I cannot here enumerate the many extraordinary privileges granted to the biſhop on this occaſion, all tending to obſtruct trade and to oppreſs the people. Numerous foreign merchants frequented this fair; and it appears that the juſticiaries of the pavilion, and the treaſurer of the biſhop's palace of Wolvesey, received annually for a fee, according to ancient cuſtom, four baſins and ewers of thoſe foreign merchants who ſold brazen veſſels in the fair, and were called *mercatores diaunteres*. In the fair ſeveral ſtreets were formed, aſſigned to the ſale of different commodities, and called the Drapery, the Pottery, the Spicery, &c. Many monaſteries in and about Wincheſter had ſhops or houſes in theſe ſtreets, uſed only at the fair, which they held under the biſhop, and often let by leaſe for a term of years. One place in the fair was called *Speciarium Sancti Swythini*, or the Spicery of Saint Swithin's monaſtery. In the revenue rolls of the ancient biſhops of Wincheſter, this fair makes a grand and ſeparate article of reception, under this title: *Feria. Computus Ferie ſancti Egidii*. But in the revenue roll of biſhop Will. of Waynſlete [an. 1471], it appears to have greatly decayed: in which, among other proofs, I find mention made of a diſtrict in the fair being unoccupied, "*Ubi homines Cornubie ſtare ſolebant*." From whence it likewiſe appears that different counties had their different ſtations. The whole reception to the biſhop this year from the fair amounted only to 45*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.* Yet this ſum, ſmall as it may ſeem, was worth upwards of 400*l.* Edward I. ſent a precept to the ſheriff of Hampſhire to reſtore to the biſhop this fair, which his eſcheator Malcolm de Harlegh had ſeized into the king's hands, without command of the treaſurer and barons of the exchequer, in the year 1292. *Regiſtr. Joh. de Pontiffara, Epiſc. Wint.* fol. 195. After the charter of Henry III. many kings by charter confirmed this

With many manere marchandise · as my Maistre me hiȝte ;
 Ne had þe grace of gyle · ygo amonge my ware,
 It had be vnfolde þis seuene ȝere · so me god helpe !
 Thanne drowe I me amonges draperes · my donet¹ to lerne,
 To drawe þe lyser alonge · þe lenger it fered ;
 Amonge þe riche rayes · I rendred a lessoun, &c. [B. v. 188.]

fair with all its privileges to the bishops of Winchester. The last charter was of Henry VIII. to Bishop Richard Fox and his successors, in the year 1511. But it was followed by the usual confirmation-charter of Charles II. In the year 1144, when Brian Fitz-count, lord of Wallingford in Berkshire, maintained Wallingford Castle, one of the strongest garrisons belonging to Maud the empress, and consequently sent out numerous parties for contributions and provisions, Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester, enjoined him not to molest any passengers that were coming to his fair at Winchester, under pain of excommunication. *Omnibus ad feriam meam venientibus*, &c. MSS. *Dodsworth*, vol. 89, fol. 76, Bibl. Bodl. This was in King Stephen's reign. In that of Richard I., in the year 1194, the king grants to Portsmouth a fair lasting for fifteen days, with all the privileges of Saint Giles's fair at Winchester. Anders. *Hist. Com.* i. 197. In the year 1234, the eighteenth of Henry III., the fermier of the city of Winchester paid twenty pounds to Ailward chamberlain of Winchester Castle, to buy a robe at this fair for the king's son, and divers silver implements for a chapel in the castle. Madox, *Exch.* p. 251. It appears from [the *Northumb. Housh. Book*], that the stores of his lordship's house at Wresfle, for the whole year, were laid in from fairs. "He that standes charged with my lordes house for the houl yeir, if he may possible, shall be at all Faïres where the groice emptions shall be boughte for the house for the houlle yeire, as wine, wax, beiffes, multons, wheite, and maltic," p. 407. This last quotation is a proof that fairs still continued to be the principal marts for purchasing necessities in large quantities, which now are supplied by frequent trading towns: and the mention of "beiffes" and "multons," which were salted oxen and sheep, shews that at so late a period they knew but little of breeding cattle. Their ignorance of so important an article of husbandry is also an evidence that in the reign of Henry VIII. the state of population was much lower among us than we may imagine.

In the statutes of Saint Mary Ottery's college in Devonshire, given by Bishop Grandison the founder, the stewards and sacrist are ordered to purchase annually two hundred pounds of wax for the choir of the college, at this fair. "Cap. lxvii.—Pro luminariibus vero omnibus supradictis inveniendis, etiam statuimus, quod fenescalli scaccarii per visum et auxilium sacriste, omni anno, in nundinis Wynton, vel alibi apud Torington et in partibus Barnstapol, ceram sufficientem, quam ad ducentas libras æstimamus pro uno anno ad minus faciant provideri." These statutes were granted in the year 1338. MS. apud Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton. In Archiv. Wolves. In the accompts of the Priors of Maxtoke in Warwickshire, and of Bicester in Oxfordshire, under the reign of Henry VI., the monks appear to have laid in yearly stores of various yet common necessities, at the fair of Sturbridge in Cambridgeshire, at least one hundred miles distant from either monastery. It may seem surprising, that their own neighbourhood, including the cities of Oxford and Coventry, could not supply them with commodities neither rare nor costly, which they thus fetched at a considerable expence of carriage. It is a rubric in some of the monastic rules *De Euntibus ad Nundinas*. See Dugd. Mon. Angl. ii. p. 746. It is hoped the reader will excuse this tedious note, which at least develops ancient manners and customs.

¹ Lessoun. Properly a *Grammar*, from *Ælius Donatus* the grammarian. *Testam. L.* p. 504, b. edit. Urr. "No passet to vertues of this Margarite, but therein al my donet can I lerne." In the statutes of Winchester-college, [written about 1386,] grammar is called "*Antiquus donatus*," i. e. the old *donat*, or the name of a system of grammar at that time in vogue, and long before. The French have a book entitled "*Le Donnet, traité de grammaire, baillé a feu roi Charles viii.*" Among Rawlinson's MSS. at Oxford, I have seen *Donatus optimus noviter compi-*

Our author, who probably could not get preferment, thus inveighs against the luxury and diversions of the prelates of his age :

Ac now is religioun a ryder ¹ a rowmer bi stretes,
 A leder of louedayes ² · and a londe-bugger,
 A priker on a palfray · fro manere to manere,
 An heep of houndes at his ers · as he a lorde were.¹
 And but if his knaue knele · þat þal his cuppe brynge,
 He loureth on hym and axeth hym · who tauȝte hym curteisye?³

There is great picturesque humour in the following lines :

latus, a manuscript on vellum, given to Saint Alban's, by John Stoke, abbot, in 1450. In the introduction, or *lytell Proheme*, to Dean Colet's *Grammatices Rudimenta*, we find mention made of "certayne introducyons into latyn speche called *Donates*," &c. Among the books written by Bishop Pecock, there is the *Donat into christian religion*, and the *Folower to the Donat*. Lewis's *Pecock*, p. 317. I think I have before observed, that John of Basing, who flourished in the year 1240, calls his Greek Grammar *Donatus Græcorum*. Pegge's *Wesham*, p. 51. Wynkyn de Worde printed *Donatus ad Anglicanarum scholarum usum*. [But see *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Children*.] Cotgrave (in v.) quotes an old French proverb, "Les diables estoient encores a leur *Donat*, *The devils were but yet in their grammar*."

¹ Walter de Suffield, bishop of Norwich, bequeaths by will his pack of hounds to the king in 1256. Blomefield's *Norw.* ii. 347. See Chaucer's *Monkes Prolog.* v. 165. This was a common topic of satire. It occurs again, fol. xxvii. a. See [the] *Testament of Love*, p. 492, col. ii. Urr. The archdeacon of Richmond, on his visitation, comes to the priory of Bridlington in Yorkshire, in 1216, with ninety-seven horses, twenty-one dogs, and three hawks, Dugd. *Mon.* ii. 65.

² [love-days.]

³ B. x. 306. The following prediction, although a probable conclusion, concerning a king, who after a time would suppress the religious houses, is remarkable. I imagined it was foisted into the copies, in the reign of Henry VIII. But it is in [all the] MSS. of this poem [which exhibit the *second* version, many of which are] older than the year 1400.

¶ Ac þere shal come a kyng · and confesse þow religiouse,
 And bete þow as þe bible telleth · for brekyng of þowre reule,
 And amende monyales · monkes and chanouns—
 ¶ And þanne Freres in here freitoure · shal fynden a keye
 Of costantynes coffres · in which is þe catel
 Þat Gregories god-children · han yuel dispended.
 ¶ And þanne shal þe abbot of Abyndoun · and alle [his] isfu for euere
 Haue a knokke of a kynge · and incurable þe wounde." [B. x. 317.]

Again, where he alludes to the knights-templers, lately suppressed :

"Men of holy kirke
 Shul tourne as templeres did, the tyme approacheth faste."
 [B. xv. 507.]

This, I suppose, was a favourite doctrine in Wickliffe's discourses. I cannot help taking notice of a passage in *Piers Plowman*, which shews how the reigning passion for chivalry infected the ideas and expressions of the writers of this period. The poet is describing the crucifixion, and speaking of the person who pierced our Saviour's side with a spear. This person our author calls a knight, and says that he came forth "with his spere in hand, and iusted with Jesus." Afterwards for doing so base an act as that of wounding a dead body, he is pronounced a disgrace to knighthood : and [this] "champioun chiuale, chief knyght of yow alle" is declared to have yielded himself recreant. B. xviii. 99.] This knight's name is Longis, and he is blind ; but receives his sight from the blood which springs from our Saviour's side. This miracle is recorded in the *Golden Legend*. He is called Longias, "A blinde knight men ycallid Longias," in Chaucer, *Lam. Mar. Magd.* v. 177.

Hunger in haste þo · hent wastour bi þe mawe,
 And wronge hym so bi þe wombe · þat bothe his eyen wattered;
 He buffeted þe Britoner · aboute þe chekes,
 þat he loked like a lanterne · al his lyf after.¹

And in the following, where the Vices are represented as converted and coming to confession, among which is the figure of Envy :

Of a freres frokke · were þe forleues.
 And as a leke hadde yleye · longe in þe sonne,
 So loked he with lene chekes · lourynge foule. [B. v. 81.]

It would be tedious to transcribe other strokes of humour, with which this poem abounds. Before one of the Visions the poet falls asleep, while he is bidding his beads. In another he describes Anti-christ, whose banner is borne by Pride, as welcomed into a monastery with ringing of bells, and a solemn congratulatory procession of all the monks as marching out to meet and receive him.²

These images of mercy and truth are in a different strain :

Out of þe west coste · a wenche, as me thouȝte,
 Cam walkynge in þe wey · to-helle-ward she loked.
 Mercy hiȝt þat mayde · a meke þynge with-alle,
 A ful benygne buirde · and boxome of speche.
 Her suster, as it semed · cam softly walkynge,
 Euene out of þe est · and westward she loked.
 A ful comely creature · treuth she hiȝte,
 For þe vertue þat hir folwed · aferd was she neuere.
 Whan þis maydenes mette · mercy and treuth,
 Eyther axed other · of þis grete wonder,
 Of þe dyne & of þe derkneſſe, &c.³

The imagery of Nature, or Kinde, sending forth his diseases from the planets, at the command of Conscience, and of his attendants Age and Death, is conceived with sublimity :

Kynd Conscience tho herde · and cam out of the planets,
 And sent forth his foreiours · feures & fluxes,
 Coughes, and cardiacles · crampes, and tothaches,
 Rewmes, & radegoundes · and roynouse scalles,
 Byles, and bocches · and brennyng agues;
 Frenesyes, & foule yueles · forageres of kynde,
 Hadde yprykked and prayed · polles of peple,
 þat largelich a legiouȝ · lese her lyf sone.
 ¶ There was—"harrow and help! · here cometh kynde,
 With deth þat is dredful · to vndone vs alle!"
 ¶ The lorde that lyued after lust · tho alowde cryde
 After conſorte, a knyghte · to come and bere his banere
 ¶ Elde þe hore · he was in þe vauntwarde,
 And bare þe banere bifor deth · by ryȝte he it claymed.
 Kynde come after · with many kene fores,
 As pokkes and pestilences · and moche poeple ſhente;
 So kynde þorw corrupciouȝ · kulled ful manye.
 ¶ Deth cam dryuende after · and al to douȝt paſhed
 Knyges & knyȝtes · kayſeres and popes;
 Many a louely lady · and leȝmanes of knyghtes
 Swouned and ſwelteȝ · for ſorwe of dethes dyntes.
 ¶ Conscience of his curteſye · to kynde he biſouȝte,
 To ceſſe & ſuffre · and ſee where þei wolde

¹ [B. text; vi. 176.]

² [B. xx. 57.]

³ [B. xviii. 113.]

Leue pryde pryuely · and be parfite criftene.
¶ And kynde celled tho · to fe be peple amende.¹

These lines at least put us in mind of Milton's *Lazarhouse*:²

. Immediately a place
Before his eyes appeared, sad, noisome, dark :
A lazarus-house it seem'd, wherein were laid
Numbers of all diseases : all maladies
Of gasty spasm, or racking torture, qualms
Of heart-sick agony, all feverous kinds,
Convulsions, epilepsies, fierce catarrhs,
Intestine stone, and ulcer, cholic pangs,
Demoniac phrenzy, moping melancholy,
And moon-struck madness, pining atrophy,
Marasmus, and wide-wasting Pestilence :
Dropsies and asthma, and joint-racking rheum.
Dire was the tossing ! Deep the groans ! Despair
Tended the sick, busy from couch to couch ;
And over them triumphant Death his dart
Shook, but delay'd to strike, &c.

At length Fortune or Pride sends forth a numerous army led by
Luft, to attack Conscience.

And gadered a gret hoste · al agayne CONSCIENCE :
This LECHERYE leyde on · with a laughyng chiere,
And with pryue speche · and peynted wordes,
And armed hym in ydelnesse · and in hiegh berynge.
He bare a bowe in his hande · and manye bloody arwes,
Weren fethered with faire biheste · and many a false truthe.³

Afterwards Conscience is besieged by Antichrist and seven great
giants, who are the seven capital or deadly sins : and the assault is
made by Sloth, who conducts an army of more than a thousand
prelates.

It is not improbable, that Langland here had his eye on the old
French *Roman d'Antechrist*, a poem written by Huon de Meri, about
the year 1228. The author of this piece supposes that Antichrist is
on earth, that he visits every profession and order of life, and finds
numerous partisans. The Vices arrange themselves under the
banner of Antichrist, and the Virtues under that of Christ. These
two armies at length come to an engagement, and the battle ends to
the honour of the Virtues, and the total defeat of the Vices. The
banner of Antichrist has before occurred in our quotations from
Longland. The title of Huon de Meri's poem deserves notice. It
is [*Le*] *Turnoyement de l'Antechrist*. These are the concluding lines :

Par son droit nom a peau cet livre
Qui tresbien s'avorde a l' escript
Le Tournoiment de l'Antechrist.

The author appears to have been a monk of St. Germain des Pres,
near Paris.⁴ This allegory is much like that which we find in the old
dramatic Moralities. The theology of the middle ages abounded
with conjectures and controversies concerning Antichrist, who at a
very early period was commonly believed to be the Roman pontiff.⁵

¹ [B. xx. p. 372, edit. Skeat.]

² *Par. L. ii. 475.*

³ [B. xx. 112.]

⁴ [See some account of this poem in Mr. Wright's *St. Patrick's Purgatory*.]

⁵ See this topic discussed with singular penetration and perspicuity, by Dr. Hurd.
in *Twelve Sermons Introductory to the Study of the Prophecies*, 1772, p. 206, seq.

SECTION IX.



OF the *Vision* of [William concerning] *Pierce Plowman* has been commonly annexed a poem called *Pierce the Plowman's Crede*.¹

The author, in the character of a plain uninformed person, pretends to be ignorant of his creed, to be instructed in the articles of which, he applies by turns to the four orders of Mendicant friars. This circumstance affords an obvious occasion of exposing in lively colours the tricks of those societies. After so unexpected a disappointment, he meets one Pierce or Peter, a ploughman, who resolves his doubts, and teaches him the principles of true religion. In a copy of the [edition of the] *Crede*, [printed in 1561], presented to me by the Bishop of Gloucester, and once belonging to Mr. Pope, the latter in his own hand has inserted the following abstract of its plan. "An ignorant plain man having learned his Pater-noster and Ave-Mary, wants to learn his creed. He asks several religious men of the several orders to teach it him. First a friar Minor, who bids him beware of the Carmelites, and assures him they can teach him nothing, describing their faults, &c. but that the friars Minors shall save him, whether he learns his creed or not. He goes next to the friars Preachers, whose magnificent monastery he describes: there he meets a fat friar, who declaims against the Augustines. He is shocked at his pride, and goes to the Augustines. They rail at the Minorites. He goes to the Carmelites: they abuse the Dominicans, but promise him salvation, without the creed, for money. He leaves them with indignation, and finds an honest poor Ploughman in the field, and tells him how he was disappointed by the four orders. The ploughman answers with a long invective against them."

The language of the *Crede* is less embarrassed and obscure than that of the *Vision*. But before I proceed to a specimen, it may not

¹ The first edition [was printed by Reynold Wolfe in 1553.] It was reprinted, and added to Rogers's, or the fourth, edition of the *Vision*, 1561. It was evidently written after the year 1384. Wickliffe died in that year, and he is mentioned as no longer living, in signat.—C ii. edit. 1561 [l. 528]. Walter Britte or Brite, a follower of Wickliffe, is also mentioned [l. 657] signat. C iii. [The *Crede* is in no sense an appendage to the *Vision*, but upon a totally different plan. The proper sequel to the *Vision* is the piece called the *Deposition of Richard II.*, probably also by Langland. But *Pierce the Plowman's Crede* is by another author, a professed follower of Wickliffe, written about A.D. 1394, in order to discredit the four orders of Mendicant Friars. The only points of connection with the *Vision* are the title, which was imitated from it; the rhythm, and the fact that some have thought fit to print both poems in one volume, to the intense confusion of hasty students, who mix the two together in a most unscholarly fashion.—*Skeat*.] Britte is placed by Bale in 1390. Cent. vi. 94. See also Fuller's *Worth*. p. 8, *Wales*, [and Pref. to edit. *Skeat*.] The reader will pardon this small anticipation for the sake of connection.

be perhaps improper to prepare the reader, by giving an outline of the constitution and character of the four orders of Mendicant friars, the object of our poet's satire: an enquiry in many respects connected with the general purport of this history, and which, in this place at least, cannot be deemed a digression, as it will illustrate the main subject, and explain many particular passages, of the *Plowman's Crede*.¹

Long before the thirteenth century, the monastic orders, as we have partly seen in the preceding poem, in consequence of their ample revenues, had degenerated from their primitive austerity, and were totally given up to luxury and indolence. Hence they became both unwilling and unable to execute the purposes of their establishment: to instruct the people, to check the growth of heresies, or to promote in any respect the true interests of the church. They forsook all their religious obligations, despised the authority of their superiors, and were abandoned without shame or remorse to every species of dissipation and licentiousness. About the beginning therefore of the thirteenth century, the condition and circumstances of the church rendered it absolutely necessary to remedy these evils, by introducing a new order of religious, who being destitute of fixed possessions, by the severity of their manners, a professed contempt of riches, and an unwearied perseverance in the duties of preaching and prayer, might restore respect to the monastic institution, and recover the honours of the church. These were the four orders of mendicant or begging friars, commonly denominated the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, and the Augustines.²

These societies soon surpassed all the rest, not only in the purity of their lives, but in the number of their privileges and the multitude of their members. Not to mention the success which attends all novelties, their reputation arose quickly to an amazing height. The popes, among other uncommon immunities, allowed them the liberty of travelling wherever they pleased, of conversing with persons of all ranks, of instructing the youth and the people in general, and of hearing confessions, without reserve or restriction: and as on these occasions, which gave them opportunities of appearing in public and conspicuous situations, they exhibited more striking marks of gravity and sanctity than were observable in the deportment and conduct of the members of other monasteries, they were regarded with the

¹ And of some perhaps quoted above from the *Vision*. ["Of the creed there does not appear to exist any manuscript older than the first printed edition."—*Wright*. But see Mr. Skeat's notice of a MS. in Trin. Coll. Camb. which, though a late transcript, is obviously exactly copied from a MS. of the first half of the fifteenth century.]

² The Franciscans were often styled friars-minors, or minorites, and greyfriars: the Dominicans, friars-preachers, and sometimes black-friars; the Carmelites, white-friars; and the Augustines, grey-friars. The first establishment of the Dominicans in England was at Oxford in 1221; of the Franciscans, at Canterbury. These two were the most eminent of the four orders. The Dominican friary at Oxford stood in an island on the south of the city, south-west of the Franciscan friary, the site of which is hereafter described.

highest esteem and veneration throughout all the countries of Europe.

In the mean time they gained still greater respect, by cultivating the literature then in vogue with the greatest assiduity and success. Giannone says, that most of the theological professors in the university of Naples, newly founded in the year 1220, were chosen from the Mendicants.¹ They were the principal teachers of theology at Paris, the school where this science had received its origin.² At Oxford and Cambridge respectively, all the four orders had flourishing monasteries. The most learned scholars in the university of Oxford, at the close of the thirteenth century, were Franciscan friars: and long after this period, the Franciscans appear to have been the sole support and ornament of that university.³ Hence it was that Bishop Hugh de Balsham, founder of Peter-house at Cambridge, orders in his statutes given about the year 1280, that some of his scholars should annually repair to Oxford for improvement in the sciences.⁴ That is, to study under the Franciscan readers. Such was the eminence of the Franciscan friary at Oxford, that the learned Bishop Grosseteste, in the year 1253, bequeathed all his books to that celebrated seminary.⁵ This was the house in which the renowned Roger Bacon was educated; who reviv'd in the midst of barbarism, and brought to a considerable degree of perfection, the knowledge of mathematics in England, and greatly facilitated many modern discoveries in experimental philosophy.⁶ The same fraternity is likewise said to have stored their

¹ *Hist. Nap.* xvi. 3.

² See Boul. *Hist. Academ. Paris*, iii. pp. 138, 240, 244, 248, &c.

³ This circumstance in some degree roused the monks from their indolence, and induced the greater monasteries to procure the foundation of small colleges in the universities for the education of their novices. At Oxford the monks had also schools which bore the name of their respective orders: and there were schools in that university which were appropriated to particular monasteries. Kennet's *Paroch. Ant.* p. 214. Wood, *Hist. Ant. Univ. Oxon.* i. 119. Leland says, that even in his time at Stamford, a temporary university, the names of halls inhabited by the novices of Peterborough, Sempringham, and Vauldrey abbeys, were remaining. *Itin.* vi. p. 21. And it appears, that the greater part of the proceeders in theology at Oxford and Cambridge, just before the Reformation, were monks. But we do not find that, in consequence of all these efforts, the monks made a much greater figure in literature. In this rivalry which subsisted between the mendicants and the monks, the latter sometimes availed themselves of their riches: and with a view to attract popularity, and to eclipse the growing lustre of the former, proceeded to their degrees in the universities with prodigious parade. In the year 1298, William de Brooke, a Benedictine of St. Peter's abbey at Gloucester, took the degree of doctor in divinity at Oxford. He was attended on this important occasion by the abbot and whole convent of Gloucester, the abbots of Westminster, Reading, Abingdon, Evesham, and Malmesbury, with one hundred noblemen and esquires, on horses richly caparisoned. These were entertained at a sumptuous feast in the refectory of Gloucester college. But it should be observed, that he was the first of the Benedictine order that attained this dignity. Wood, *Hist. Ant. Univ. Oxon.* i. 25, col. 1. See also Dugdale, *Mon.* [edit. Stevens,] i. 70.

⁴ "De scholaribus emittendis ad universitatem Oxonie pro doctrina." Cap. xviii.

⁵ Leland, *Script. Brit.* p. 283. This house stood just without the city walls, near Little-gate. The garden called Paradise was their grove or orchard.

⁶ It is probable that the treatises of many of Bacon's scholars and followers, col-

valuable library with a multitude of Hebrew manuscripts, which they purchased of the Jews on their banishment from England.¹ Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham, author of *Philobiblon*, and the founder of a library at Oxford, is prolix in his praises of the Mendicants for their extraordinary diligence in collecting books.² Indeed it became difficult in the beginning of the fourteenth century to find any treatise in the arts, theology, or canon law, commonly exposed to sale: they were all universally bought up by the friars.³ This is mentioned by Richard Fitzralph, archbishop of Armagh, in his discourse before the Pope at Avignon in 1357; he was their bitter and professed antagonist, and adds, without any intention of paying them a compliment, that all the Mendicant convents were furnished with a "grandis et nobilis libraria."⁴ Sir Richard Whittington built the library of the Grey Friars in London, which was one hundred and twenty-nine feet long, and twelve broad, with twenty-eight desks.⁵ About the year 1430, one hundred marks were paid for transcribing the profound Nicholas de Lyra, in two volumes, to be chained in this library.⁶ Leland relates that Thomas Wallden, a learned Carmelite, bequeathed to the same library as many MSS. of approved authors, written in capital Roman characters, as were then estimated at more than two thousand pieces of gold.⁷ He adds that this library even in his time exceeded all others in London for multitude of books and antiquity of copies.⁸ Among many other instances which might be given of the learning of the Mendicants, there is one which greatly contributed to establish their literary character. In the eleventh century, Aristotle's philosophy had been condemned in the university of Paris as heretical. About a hundred years afterwards, these prejudices began to subside; and new translations of Aristotle's writings were published in Latin by our countryman Michael Scotus, and others, with more attention to the original Greek, at least without the pompous and perplexed

lected by Thomas Allen in the reign of James I. still remain among the MSS. of Sir Kenelm Digby in the Bodleian library.

¹ Wood, *ubi supr.* 1, 77, col. 2.

² *Philobibl.* cap. v. This book was written in 1344.

³ Yet I find a decree made at Oxford, where these orders of friars flourished so greatly, in the year 1373, to check the excessive multitude of persons selling books in the university without licence. *Vet. Stat. Univ. Oxon.* D. fol. 75. Archiv. Bodl.

⁴ MSS. Bibl. Bodl. *Propositio coram papa, &c.* And MSS. C.C.C. Oxon. 182. *Propositio coram, &c.* See a translation of this Sermon by Trevisa, MSS. Harl. 1900, 2. See f. 11. See also Browne's *append. Fascic. Rer. expetend. fugiend.* ii. p. 466. I believe this discourse has been printed twice or thrice at Paris. In which, says the archbishop, there were thirty thousand scholars at Oxford in my youth, but now (1357) scarce six thousand. At Bennet in Cambridge, there is a curious MS. of one of Fitzrauf's Sermons, in the first leaf of which there is a drawing of four devils, hugging four mendicant friars, one of each of the four orders, with great familiarity and affection. MSS. L. 16. This book belonged to Adam Efton, a very learned Benedictine of Norwich, and a witness against Wickliffe at Rome, where he lived the greatest part of his life, in 1370.

⁵ Stow's *Surv. Lond.* p. 255, edit. 1599.

⁶ Stow, *ibid.* p. 256, Dugd. *Monast.* [ed. Stevens] i. 112.

⁷ Aurei.

⁸ *Script. Brit.* p. 441, and *Collectan.* iii. p. 52.

circumlocutions which appeared in the Arabic versions hitherto used. In the mean time sprang up the Mendicant orders who, happily availing themselves of these new translations, and making them the constant subject of their scholastic lectures, were the first who revived the doctrines of this philosopher, and acquired the merit of having opened a new system of science.¹ The Dominicans of Spain were accomplished adepts in the learning and language of the Arabians; and were employed by the kings of Spain in the instruction and conversion of the numerous Jews and Saracens who resided in their dominions.²

The buildings of the Mendicant monasteries, especially in England, were remarkably magnificent, and commonly much exceeded those of the endowed convents of the second magnitude. As these fraternities were professedly poor, and could not from their original institution receive estates, the munificence of their benefactors was employed in adorning their houses with stately refectories and churches: and for these and other purposes they did not want addresses to procure abundance of patronage, which was facilitated by the notion of their superior sanctity. It was fashionable for persons of the highest rank to bequeath their bodies to be buried in the friary churches, which were consequently filled with sumptuous shrines and superb monuments.³ In the noble church of the Grey friars in London, finished in the year 1325, but long since destroyed, four queens, besides upwards of six hundred persons of quality, were buried, whose beautiful tombs remained till the dissolution.⁴ These interments imported considerable sums of money into the mendicant

¹ See Joann. Laun. *de varia Aristotel. Fortun. in Acad. Paris*, p. 78, edit. 1662.

² R. Simon's *Lett. Chois.* tom. iii. p. 112. They studied the arts of popular entertainment. The Mendicants, I believe, were the only religious in England who acted plays. The *Creation of the World*, annually performed by the Grey friars at Coventry, is still extant. And they seem to have been famous abroad for these exhibitions. De la Flamma, who flourished about the year 1340, has the following curious passage in his chronicle of the Visconti of Milan, published by Muratori. In the year 1336, says he, on the feast of Epiphany, the first feast of the three kings was celebrated at Milan by the convent of the friars Preachers. The three kings appeared crowned on three great horses, richly habited, surrounded by pages, bodyguards, and an innumerable retinue. A golden star was exhibited in the sky, going before them. They proceeded to the pillars of S. Lawrence, where King Herod was represented with his scribes and wise men. The three kings ask Herod where Christ should be born: and his wise men having consulted their books, answer him at Bethlehem. On which, the three kings with their golden crowns, having in their hands golden cups filled with frankincense, myrrh, and gold, the star still going before, marched to the church of S. Eustorgius with all their attendants, preceded by trumpets and horns, apes, baboons, and a great variety of animals. In the church, on one side of the high altar, there was a manger with an ox and an ass, and in it the infant Christ in the arms of his mother. Here the three kings offer their gifts, &c. The concourse of the people, of knights, ladies, and ecclesiastics, was such as never before was beheld, &c. *Rer. Italic. Scriptor.* tom. xii. col. 1017. D. This feast in the ritual is called The feast of the Star. Joann. Episcop. Abrinc. *de Offic. Eccl.* p. 30.

³ Their churches were esteemed more sacred than others.

⁴ Weev. *Fun. Mon.* p. 388.

societies. It is probable that they derived more benefit from casual charity, than they would have gained from a regular endowment. The Franciscans indeed enjoyed from the popes the privilege of distributing indulgences, a valuable indemnification for their voluntary poverty.¹

On the whole, two of these Mendicant institutions, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, for the space of nearly three centuries appear to have governed the European church and state with an absolute and universal sway; they filled, during that period, the most eminent ecclesiastical and civil stations, taught in the universities with an authority which silenced all opposition, and maintained the disputed prerogative of the Roman pontiff against the united influence of prelates and kings, with a vigour only to be paralleled by its success. The Dominicans and Franciscans were, before the Reformation, exactly what the Jesuits have been since. They disregarded their monastic character and profession, and were employed not only in spiritual matters, but in temporal affairs of the greatest consequence; in composing the differences of princes, concluding treaties of peace, and concerting alliances; they presided in cabinet councils, levied national subsidies, influenced courts, and managed the machinery of every important operation and event, both in the religious and political world.

From what has been here said, it is natural to suppose that the Mendicants at length became universally odious. The high esteem in which they were held, and the transcendent degree of authority which they had assumed, only served to render them obnoxious to the clergy of every rank, to the monasteries of other orders, and to the universities. It was not from ignorance, but from a knowledge of mankind, that they were active in propagating superstitious notions, which they knew were calculated to captivate the multitude, and to strengthen the papal interest; yet at the same time, from the vanity of displaying an uncommon sagacity of thought and a superior skill in theology, they affected novelties in doctrine, which introduced dangerous errors, and tended to shake the pillars of orthodoxy. Their ambition was unbounded, and their arrogance intolerable. Their increasing numbers became, in many states, an enormous and unwieldy burthen to the commonwealth. They had abused the powers and privileges which had been intrusted to them; and the common sense of mankind could not long be blinded or deluded by the palpable frauds and artifices, which these rapacious zealots so notoriously practised for enriching their convents. In England, the university of Oxford resolutely resisted the perpetual encroachments of the Dominicans;² and many of our theologians attacked all the four orders with great vehemence and severity. Exclusively of the jealousies and animosities which naturally subsisted between four rival institutions, their visionary refinements and love of disputation introduced

¹ See Baluz. *Miscellan.* tom. iv. 490, vii. 392.

² Wood, *ut sup.* i. 150, 154, 196.

among them the most violent dissensions. The Dominicans aimed at popularity by an obstinate denial of the immaculate conception. Their pretended sanctity became at length a term of reproach, and their learning fell into discredit. As polite letters and general knowledge increased, their speculative and pedantic divinity gave way to a more liberal turn of thinking and a more perspicuous mode of writing. Bale, who was himself a Carmelite friar, says that his order, which was eminently distinguished for scholastic erudition, began to lose their estimation about the year 1460. Some of them were imprudent enough to engage openly in political controversy; and the Augustines destroyed all their repute and authority in England by seditious sermons, in which they laboured to supplant the progeny of Edward IV., and to establish the title of the usurper Richard.¹ About the year 1530, Leland visited the Franciscan friary at Oxford, big with the hopes of finding in their celebrated library, if not many valuable books, at least those which had been bequeathed by the learned bishop Grosseteste. The delays and difficulties, with which he procured admittance into this venerable repository, heightened his curiosity and expectations. At length, after much ceremony, being permitted to enter, instead of an inestimable treasure, he saw little more than empty shelves covered with cobwebs and dust.²

After so prolix an introduction, I cannot but give a large quotation from our *Crede*, the humour and tendency of which will now be easily understood; especially as this poem is so curious and lively a picture of an order of men who once made so conspicuous a figure in the world:³

For first y fraynede þe freres · and þey me fulle tolden,
 Þat all þe frute of þe fayþ · was in here foure ordres,
 And þe cofres of crittendam · & þe keye hōden,
 And þe lok [of beleve · lyeth] loken in her bondes.

¹ Newcourt, *Repert.* i. 289.

² Leland describes this adventure with some humour. "Contigit ut copiam peterem videndi bibliothecam Franciscanorum, ad quod obstreperunt asini aliquot, rudentes nulli prorsus mortalium tam sanctos aditus et recessus adire, nisi Gardiano et sacris fui collegii baccalariis. Sed ego urgebam, et principis diplomate munitus, tantum non coegi, ut sacra illa aperirent. Tum unus e majoribus asinis multa subrudens tandem fores ægre reseravit. Summe Jupiter! quid ego illic inveni? Pulverem autem inveni, telas aranearum, tineas, blattas, situm denique et squalorem. Inveni etiam et libros, sed quos tribus obolis non emerem."—*Script. Brit.* p. 286.

³ [The British Museum contains but one MS. (King's MSS. 18. B. xvi.) of the *Crede*, and that of no early date. It agrees closely in orthography and matter with the printed copy, and is perhaps not much older.—*Price*. There is another MS. in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Both MSS., as well as the old printed edition, are evidently derived from one and the same older MS., now lost, of the early part of the fifteenth century. The Trinity MS. is a very faithful transcript, and far more correct than the Museum copy; both the MSS. copies are more correct than the printed edition. The *Crede*, as printed by Warton and his editors, has now been adjusted to the *Early English Text Society's* edition, 1867, ed. by Rev. W. W. Skeat.]

panne [wende] y to wyten · & wiþ a whiþt y mette,
 A Menoure in a morrow-tide · & to þis man I saide,
 "Sire, for grete god[e]s loue · þe graiþ þou me telle,
 Of what myddelerde man · miȝte y best lerne
 My Crede? For I can it nouȝt · my kare is þe more;
 & þerfore, for Cristes loue · þi counsell y praie.
 A Carm me haþ y-couenaunt · þe Crede me to teche;
 But for þou knowest Carmes well · þi counsaile y aske."
 Þis Menour loket on me · and lawȝyng he seyde,
 "Leue Cristen man · y leue þat þou madde!
 Whouȝ schulde þei techen þe God · þat con not hemselfe?
 Þei ben but jugulers · and iapers, of kynde,
 Lorels and Lechures · & lemmans holden;
 Neyber in order ne out · but vn-neþe lybbeþ,
 And byiapeþ þe folke · wiþ geistes of Rome!
 It is but a faynt folk · i-founded vp-on iapes,
 Þei makeþ hem Maries men¹ · (so þei men tellen),
 And lieþ on our Ladie · many a longe tale.
 And þat wicked folke · wymmen bi-traieþ,
 And bigileþ hem of her good · wiþ glauerynge wordes,
 And þerwiþ holden her hous · in harlotes werkes.
 And, so saue me God! · I hold it gret synne
 To ȝyuen hem any good · swiche glotones to fynde,
 To maynteine swiche maner men · þat mychel good destruyeþ.
 Ȝet seyn they in here sutilte · to sottes in townes,
 Þei comen out of Carmeli² · Crist for to followen,
 & feyneþ hem with holynes · þat yuele hem biſemeþ.
 Þei lyuen more in lecherie · and lieth in her tales
 Ðan ſuen any god liife; · but [lurken] in her selles,
 [And] wynnyn werldliche god · & waſten it in synne.
 And ȝif þei couþen her crede · ober on Crist leueden,
 Þei weren nouȝt ſo hardie · ſwich harlotri vfen.
 Sikerli y can nouȝt fynden · who hem fiſt founded,
 But þe ſoles foundeden hem-ſelf · freres of the Pye,
 And maken hem mendynauns · & marre þe puple.
 But what glut of þo gomes · may any good kachen,
 He will kepen it hym-ſelf · & cofren it faſte,
 And þeiȝ his felawes fayle good · for him he may ſteruen.
 Her money may bi-queſt · & teſtament maken,
 And no obedience bere · but don as [hem] luſte.
 [And] ryȝt as Robertes men³ raken aboute,
 At feires & at ful ales · & fyllyn þe cuppe,
 And precheþ all of pardon · to plesen the puple.

¹ The Carmelites, sometimes called the brethren of the Blessed Virgin, were fond of boasting their familiar intercourse with the Virgin Mary. Among other things, they pretended that the Virgin assumed the Carmelite habit and profession: and that she appeared to Simon Sturckius, general of their order, in the thirteenth century, and gave him a solemn promise, that the souls of those Christians who died with the Carmelite scapulary upon their shoulders should infallibly escape damnation.

² The Carmelites pretended that their order was originally founded on Mount Carmel where Elias lived: and that their first convent was placed there, within an ancient church dedicated to the Virgin Mary in 1121.

³ Robartes men, or Roberdfmen, were a set of lawless vagabonds, notorious for their outrages when *Pierce Plowman* was written, that is, about the year [1362]. The statute Edw. III. (*an. reg.* 5. c. xiv.) specifies "divers manlaughters, felonies, and robberies, done by people that be called *Roberdesmen*, Wastours, and drawlatches." And the statute (*an. reg.* 7. c. v.) ordains, that the statute of King Edward concerning *Roberdfmen* and *Drawlacches* shall be rigorously observed.

Her pacience is all pased · & put out to ferme,
And pride is in her pouerte · þat litell is to preisen.
And at þe lulling of oure Ladye · þe wymmen to lyken,
 And miracles of mydwyves · & maken wymmen to wenen
 þat þe lace of oure ladie smok · liȝteþ hem of children.
 Þei ne prechen nouȝt of Powel · ne penaunce for synne,
 But all of mercy & menk · þat Marie maie helpen.
 Wiþ sterne staues and stronge · þey ouer lond strakeþ
 Dider as her lemmans liggeþ · and lurkeþ in townes,
 (Grey grete-hedede quenes · wiþ gold by þe eyen),
 And seyn, þat here sustren þei ben · þat sojourneþ aboute ;
 And þus about þey gon · & godes folke by-traieþ.
 It is þe puple þat Powel · preched of in his tyme ;
 He seyde of swich folk · þat so aboute wente,
 ‘ Weping, y warne þow · of walkers aboute ;
 It beþ enemyes of þe cros · þat crist opon þolede.
 Swiche slomerers in slepe · slauþe is her ende,
And glotony is her God · wiþ g[l]opping of drynk,¹
 And gladnes in glee · & gret ioye y-maked ;
 In þe schending of swiche · schall mychel folk lawȝe.
 Þerfore, frend, for þi feyþ · fond to don betere,
 Leue nouȝt on þo losels · but let hem forþ pafen,
 For þei ben fals in her feiþ · & fele mo oþere.”
 “ Alas ! frere,” quað I þo · “ my purpos is i-failed,
 Now is my counfort a-caft ! · canstou no bote,
 Where y myȝte meten wiþ a man · þat myȝte me [wissen]
 For to conne my Crede · Crist for to folwen ? ”
 “ CERTEYNE, felawe,” quað þe frere · “ wiþ-outen any faile.
 Of all men opon mold · we Menures moft scheweþ
 þe pure Apostell[es] life · wiþ penance on erþe,
 And suen hem in sauntite · & suffren well harde.
 We haunten none tauernes · ne hobelen abouten ;
 At marketts & myracles · we medleþ vs nevere ;
 We hondlen no money · but menelich faren,
 And haven hunger at [the] meate · at ich a mel ones.
 We hauen forsaken the worlde · & in wo lybbeþ.
 In penaunce & pouerte · & precheþ þe puple,
 By ensample of oure life · soules to helpen ;
 And in pouertie praien · for all oure parteners
 þat ȝueþ vs any good · god to honouren,
 Oþer bell oþer booke · or breed to our fode,
 Oþer catell oþer cloþ · to coveren wiþ our bones,
 Money or money-worthe ; · here mede is in heven.
 For we buldeþ a burw · a brod and a large,
 A Chirche and A Chapaile · with chambers a-lofte,
 Wiþ wide windowes y-wrouȝt · & walles well heye,
 þat mote bene portreid and paynt · & pulched ful clene²
 Wiþ gaie glittering glas · glowing as þe sonne.
 And myȝtestou amenden vs · wiþ money³ of þyn owne,
 þou chuldest cnely bfore Crist · in compas of gold
 In þe wide windowe westwarde · wel niȝe in the myddell,⁴
 And seynt Fraunces him-self · schall folden the in his cope,

¹ In the *Liber Penitentialis* there is this injunction, “ Si monachus per ebrietatem vomitum fecerit, triginta dies *peniteat*.” MSS. James V. 237, Bibl. Bodl.

² Must be painted and beautifully adorned. *Mote* is often used in Chaucer for must.

³ If you would help us with your money.

⁴ Your figure kneeling to Christ shall be painted in the great west window. This was the way of representing benefactors in painted glass. See *supr*.

And presente the to the trynitie · and praie for thy synnes ;
 Þi name schall noblich ben wryten · & wrouȝt for the nones,
 And, in remembrance of þe · y-rade þer for euer.¹
 And, broþer, be þou nouȝt aferd ; · [bythenk in] thyn herte,
 Þouȝ þou conne nouȝt þi Crede · kare þou no more.
 I schal afoilen þe, fyre · & setten it on my foule,
 And þou maie maken þis good · þenk þou non oþer.”
 “SIRE,” y saide, “in certaine · y schal gon & aſaye ;”—
 And he sette on me his honde · & afoilede me clene,
 And þeir y parted him fro · wiþ-oute any peine,
 In couenant þat y come aȝen · Crift he me be-tauȝte.
 Þanne ſaide y to my-ſelf · “here ſemeþ litel treweþe!
 Firſt to blamen his broþer · and bacbyten him foule,
 Þeire-as curteis Crift · clerliche ſaide,
 ‘Whow myȝt-tou in thine broþer eiȝe · a bare mote loken,
 And in þyn owen eiȝe · nouȝt a bem toten ?
 See fyrſt on þi-ſelf · and ſipen on anoþer,
 And clenſe clene þi fyrȝt · and kepe well þyn eiȝe,
 And for anoþer mannes eiȝe · ordeyne after.”
 And alſo y ſey coueitife · catel to fongen,
 þat Crift haþ clerliche forboden · & clenliche deſtruede,
 And ſaide to his ſueres · forſoþe on þis wiſe,
 ‘Nouȝt þi neiȝbours good · couet yn no tyme.’
 But charite & chaſtete · ben chaſed out clene,
 But Crift ſeide, ‘by her fruyt · men ſhall hem ful knowen.’”
 Þanne ſaide y, “certeyn, ſire · þou demeſt full trewe !”
 Þanne þouȝt y to frayne þe firſt · of þis foure ordirs,
 And preſede to þe prechoures · to proven here wille.
 [Ich] hiȝede to her houſe · to herken of more ;
 And whan y cam to þat court · y gaped aboute.
 Swich a bild bold, y-buld · opon erþe heiȝte
 Say i nouȝth in certaine · ſipþe a longe tyme.
 Y ſemede vpon þat houſe · & ȝerne þeron loked,
 Whouȝ þe pileres weren y-peynt · and pulched ful clene,
 And queynteli i-coruen · wiþ curioſe knottes,
 Wiþ wyndowes well y-wrouȝt · wide vp o-lofte.
 And þanne y entrid in · and even-forþ went,
 And all was walled þat wone · þouȝ it wid were,
 Wiþ poſternes in pruytie · to paſen when hem liſte ;
 Orcheȝardes and erberes · eueſed well clene,
 And a curious cros · craftily entayled,
 Wiþ tabernacles y-tiȝt · to toten all abouten.
 Þe pris of a plouȝ-lond · of penyes ſo rounde
 To aparaille þat pyler · were pure lytel.
 Þanne y munte me forþ · þe mynſtre to knowen,
 And a-waytede a woon · wonderlie well y-beld,
 Wiþ arches on eueriche half · & belliche y-corven,
 Wiþ crochetes on corners · wiþ knottes of golde,
 Wyde wyndowes y-wrouȝt · y-written full þikke,
 Schynen wiþ ſchapen ſcheldes² · to ſchewen aboute,

¹ Your name shall be written in our table of benefactors for whose souls we pray. This was usually hung up in the church. Or else he means, Written in the windows, in which manner benefactors were frequently recorded.

Most of the [later] printed copies read *praid*. Hearne, in a quotation of this passage, reads *yrad*. *Gul. Newbrig.* p. 770. He quotes [the] edition of 1553. “Your name shall be richly written in the windows of the church of the monastery which men will read there for ever.” This seems to be the true reading [unquestionably.]

² That is, coats of arms of benefactors painted in the glass. So in an ancient
 II. T

Wip merkes of marchauntes¹ · y-medled bytwene,
 Mo þan twenty and two · twyes y-nombred.
 þer is none heraud þat haþ · half swich a rolle,
 Riȝt as a rageman · haþ reckned hem newe.
 Tombes opon tabernacles · tyld opon lofte,
 Houfed² in hernes · harde set abouten,
 Of armede alabaſtre · clad for þe nones,
 [Made vpon marbel · in many maner wyſe,
 Knyghtes in her conifantes³ · clad for þe nones,]

roll in verse, exhibiting the descent of the family of the lords of Clare in Suffolk, preserved in the Aulfyn friary at Clare, and written in the year 1356.

“ Dame Mault, a lady full honorable
 Borne of the Ulfters, as sheweth ryfe
 Hir armes of glasse in the eastern gable.

— So conjoynd be
 Ulftis armes and Glocestris thurgh and thurgh,
 As shewith our Wyndowes in houses thre,
 Dortur, chapitre-houſe, and fraitour, which ſhe
 Made out the grounde both plancher and wall.”

Dugdale cites this roll, *Mon. Angl.* i. p. 535. As does Weever, who dates it in 1460. *Fun. Mon.* p. 734. But I could prove this fashion to have been of much higher antiquity.

¹ By merkes of merchauntes we are to understand their symbols, ciphers, or badges, drawn or painted in the windows. [A great variety of them may be seen in *Current Notes*.] Of this passage I have received the following curious explication from Mr. Cole, rector of Blechley in Bucks, a learned antiquary in the heraldic art. “Mixed with the arms of their founders and benefactors stand also the marks of tradesmen and merchants, who had no Arms, but used their Marks in a Shield like Arms. Instances of this sort are very common. In many places in Great Saint Mary’s church in Cambridge such a Shield of Mark occurs: the same that is to be seen in the windows of the great shop opposite the Conduit on the Market-hill, and the corner house of the Petty Curry. No doubt, in the reign of Henry VII., the owner of these houses was a benefactor to the building, or glazing Saint Mary’s church. I have seen like instances in Bristol cathedral; and the churches at Lynn are full of them.”—In an ancient system of heraldry in the British Museum, I find the following illustration, under a shield of this sort. “They be none armys, but a Marke as Marchaunts vse, for every mane may take hyme a Marke, but not armys, without an herawde or purcyvaunte.” MSS. Harl. 2259, 9, fol. 110.

² Hurnes, interpreted, in the short Glossary to the *Crede*, Caves, that is, in the present application, niches, arches. See *Gloss. Rob. Glouc.* p. 660, col. i. Hurn, is angle, corner. From the Saxon *pyrn*, Angulus. Chaucer, *Frankel. T.* v. 393.

“ Seeken in every halke [nook], and every herne.”

And again, *Chan. Yem. Prol.* ver. 105.

“ Lurking in hernes and in lanes blynde.”

Read the line, thus pointed.

“ Houfed in hurnes hard set abouten.”

The sense is therefore: “The tombs were within lofty-pinnaced tabernacles, and enclosed in a multiplicity of thick-set arches.” Hard is close, or thick. This conveys no bad idea of a Gothic sepulchral shrine.

³ In their proper habiliments. In their cognifances, or surcoats of arms. So again, signat. C ii b.

“ For though a man in her minstre a masse wolde heren,
 His sight shall also byset on sondrye workes,
 The pennons, and the poinells, and pointes of sheldes
 Withdrawen his devotion and dusken his harte.”

That is, the banners, achievements, and other armorial ornaments, hanging over the tombs.

All it semed seyntes · y·sacred open erbe;
 And louely ladies y·wroust · leyen by her sydes
 In many gay garmentes · þat weren gold-beten.
 Þouȝ þe tax of ten ȝer · were trewly y·gadered,
 Nolde it nouȝt maken þat hous · half, as y trowe.
 Þanne kam I to þat cloister · & gaped abouten
 Whouȝ it was pilered and peynt · & portred well clene,
 All y·hyled wiȝ leed · lowe to þe stones,
 And y·paued wiȝ peynt til · iche poynte after ober;
 Wiȝ kundites of clene tyn · clofed all aboute,
 Wiȝ lauoures of latun · louelyche y·greithed.
 I trowe þe gaynage of þe ground · in a gret schire
 Nolde aparaile þat place · oo poynt til other ende.
 Þanne was þe chaptire-hous wrouȝt · as a greet chirche,
 Coruen and couered · and queyntliche entayled;
 Wiȝ semlich selure · y·set on lotte;
 As a Parlement-hous · y·peynted aboute.¹

¹ That they painted the walls of rooms, before tapestry became fashionable, I have before given instances, *Observat. Spens.* vol. ii. § p. 232. I will here add other proofs. In an old French romance on the *Miracles of the Virgin*, liv. i. Carpent. *Suppl. Lat. Gl. Du Cang.* v. *Lambroiffare.*

“Lors moufiers tiennent ors et sales,
 Et lor cambres, et lor grans sales,
 Font lambroiffier, paindre et pourtraire.”

Gervasius Dorobernensis, in his account of the burning of Canterbury Cathedral in the year 1174, says, that not only the beam-work was destroyed, but the ceiling underneath it, or concameration called *cælum*, being of wood beautifully painted, was also consumed. “*Cælum inferius egregie depictum*,” &c. p. 1289. *Dec. Script.* 1652. And Stubbes, *Ætus Pontif. Eboracensium*, says that Archbishop Aldred, about 1060, built the whole church of York from the presbytery to the tower, and “*superius opere pictorio quod Cælum vocant auro multiformiter intermixto, mirabili arte construxit*.” p. 1704. *Dec. Script.* ut supr. There are many instances in the pipe-rolls. The roof of the church of Cassino in Italy is ordered to be painted in 1349, like that of St. John Lateran at Rome. *Hist. Cassin.* tom. ii. p. 545, col. i. Dugdale has printed an ancient French record, by which it appears that there was a hall in the castle of Dover called Arthur's hall, and a chamber called Geneura's chamber. *Monast.* ii. 2. I suppose, because the walls of these apartments were respectively adorned with paintings of each. Geneura is Arthur's queen. In the pipe-rolls, Hen. III., we have this notice, A.D. 1259. “*Infra portam castri et birbecanam, etc. ab exitu Cameræ Rosamundæ usque capellam sancti Thomæ in Castro Wynton*.” *Rot. Pip. Hen. III.* an. 43.—This I once supposed to be a chamber in Winchester castle, so called because it was painted with the figure or some history of fair Rosamond. But a Rosamond-chamber was a common apartment in the royal castles, perhaps in imitation of her bower at Woodstock, literally nothing more than a chamber, which yet was curiously constructed and decorated, at least in memory of it. The old prose paraphrase of the Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester says, “*Boures hadde the Rosamonde a bout in Engelonde, which this kynge [Hen. II.] for hir sake made: atte Waltham bisshopes, in the castelle of Wyncheſter, atte park of Fremantel, atte Marteleſton, atte Woodeſtoke, and other fele [many] places*.” *Chron.* edit. Hearne, 479. This passage indeed seems to imply, that Henry II. himself provided for his fair concubine a bower, or chamber of peculiar construction, not only at Woodstock, but in all the royal palaces: which, as may be concluded from the pipe-roll just cited, was called by her name. Leland says, that in the stately castle of Pickering in Yorkshire, “in the first court be a foure Toures, of the which one is caullid Rosamundes Toure.” *Itin.* fol. 71. Probably because it contained one of these bowers or chambers. Or, perhaps we should read Rosamundes Boure. Compare Walpole's *Anecd. Paint.* i. pp. 10, 11.

panne ferd y into fraytour · and fond þere an oþer,
 An halle for an heyȝ kinge · an houholde to holden,
 Wiþ brode bordes aboute · y-benched wel clene,
 Wiþ windowes of glas · wrouȝt as a Chirche.
 panne walkede y ferrer · & went all abouten,
 And seiȝ halles full hyȝe · & houſes full noble,
 Chambers wiþ chimneyes · & Chapells gaie;
 And kychens for an hyȝe kinge · in caſtells to holden,
 And her dortour y-diȝte · wiþ dores ful ſtronge;
 Fermery and fraitur · with ſele mo houſes,
 And all ſtrong ſton wall · ſterne opon heiȝe,
 Wiþ gaie garites & grete · & iche hole y-glaſed;
 [And opere] houſes y-nowe · to herberwe þe queene.
 And yet þiſe bileres wilne beggen · a bagg-ful of wheate
 Of a pure pore man · þat maie onȝe paie
 Half his rente in a ȝer · and half ben behynde!
 panne turned y aȝen · whan y hadde all y-toted,
 And fond in a freitour · a frere on a benche,
 A greet cherl & a grym · growen as a tonne,
 Wiþ a face as fat · as a full bledder,
 Blown brettfull of breȝ · & as a bagge honged
 On boȝen his chekes, & his chyn · wiþ a chol lollode,
 As greet as a gos eye · growen all of grece;
 þat all wagged his fleche · as a quyk myre.
 His cope þat biclypped him · wel clene was it folden,
 Of double worſtede y-dyȝt · doun to þe hele;
 His kyrtel of clene whijt · clenlyche y-ſewed;
 Hyt was good y-now of ground · greyn for to beren.
 I hayſede þat herdeman · & hendliche y ſaide,
 “Gode ſyre, for Godes loue · canſtou me graiȝ tellen
 To any worþely wiȝt · þat [wiſſen] me couȝe
 Whou y ſchulde conne my Crede · Criſt for to ſolowe,
 þat leuede lelliche him-ſelf · & lyuede þerafter,
 þat ſeynede non falſhede · but fully Criſt ſuwede?
 For ſich a certeyn man · ſyker wold y troſten,
 þat he wolde telle me þe trewe · and turne to none oþer.
 And an Auſtyn þis ender daie · egged me faſte;
 þat he wolde techen me wel · he plyȝt me his treuȝe,
 And ſeyde me, ‘ſerteyne · ſyȝen Criſt died
 Oure ordir was [euell] · & erſt y-founde.’”
 “Fyrſt, ſelawe!” quod he · “fy on his pilche!
 He is but abortiȝ · eked wiþ cloutes!
 He holdeȝ his ordynaunce · wiȝe hores and þeues,
 And purchaſeȝ hem pryuileges · wiþ penyes ſo rounde;
 It is a pur pardoners craft · proue & aſaye!
 For haue þei þi money · a moneȝ þerafter,
 Certes, þeiȝ þou come aȝen · he nyl þe nouȝt knowen.
 But, ſelawe, oure foundement · was firſt of þe opere,
 And we ben founded fullliche · wiþ-ouȝten fayntiſe;
 And we ben clerkes y-cnoven · cunnyng in ſcole,
 Proued in proceſſion · by proceſſe of lawe.
 Of oure ordre þer beȝ · biſhopes wel manye,
 Seyntes on fundry ſtedes · þat ſuffreden harde;
 And we ben proued þe priȝ · of popes at Rome,
 And of gretteſt degre · as godſpelles telleȝ.”

I muſt not quit our Ploughman without obſerving, that ſome other
 fatirical pieces anterior to the Reformation bear the adopted name
 of *Piers the Plowman*. Under the character of a ploughman the re-
 ligious are likewise laſhed in a poem written in apparent imitation of

Langland's *Vision*, and [falsely] attributed to Chaucer. I mean the *Plowman's Tale*.¹ The measure is different, and it is in rhyme. But it has Langland's alliteration of initials; as if his example had, as it were, appropriated that mode of versification to the subject, and the supposed character which supports the satire.² All these poems [or rather, the *Crede* and the *Tale*] were, for the most part, founded on the doctrines newly broached by Wickliffe:³ who maintained, among other things, that the clergy should not possess estates, that the ecclesiastical ceremonies obstructed true devotion, and that Mendicant friars, the particular object of our *Plowman's Crede*, were a public and insupportable grievance. But Wickliffe, whom Mr. Hume pronounces to have been an enthusiast, like many other reformers, carried his ideas of purity too far, and, as at least it appears from the two first

¹ [In the] *Plowman's Tale* this *Crede* is alluded to, v. 3005 :

" And of *Freris* I have before
Told in a making of a *Crede* ;
And yet I could tell worfe and more."

This passage at least brings the *Plowman's Tale* below the *Crede* in time. But some have thought, very improbably, that this *Crede* is *Jack Upland*. [Internal evidence clearly shows that the author of the *Plowman's Tale* was also author of the *Crede*, as he claims to have been. In imitation of Langland, he named one of his poems the *Plowman's Crede*, and the other the *Plowman's Tale*. The probable date of the former is A. D. 1394, and of the latter A. D. 1395.]

² It is extraordinary that we should find in this poem one of the absurd arguments of the puritans against ecclesiastical establishments, v. 2253 :

" For Chrif made no cathedralls,
Ne with him was no Cardinals."

But see what follows, concerning Wickliffe.

³ It is remarkable, that they touch on the very topics which Wickliffe had just published in his *Objections of Freres*, charging them with fifty heresies. As in the following : " Also Freres buildin many great churches, and costly waif houses and cloisteres, as it wern casteles, and that withouten nede," &c. Lewis's *Wickliff*, p. 22. I will here add a passage from Wickliffe's tract entitled *Why poor Priests have no Benefices*. Lewis, App. Num. xix. p. 289. " And yet they [lords] wolen not present a clerk able of kunning of god's law, but a kitchen clerk, or a penny clerk, or wif in building castles, or worldly doing, though he kunne not reade well his sauter," &c. Here is a manifest piece of satire on Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, Wickliffe's cotemporary ; who is supposed to have recommended himself to Edward III. by rebuilding the castle of Windsor. This was a recent and notorious instance. But in this appointment the king probably paid a compliment to that prelate's singular talents for business, his activity, circumspection, and management, rather than to any scientific and professed skill in architecture which he might have possessed. It seems to me that he was only a supervisor or comptroller on this occasion. It was common to depute churchmen to this department, from an idea of their superior prudence and probity. Thus John, the prior of St. Swithin's at Winchester in 1280, is commissioned by brief from the king to supervise large repairs done by the sheriff in the castle of Winchester and the royal manor of Wolmer. *MS. Registr. Priorat.* Quat. 19, fol. 3. The bishop of St. David's was master of the works at building King's College. Hearne's *Elmh.* p. 353. Alcock, bishop of Ely, was comptroller of the royal buildings under Henry VII. Parker's *Hist. Cambr.* p. 119. He, like Wykeham, was a great builder, but not therefore an architect. Richard Williams, dean of Lichfield, and chaplain to Henry VIII. bore the same office. MSS. Wood, Lichfield, D. 7. Ashmol. Nicholas Townley, clerk, was master of the works at Cardinal College. *MS. Twyne*, 8, f. 351. See also Walpole, *Anecd. Paint.* i. p. 40.

of these opinions, under the design of destroying superstition, his undistinguishing zeal attacked even the necessary aids of religion. It was certainly a lucky circumstance that Wickliffe quarrelled with the Pope. His attacks on superstition at first probably proceeded from resentment. Wickliffe, who was professor of divinity at Oxford, finding on many occasions not only his own province invaded, but even the privileges of the university frequently violated by the pretensions of the Mendicants, gratified his warmth of temper by throwing out some slight censures against all the four orders, and the popes their principal patrons and abettors. Soon afterwards he was deprived of the wardenship of Canterbury hall by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who substituted a monk in his place. Upon this he appealed to the Pope, who confirmed the archiepiscopal sentence, by way of rebuke for the freedom with which he had treated the monastic profession. Wickliffe, highly exasperated at this usage, immediately gave a loose to his indignation, and without restraint or distinction attacked in numerous sermons and treatises not only the scandalous enormities of the whole body of monks, but even the usurpations of the pontifical power itself, with other ecclesiastical corruptions. Having exposed these palpable abuses with a just abhorrence, he ventured still farther, and proceeded to examine and refute with great learning and penetration the absurd doctrines which prevailed in the religious system of his age: he not only exhorted the laity to study the Scriptures, but translated the Bible into English for general use and popular inspection. Whatever were his motives, it is certain that these efforts enlarged the notions of mankind, and sowed those seeds of a revolution in religion, which were quickened at length and brought to maturity by a favourable coincidence of circumstances, in an age when the increasing growth of literature and curiosity naturally led the way to innovation and improvement. But a visible diminution of the authority of the ecclesiastics, in England at least, had been long growing from other causes. The disgust which the laity had contracted from the numerous and arbitrary encroachments both of the court of Rome and of their own clergy, had greatly weaned the kingdom from superstition; and conspicuous symptoms had appeared, on various occasions, of a general desire to shake off the intolerable bondage of papal oppression.

SECTION X.

LANGLAND'S peculiarity of style and versification seems to have had many imitators.. One of these is a nameless author on the fashionable history of Alexander the Great : and his poem on this subject is inserted at the end of the beautiful Bodleian copy of the French *Roman d'Alexandre*, before mentioned, with this reference :¹ *Here sayleth a proffesse of this romaunce of Alixaunder the whiche proffesse that sayleth ye schulle fynde at the ende of thys boke ywrete in Engeliche ryme.* It is imperfect, and begins and proceeds thus :²

*How Alexander partyd thenny.*³

When this weith at his wil weduring hadde,
 Ful rathe rommede he rydinge thederre ;
 To Oridrace with his oft Alixandre wendus :
 There wilde contre was wift, and wondrousful peple,
 That weren proved ful proude, and prys of hem helde ;
 Of bodi went thei bare withoute any wede,
 And had grave on the ground many grete cavys ;
 There here wonnyng was wynturus and somerus.
 No syte nor no fur stede sothli thei ne hadde,
 But holus holwe in the grounde to hide hem inne ;
 The proude Genosophiftiens⁴ were the gomus called,

¹ It is in a different hand, yet with Saxon characters. See ad calc. cod. f. 209. It has miniatures in water colours. [See Mr. Skeat's *Essay on Alliterative Poetry* in the third volume of the lately-edited Percy folio MS. (1868).—F.]

² There is a poem in the [Bodleian library,] complete in the former part, which is [certainly] the same. [Sir F. Madden assigns the former to the reign of Henry VI. That gentleman also informs us that in the Bodleian is a fragment of another and quite different alliterative romance of Alexander, composed, he believe, by the person who wrote the English alliterative romance of *William and the Werewolf*, ed. 1832.] MSS. Ashm. 44. It has twenty-seven passus, and begins thus :

“Whener folker fastid and fed, fayne wolde thei her
 Some farand thing,” &c.

³ [Printed in Weber's collection, 1810.] At the end are these rubrics, with void spaces, intended to be filled :

“How Alexandre remewid to a flood that is called Phison.”
 “How king Duidimus sente lettres to king Alexandre.”
 “How Duidimus enditid to Alexaundre of here levyng.”
 “How he spareth not Alexandre to telle hym of hys governance.”
 “How he telleth Alexandre of his maumetrie.”
 “How Alexandre sente aunswere to Duidimus by lettres.”
 “How Duidimus sendyd an answere to Alexandre by lettre.”
 “How Alexandre sente Duidimus another lettre.”
 “How Alexandre pight a pelyr of marbyl ther.”

[The last of these rubrics only is followed by a void space in the Bodleian copy ; the former being filled up with such versification as is given in Mr. Warton's text, which led Ritson to consider it a much earlier composition than *Piers Plowman*.—*Park*.]

⁴ Gymnosophists.

Now is that name to mene the nakid wif.
 Wan the kiddeste of the cavus, that was kinge holde,
 Hurde tydinge telle and toknyng wifte,
 That Alixaundre with his oft atlede thidirre,
 To beholden of hom hure hiezest prynce,
 Than waies of worshiþe wittie and quainte
 With his lettres he let to the lud fende.
 Thanne southte thei sone the foresaide prynce,
 And to the schamleþe schalk schewen hur lettres.
 Than rathe let the rink reden the sonde,
 That newe tythingeit tolde in this wif :
 The gentil Geneolophistians, that gode were of witte,
 To the emperour Alixandre here aunsweris wreten.
 That is worschip of word worthi to have,
 And is conquerer kid in contres manie.
 Us is sertefyed, seg, as we soth heren
 That thou hast ment with thi man amongis us ferre
 But yf thou kyng to us come with caere to fyte
 Of us getist thou no good, gome, we the warne.
 For what richesse, rink, us might you us bi-reve,
 Whan no wordliche wele is with us founde ?
 We ben sengle of us silfe, and semen ful bare,
 Nouht welde we nowe, but naked we wende,
 And that we happili her haven of kynde
 May no man but God maken us tine.
 Thei thou fonde with thi folke to fighte with us alle,
 We schulle us kepe on cauþt our cavus withinne.
 Nevere werred we with wiþþ upon erthe ;
 For we ben hid in oure holis or we harme laache.
 Thus saide sothli the sonde that thei sente hadde,
 And al so cof as the king kende the sawe,
 New lettres he let the ludus bitake,
 And with his sawes of soth he fikerede hem alle,
 That he wolde faire with his folke in a faire wif,
 To bholden here home, and non harme wurke.
 So hath the king to hem sente, and sithen with his peple,
 Kaiores cosli til hem, to kenne of hure fare.
 But whan thai sieu the seg with so manye ryde,
 Thei war agrisen of hys grym, and wende gref tholie ;
 Fast heiede thei to holis, and hidden there,¹
 And in the cavus hem kept from the king sterne, &c.

Another piece, written in Langland's manner, is entitled, [*The Destruction of Jerusalem*]. This was a favourite subject, as I have before observed, drawn from the Latin historical romance, which passes under the name of *Hegesippus de Excidio Hierusalem* :

In Tyberyus tyme the trewe emperour²

¹ [In the Bodleian Library, MS. Greaves 60, is a fragment of another alliterative romance on the subject of Alexander, totally different from the former one, and which I have good grounds to believe was composed by the same poet who wrote the English alliterative romance of *William and the Werewolf*, edited by me for the Roxburghe Club, in 1832.—M.]

² [The present text has been collated with the Cott. MS. Calig. A. ii. The orthographical differences between this and the Laud MS. are numerous though not important. All its readings improving the sense have been adopted ; though this perhaps would have been wholly superfluous, had the original transcript been correctly made.—*Price*.]

tain that Langland was the first who led the way in this singular species of verification. His *Vision* was written on a popular subject, and [was formerly] the only poem, composed in this capricious sort of metre, which [existed in print]. It is easy to conceive how these circumstances contributed to give him the merit of an inventor on this occasion.

Percy has exhibited specimens of two or three other poems belonging to this class.¹ One of these is entitled *Death and Life*: it consists of two hundred and twenty-nine lines, and is divided into two parts or *Fitts*. It begins thus :

Christ, christen king, that on the crosse tholed,
Hadd paines & paffyons to defend our soules;
Give us grace on the ground the greatlye to serve
For that royall red blood that rann from thy side.

The subject of this piece is a *Vision*, containing a contest for superiority between *Our lady Dame Life*, and the *ugly fiend Dame Death*: who with the several attributes and concomitants are personified in a beautiful vein of allegorical painting. Dame Life is thus forcibly described :

Shee was brighter of her blee then was the bright sonn :
Her rudd redder then the rose that on the rise hangeth :
Meekely smiling with her mouth, & merry in her lookes ;
Ever laughing for love, as shee like wold :
& as she came by the bankes, the boughes eche one
They lowted to that Ladye & layd forth their branches ;
Blossomes and burgens breathed full sweete,
Flowers flourished in the frith where shee forth stepedd,
And the grasse that was gray greened belive.

The figure of Death follows, which is equally bold and expressive. Another piece of this kind, also quoted by Dr. Percy, is entitled *Chevelere Assigne*, or *De Cigne*, that is, *Knight of the Swan*.² Among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum, there is a French metrical romance on this subject, entitled *L'Ystoire du Chevalier au Signe*.³ [of which *Le Chevelere Assigne* is an abridgment]. Our English poem begins thus :⁴

¹ *Essay on the Metr. of P. P. Vis.* p. 8, *seq.* [The poem is printed in Bishop Percy's folio MS. 1868, vol. iii.—F.]

[² MS. Cotton. Caligula, A. 2. Printed by Mr. E. V. Utterston, for the Roxburghe Club, 1820, and again by Mr. H. H. Gibbs for the Early English Text Society, 1868, with a series of photographs from a very curious ivory-casket in the editor's family, containing various illustrations of the story.]

³ 15 E. vi. 9. fol. And in the Royal library at Paris, MS. 7192. *Le Roman du Chevalier au Cigne en vers.* Montf. Cat. MSS. ii. p. 789. [There are six romance sin the cycle. M. Paullin Paris has edited *Le Chanson d'Antioche.* See *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tome 22.—F.]

⁴ See MSS. Cott. Calig. A. ii. f. 109. 123.

[The celebrated Godfrey of Bullogne was said to have been lineally descended from the Chevalier au Cigne. *Melanges d'une Gr. Biblioth.* vol. v. c. iii. p. 148. The tradition is still current in the Duchy of Cleves, and forms one of the most interesting pieces in Otmar's *Volkssagen*. It must have obtained an early and general circulation in Flanders; for Nicolaes de Klerck, who wrote at the com-

Alle-weldynge god whenne it is his wylle,
 Wele he wereth his werke with his owne honde ;
 For ofte harmes were hente that helpe we ne myste ;
 Nere the hyznes of hym that lengeth in heuene
 For this, &c.

This alliterative measure, unaccompanied with rhyme, and including many peculiar Saxon idioms appropriated to poetry, remained in use so low as the sixteenth century. In [the newly-edited Percy MS.] there is one of this class called *Scottish Feilde*, containing a very circumstantial narrative of the battle of Flodden fought in 1513.

[There is also an English romance in prose, entitled *The Knight of the Swanne*, of which there seems to have been an edition by W. de Worde in 1512. It is a translation by Robert Copland, the industrious typographer, of chapters 1-38 of a French romance entitled "La Genealogie avecques les Gestes & Nobles Faitz darmes du tres preux & renomme prince Godeffroy de Boulion & de ses cheualereux freres Baudouin et Eustace : yllus & descendus de la très noble & illustre lignée du vertueux Chevalier au Cyne." *The Knight of the Swanne* was reprinted by William Copland about 1560, and it is included in a modern collection.]¹

In some of the earliest of our specimens of old English poetry,² we have long ago seen that alliteration was esteemed a fashionable and favourite ornament of verse. For the sake of throwing the subject into one view, and further illustrating what has been here said concerning it, I choose to cite in this place a very ancient hymn to the Virgin Mary, where this affectation professedly predominates.³

1.

Hail beo yow⁴ Marie, moodur and may,
 Mylde, and meke, and merciable ;

mencement of the 14th century (1318), thus refers to it in his *Brabandsche Yeesen* :

"Om dat van Brabant die Hertoghen
 Voormaels dicke syn beloghen
 Also dat sy quamen metten Swane
 Daar by hebbics my genomen ane
 Dat ic die waerheit wil out decken
 Ende in Duitsche Rime vertrecken,

i. e. because formerly the dukes of Brabant have been much belied, to wit, that they came with a Swan, I have undertaken to disclose the truth, and to propound it in Dutch Rhyme. See Van Wynut *supra*, p. 270. The French romance upon this subject, consisting of about 30,000 verses, was begun by one Renax or Renaux, and finished by Gandor de Douay.—*Price*.]

¹ [Thoms' *Early Prose Romances*, 1828, iii.]

² See *sect.* i.

³ Among the Cotton MSS. there is an [Early English] alliterative hymn to the Virgin Mary. *Ner. A. xiv. f. 240, cod. membran. 8vo.* "On 30ð ureisun to ure lefdi." That is, *A good prayer to our lady.*

"Cristes milde moder seyntz Marie
 Mine her leonie, mi leoue lefdi."

⁴ See some pageant-poetry, full of alliteration, written in the reign of Henry VII., Leland, *Coll.* iii. App. 180, edit. 1770.

Heyl folliche fruit of sothfast fay,
 Agayn vche stryf studefast and stable !
 Heil sothfast soul in vche a fay,
 Undur the son is non so able.
 Heil logge that vr lord in lay,
 The formaft that never was founden in fable,
 Heil trewe, trouthfull, and tretable,
 Heil cheef ; chofen of chafteite,
 Heil homely, hende, and amyable
To preye for us to thi sone so fre ! AVE.

II.

Heil stern, that never stinteth liht ;
 Heil bush, brennyng that never was brent ;
 Heil rihtful rulere of everi riht,
 Schadewe to schilde that scholde be schent.
 Heil, blessed be yowe blofme briht,
 To trouthe and trust was thine entent ;
 Heil mayden and modur, most of miht,
 Of all mischeves and amendement ;
 Heil spice sprong that never was spent,
 Heil trone of the trinitie ;
 Heil soiene¹ that god us sone to sent
Yowe preye for us thi sone so fre ! AVE.

III.

Heyl hertely in holinessse.
 Heyl hope of help to heighe and lowe,
 Heyl strength and stel of stabylnessse,
 Heyl wyndowe of hevenc wowe,
 Heyl reson of rihtwynnessse,
 To vche a caityf comfort to knowe,
 Heyl innocent of angernessse,
 Vr takel, vr tol, that we on trowe,
 Heyl frend to all that beoth forth flowe
 Heyl liht of love, and of bewte,
 Heyl brihter then the blod on snowe,
Yow preye for us thi sone so fre ! AVE.

IV.

Heyl mayden, heyl modur, heyl martir trowe,
 Heyl kyndly i knowe confessor,
 Heyl evenere of old lawe and newe,
 Heyl buildor bold of cristes bour,
 Heyl rose higest of hyde and hewe,
 Of all ffuytes feirest flour,
 Heyl turtell trustiest and trewe,
 Of all trouthe thou art tresour,
 Heyl puyred princeffe of paramour,
 Heyl blofme of brere brihtest of ble,
 Heyl owner of eorthly honour,
Yowe preye for us thi sone so fre ! AVE, &c.

V.

Heyl hende, heyl holy emperesse,
 Heyle queene corteois, comely, and kynde,
 Heyl distruyere of everi strisse,
 Heyl mender of everi monnes mynde,
 Heil bodi that we ouht to blesse,
 So feythful frend may never mon fynde,

¹ F. Seyen. *Scyon*.

Heil levere and loveve of largenessse
 Swete and swetest that never may swynde,
 Heil botenere of everie bodi blynde,
 Heil borgun brihtes of all bounte,
 Heyl trewore then the wode bynde,
Yow preye for us thi sone so fre ! Ave.

VI.

Heyl modur, heyl mayden, heyl hevene quene,
 Heyl gatus of paradys,
 Heyl sterre of the se that ever is sene,
 Heyl riche, royall, and ryhtwys,
 Heyl burde i blessed mote yowe bene,
 Heyl perle of al perey the pris,
 Heyl schadewe in vche a schour schene,
 Heyl fairer thaȝ that flour de lys,
 Heyl cher chofen that never nas chis
 Heyl chef chamber of charite
 Heyl in wo that ever was wis
Yowe preye for us thi sone so fre ! Ave, &c. &c.¹

These rude stanzas remind us of the Greek hymns ascribed to Orpheus, which entirely consist of a cluster of the appellations appropriated to each divinity.

SECTION XI.



ALTHOUGH this work is professedly confined to England, yet I cannot pass over [a Scottish poet] of this period who ha[s] adorned the English language by a strain of versification, expression, and poetical imagery, far superior to [his] age; and who consequently deserve[s] to be mentioned in a general review of the progress of our national poetry. [His name] is John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen. He was educated at Oxford; and Rymer has printed an instrument for his safe passage into England, in order to prosecute his studies in that university, in the years 1357 and 1365.² David Bruce, king of Scotland, gave him a pension for life, as a reward for his poem called the [*Brus*]. It was printed at [Edinburgh about 1570,³ and often afterwards].⁴

¹ MS. Vernon. f. 122. In this manuscript are several other pieces of this sort. The Holy Virgin appears to a priest who often sang to her, and calls him her *joculator*. MSS. James, xxvi. p. 32.

² *Fæd.* vi. 31, 478.

³ Tanner, *Bibl.* p. 73. [See our *List of Early English Poems*, supra. Mr. Henry Bradshaw assigns to Barbour two works hitherto unknown to have been by him: 1. Fragments of a *Troy-Book*, mixed up with some copies of Lydgate's *Troy-book*; 2. Nearly 40,000 lines of *Lives of Saints* (MSS. Camb. Univ. and Queen's Coll. Oxford).—F.]

⁴ [Mr. D. Laing has a copy, wanting the title, of a 4to edit., which he assigns to this date. Extracts have now been taken from Mr. Skeat's new edition for the Early English Text Society, of which only Part I. (ten books) has yet appeared, 1870.

[The following is the account of the battle of Methven, near Perth, and the first discomfiture of King Robert :] ¹

On *athir* syd *thus* war *thai* yhar,²
 And till assemble³ all redy war.
Thai straucht *thar* *speris*, on *athir* syd,
 And swa ruydly gan Samyn⁴ ryd,
That *speris* [all] to-fruschy⁵ war,
 And feyle men dede, and woundyt far;
 The blud owt at *thar* byrnys⁶ breft.
 For *the* best, and *the* worthiest,
That wilfull war to wyn honour,
 Plungyt in *the* stalwart stour,
 And rowtis ruyd about *thaim* dang.⁷
 Men mycht haiff seyn in-to *that* thrang
 Knychtis *that* wycht and hardy war,
 Wndyr horis feyt defoulyt *thar*;
 Sum woundyt, and sum all ded:
The gres woux⁸ off *the* blud all rede,
 And *thai*, *that* held on horis, in by⁹
 Swappyt owt swardis sturdly;
 And swa fell strakys gave and tuk,
That all the renk¹⁰ about *thaim* quouk.
The bruyssis folk full hardely
 Schawyt *thar* gret chawalry:
 And he him-selff, atour *the* lave,¹¹
 Sa hard and hewy dyntis gave,
That quhar he come *thai* maid him way.
 His folk *thaim* put in hard assay,
 To stynt¹² *thar* fais mekill mycht,
That then so fayr had off *the* fycht,
That *thai* wan feild ay mar & mar:
The kingis small folk ner wencusyt ar.
 And quhen *the* king his folk has sene
 Begyn to faile, for propyr tene,¹³
 Hys assenshe¹⁴ gan he cry;
 And in *the* stour sa hardyly
 He ruschy¹⁵, *that* all *the* semble¹⁶ schuk:
 He all till-hewyt¹⁷ *that* he our-tuk;
 And dang on *thaim* quhill he mycht drey.¹⁸
 And till his folk he cryt hey;
 "On *thaim*! On *thaim*! *thai* feble fast!
This bargane neuir may langar last!"
 And with *that* word sa wilfully
 He dang on, and sa hardely,
That quha had sene him in *that* fycht
 Suld hald him for A douchty knycht.
 Bot thocht¹⁹ he wes stout and hardy,

In all the preceding editions of Warton, the account of Blind Harry's *Wallace* has been improperly inserted in the present section; it has now been transferred to its correct place.]

¹ [Skeat's ed. pp. 38-42. "On the 19th June, 1306, the new king was completely defeated near Methven by the English Earl of Pembroke (Sir Aymer de Valence)."]—Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*.]

² [ready.]

³ [to encounter.]

⁴ [together.]

⁵ [all broken in pieces; the word *all* is supplied from Hart's edition, 1616.]

⁶ [breast-plates.]

⁷ [dealt stern strokes about them.]

⁸ [grafs became.]

⁹ [haste.]

¹⁰ [ring; Hart prints *rinke*.]

¹¹ [above the rest.]

¹² [stop.]

¹³ [very grief.]

¹⁴ [battle-cry.]

¹⁵ [assembly.]

¹⁶ [hewed in pieces.]

¹⁷ [hold out.]

¹⁸ [though.]

And *othir* als off his cumpany,
Thar mycht na worſchip *thar* awailȝe;¹
 For *thar* ſmall folk begouth to failȝe,
 And fled all ſkalyt² her and *thar*.
 Bot *the* gude, at enchaufyt³ war
 Off Ire, abade and held *the* ſtour
 To conquyr *thaim* endles honour.
 And quhen *ſchir* Amer⁴ has ſene
The ſmall folk fle all bedene,⁵
 And ſa few abid to *fycht*,
 He releyt⁶ to him mony A knycht;
 And in *the* ſtour ſa hardyly
 He ruſchyt with hys chewalry,
That he ruſchyt⁷ his fayis Ilkane.
Schir Thomas Randell⁸ *thar* wes tane,
That then wes A yong bacheler;
 And *ſchir* Alexander fraſeyr;
 And *ſchir* dauid *the* breklay,
 Inchmertyne, and hew de le hay,
 And ſomerweil,⁹ and *othir* ma;
 And *the* king him-ſelf alſua
 Wes ſet in-till full hard aſſay,
 Throw *ſchir* philip *the* mowbray,¹⁰
That raid till him full hardyly,
 And hynt hys rengȝe,¹¹ and ſyne gan cry
 “Help! help! I have *the* new-maid king!”
 With *that* come gyrdand, in A lyng,¹²
 Cryſtall off Seytoun,¹³ quhen he ſwa
 Saw *the* king ſelyt with his ſa;
 And to philip ſic rout he raucht,¹⁴
That thoct he wes of mekill maucht,
 He gert him galay¹⁵ diſyly;
 And haid till erd gane fullyly,
 Ne war he hynt him by his ſted;
 Then off his hand *the* brydill yhed,¹⁶
 And *the* king his ewſenȝe¹⁷ gan cry,
 Releyt¹⁸ his men *that* war him by,
That war ſa few *that thai* na mycht
 Endur *the* forſ mar off *the* fycht.
Thai prikyt then out off *the* preſs;
 And *the* king, *that* angry wes,
 For he his men ſaw fle him fra,
 Said then: “lordingis, ſen It is ſwa
That vre¹⁹ rynnys agane ws her,
 Gud Is we paſs off *thar* daunger,²⁰
 Till god ws ſend eſtſonys grace:
 And ȝeyt may fall, giff *thai* will chace,
 Quyt *thaim* torn²¹ but ſum-dele we fall.”
 To *this* word *thai* aſſentyt all,
 And fra *thaim* walopyt²² owyr mar.

¹ [avail.] ² [diſperſed.] ³ [good ones, that enraged.]
⁴ [Sir Aymer de Valence.] ⁵ [quickly.] ⁶ [rallied.]
⁷ [overthrew.] ⁸ [Randolph.]
⁹ [Sir David Barclay, Inchmartin, Hugh de la Haye, and Somerville.]
¹⁰ [Philip de Mowbray.] ¹¹ [caught his rein.]
¹² [charging in a direct line.] ¹³ [Sir Chriſtopher Seton.] ¹⁴ [blow he gave.]
¹⁵ [made him ſtagger.] ¹⁶ [went.] ¹⁷ [war-cry.] ¹⁸ [rallied.] ¹⁹ [fortune.]
²⁰ [out of their power to harm.] ²¹ [requite them a turn.] ²² [galloped.]

Thar fayis alsua wery war,
 That off thaim all thar chaffyt nane :
 Bot with prifoneris, that thai had tane,
 Rycht to the toun¹ thai held thar way,
 Rycht glaid and Ioyfull off thar pray.

[As a further specimen of the poem, the opening of the description in the fifth book of Bruce's "hansaling in Carrik, at his first arriuing" may be sufficient :]²

This wes in were,³ quhen vyntir-tyde
 With his blastis, hydewis to byde,
 Wes ourdriffin :⁴ and byrdis smale,
 As thriftill and the nyctingale,
 Begouth⁵ rycht meraly to syng,
 And for to mak in thair synging
 Syndry notis, and soundis fere,⁶
 And melody pleasande to here.
 And the treis begouth to ma
 Burgeonys⁷ and brycht blwmys alsua,
 To vyn the heling of thar hevede,⁸
 That vikkit vyntir had thame revede ;
 And al grewis⁹ begouth to spryng.

[To the latter half of the fifteenth century we must refer another Scottish writer, Andrew of Wyntown, who composed the *Original Chronicle of Scotland*. Wyntown was born in all probability at the close of the fourteenth, or beginning of the fifteenth century ; but the exact date is wanting. It is difficult to allow that he saw the light during the reign of David II. (1329-71), since Dunbar, in his *Lament for the Makaris*, composed most probably not earlier than the year 1500, seems to refer to this author as one whom he had known, and who at that time had not been very long deceased.¹⁰ A tolerably copious account of Wyntown and his writings is readily accessible elsewhere ;¹¹ and his *Original Chronicle of Scotland* has been printed entire by Macpherson.]¹²

About the present period, historical romances of recent events seem to have commenced. Many of these appear to have been written by heralds.¹³ In the library of Worcester college at Oxford, there is a poem in French, reciting the achievements of Edward the Black Prince, who died in the year 1376. It is in the short verse of romance, and was written by the prince's herald, who attended close by his person in all his battles, according to the established mode of those times. This was Chandos Herald, frequently mentioned in Froissart. In this piece, which is of considerable length, the names

¹ [Perth.] ³ [Skeat's edit. p. 105.] ⁵ [spring.] ⁴ [overpast.]

² [began.] ⁶ [various.] ⁷ [buds.]

⁸ [to get the covering of their head. *Hevede* is clearly the reading, though spelt *hede* in the Cambridge, and *hewid* in the Edinburgh MS.]

⁹ [growing things ; the Edinb. MS. has *greffys*, *grafies*.]

¹⁰ [Works by Laing, 1834, i. 213.]

¹¹ [Irving's *History of Scottish Poetry*, edit. 1861, chap. v.]

¹² [1795, 2 vols. large 8vo. A new edition by Dr. Laing has been promised.]

¹³ See Le Pere Menestrier, *Cheval. Ancien*. c. v. p. 225.

of the Englishmen are properly spelled, the chronology exact, and the epitaph,¹ forming a sort of peroration to the narrative, the same as was ordered by the prince in his will.² This poem, indeed, may seem to claim no place here, because it happens to be written in the French language: yet, exclusive of its subject, a circumstance I have mentioned, that it was composed by a herald, deserves particular attention, and throws no small illustration on the poetry of this era. There are several proofs which indicate that many romances of the fourteenth century, if not in verse, at least those written in prose, were the work of heralds. As it was their duty to attend their masters in battle, they were enabled to record the most important transactions of the field with fidelity. It was customary to appoint none to this office but persons of discernment, address, experience, and some degree of education.³ At solemn tournaments they made

¹ It is a fair and beautiful MS. on vellum. It is an oblong octavo, and formerly belonged to Sir William Le Neve Clarendieux herald. [It has been edited by the Rev. H. O. Coxe, M.A. the present keeper of Bodley, for the Roxburghe Club, 1842.]

² The hero's epitaph is frequent in romances. In the French romance of [*Le Petit Jean de Saintré*, written about this time, his epitaph is introduced.

³ Le Pere Menestrier, *Cheval Ancien*. ut suprà. p. 225, ch. v. "Que l'on croyoit avoir l'Esprit," &c. Feron says that they gave this attendance in order to make a true report. *L'Instit. des Rois et Hérauts*, p. 44, a. See also Favyn. p. 57. See a curious description, in Froissart, of an interview between the Chandois-herald, mentioned above, and a marshal of France, where they enter into a warm and very serious dispute concerning the *devices d'amour* borne by each army. Liv. i. ch. 161.

[A curious collection of German poems, evidently compiled from these heraldic registers, was formerly discovered in the library of Prince Sinzendorf. The reader will find an account of them and their author Peter Suchenwirt (who lived at the close of the fourteenth century) in the 14th volume of the *Vienna Annals of Literature* (*Jahrbücher der Literatur*, Wien, 1821). They are noticed here for their occasional mention of English affairs. The life of Burkhard v. Ellerbach recounts the victory gained by the English at the battle of Cressy; in which this terror of Prussian and Saracen infidels was left for dead on the field, "the blood and the grass, the green and the red, being so completely mingled in one general mass," that no one perceived him. Friedrich v. Chreuzpeckh served in Scotland, England, and Ireland. In the latter country he joined an army of 60,000 (!) men, about to form the siege of a town called Trachtal (?); but the army broke up without an engagement. On his return thence to England, the fleet in which he sailed fell in with a Spanish Squadron, and destroyed or captured six-and-twenty of the enemy. These events occurred between the years 1332-36. Albrecht v. Nürnberg followed Edward III. into Scotland, and appears to have been engaged in the battle of Halidown-hill. But the "errant knight" most intimately connected with England was Hans v. Traun. He joined the banner of Edward III. at the siege of Calais, during which he was engaged in cutting off some supplies sent by sea for the relief of the besieged. He does ample justice to the valour and heroic resistance of the garrison, who did not surrender till their stock of leather,¹ rope and similar materials,—which had long been their only food,—was exhausted. Rats were sold at a crown each. In the year 1356 he attended the Black Prince in the campaign which preceded the battle of Poitiers; and on the morning of that eventful fight, Prince Edward honoured him with the important charge of bearing the English standard. The battle is described with considerable animation. The hostile armies advanced

¹ [The original reads "schuch, sil, chvnt und hewt;" the two last I interpret "kind und haut."]

an essential part of the ceremony. Here they had an opportunity of observing accoutrements, armorial distinctions, the number and appearance of the spectators, together with the various events of the turney, to the best advantage: and they were afterwards obliged to compile an ample register of this strange mixture of foppery and ferocity.¹ They were necessarily connected with the minstrels at public festivals, and thence acquired a facility of reciting adventures. A learned French antiquary is of opinion, that anciently the French heralds, called Hiraux, were the same as the minstrels, and that they sung metrical tales at festivals.² They frequently received fees or largesse in common with the minstrels.³ They travelled into different countries, and saw the fashions of foreign courts, and foreign tournaments. They not only committed to writing the process of the lists, but it was also their business, at magnificent feasts, to describe the number and parade of the dishes, the quality of the guests, the brilliant dresses of the ladies, the courtesy of the knights, the revels, disguisings, banquets, and every other occurrence most observable in the course of the solemnity. Spenser alludes expressly to these heraldic details, where he mentions the splendour of Florimel's wedding:

on foot, the archers forming the vanguard. "This was not a time," says the poet, "for the interchange of chivalric civilities, for friendly greetings and cordial love: no man asked his fellow for a violet or a rose;* and many a hero, like the ostrich, was obliged to digest both iron and steel, or to overcome in death the sensations inflicted by the spear and the javelin. The field resounded with the clash of swords, clubs, and battle-axes; and with shouts of Nater Dam and Sand Jors." But Von Traun, mindful of the trust reposed in him, rushed forward to encounter the standard-bearer of France: "He drove his spear through the vizer of his adversary—the enemy's banner sank to the earth never to rise again—Von Traun planted his foot upon its staff; when the king of France was made captive, and the battle was won." For his gallantry displayed on this day Edward granted him a pension of a hundred marks. He is afterwards mentioned as being intrusted by Edward III. with the defence of Calais during a ten weeks' siege; and at a subsequent period as crossing the channel, and capturing a (French?) ship, which he brought into an English port and presented to Edward.—*Price*. The Poems were published at Vienna in 1827 by Primisser under the title: *Peter Suchenwirt Werke aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhundert*. With an introduction, notes, and a glossary. See also Hormayr's *Taschenbuch für die vaterländische Geschichte*. Vienna, 1828.—*Rye*.]

¹ "L'un des principaux fonctions des Herauts d'armes etoit se trouver au jousts, &c. ou ils gardoient les ecus pendans, recevoient les noms et les blasons des chevaliers, en tenoient registre, et en composoient recueils," &c. *Menest. Orig. des Armoir.* p. 180. See also p. 119. These registers are mentioned in Perceforest, xi. 68, 77.

² Carpentier, *Suppl. Du-Cang. Gloss. Lat.* p. 750, tom. ii.

³ Thus at St. George's feast at Windsor we have, "Diversis heraldis et ministrallis," &c. *Ann.* 21 Ric. ii. 9 Hen. vi. apud Anstis, *Ord. Gart.* i. 56, 108. And again, *Exit. Pell. M. ann.* 22 Edw. iii. "Magistro Andrea Roy Norreys, [a herald,] Lybekin le Piper, et Hanakino filio suo, et sex aliis menestralis regis in denariis eis liberatis de dono regis, in subsidium expensarum suarum, lv. s. iv. d."—*Exit. Pell. P. ann.* 33 Edw. ii. "Willielmo Volaunt regi heraldorum et ministrallis existentibus apud Smithfield in ultimo hastiludio de dono regis, x l." I could give many other proofs.

* [So I interpret "umb veyal (veilchen) noch umb rosen."]

To tell the glorie of the feast that day,
 The goodly feryfye, the devicefull fights,
 The bridegromes state, the brides most rich aray,
 The pride of Ladies, and the worth of knights,
 The royall banquet, and the rare delights,
 Were worke fit for an herauld, not for me :¹—

I suspect that Chaucer, not perhaps without ridicule, glances at some of these descriptions, with which his age abounded ; and which he probably regarded with less reverence, and read with less edification, than did the generality of his cotemporary readers :

What schuld I telle of the realté²
 Of this mariage, or which cours goth biforn,
 Who bloweth in a trompe or in an horn ?

Again, in describing Cambuscan's feast :

Of which if I schal tellen al tharray,³
 Than wold it occupie a someres day ;
 And eek it needith nought for to devyfe
 At every cours the ordre and the servyfe.
 I wol nat tellen of her straunge sewes,
 Ne of her swannes, ne here heroun-sewes.

And at the feast of Theseus, in the *Knights's Tale* :

The mynstralcye, the servyce at the feste,⁴
 The grete yistes to the most and leste,
 The riche aray of Theseus paleys,
 Ne who sat first ne last upon the deys,
 What ladies fayrest ben or best daunlynge,
 Or which of hem can daunce best or synge,
 Ne who most felyngly speketh of love ;
 What haukes sitten on the perche above,
 What houndes lyen in the floor adoun :
 Of al this make I now no mencion.

In the *Flower and the Leaf*, the [author] has described in eleven long stanzas the procession to a splendid tournament, with all the prolixity and exactness of a herald.⁵ The same affectation, derived from the same sources, occurs often in Ariosto.

It were easy to illustrate this doctrine by various examples. The famous French romance of [Le Petit Jean de] *Saintre* was evidently the performance of a herald. [Jean de] *Saintre*, the knight of the piece, was a real person, and, according to Froissart, was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers in 1356.⁶ But the compiler confounds chronology, and ascribes to his hero many pieces of true history belonging to others. This was a common practice in these books. Some authors have supposed that this romance appeared before the year 1380.⁷ But there are reasons to prove, that it was written by Antony de la Sale, a Burgundian, author of a book of Ceremonies, from his name very quaintly entitled *La Sallade*, and

¹ *F. Q.* v. iii. 3 [edit. Morris, 1869, p. 306.]

² [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 191, ver. 605.]

³ [*Ibid.* ii. 356, ver. 55.]

⁴ From ver. 204 to ver. 287.

⁵ [*Ibid.* ii. 68, ver. 1339.]

⁶ Froissart, *Hist.* i. p. 178.

⁷ Bysshe, *Not. in Upton. Milit. Offic.* p. 56. Menestrier, *Orig. Arm.* p. 23.

frequently cited by our learned antiquary Selden.¹ This Antony came into England to see the solemnity of the queen's coronation in the year 1445.² I have not seen any French romance which has preserved the practices of chivalry more copiously than this of *Saintre*. It must have been an absolute master-piece for the rules of tilting, martial customs, and public ceremonies prevailing in its author's age. In the library of the [College] of Arms, there remains a very accurate description of a feast of Saint George, celebrated at Windsor in 1471.³ It appears to have been written by the herald Blue-Mantle Pursuivant. Menestrier says, that Guillaume Rucher, herald of Henault, has left a large treatise, describing the tournaments annually celebrated at Lille in Flanders.⁴ In the reign of Edward IV., John Smarte, a Norman, garter king at arms, described in French the tournament held at Bruges, for nine days, in honour of the marriage of the duke of Burgundy with Margaret the king's daughter.⁵ There is a French poem [on the siege of the Castle of Karlaverock in the year] 1300.⁶ This was [probably, however, the production of Walter of Exeter, whom Carew supposes to have written the original Latin prose romance of *Guy of Warwick*.] The author thus describes the banner of John of Brittany, [nephew of the duke]:

Baniere avoit cointe et parée
De or et de azur eschequeree
Au rouge ourle o iaunes lupars
Dermine estoit la quarte pars.⁷

The pompous circumstances of which these heraldic narratives

¹ *Tit. Hon.* p. 413, &c.

² *Anst. Ord. Gart.* ii. 321.

³ MSS. Offic. Arm. M. 15, fol. 12, 13.

⁴ "Guillaume Rucher, heraut d'armes du titre de Heynaut, a fait un gros volume des rois de l'Epinette a Lille en Flanders; c'est une ceremonie, ou un feste, dont il a decrit les joutes, tournois, noms, armoiries, livrees, et equipages de divers seigneurs, qui se rendoient de divers endroits, avec le catalogues de rois de cette feste." Menest. *Orig. des Armoir.* p. 64.

⁵ See many other instances in MS. Harl. 69, entit. *The Booke of certaine Triumphes*. See also Appendix to the [last] edition of Leland's *Collectanea*.

⁶ MSS. Cott. [Caligula, A xviii. *The Siege of Carlawerock*, in the xxviii Edward I. A. D. mccc: &c., from a MS. in the handwriting of Robert Glover the herald. Edited by H. N. Nicolas, Lond. 1828, 4to. In some copies the plates of arms are coloured. A reprint of the poem, with the roll of arms emblazoned, appeared in 1860, from which text the present extract has been taken, that of Warton being incorrect. The piece itself is also inserted from a collation of the two known copies in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, edit. 1807, iv. 469. See also Black's *Illustrations of Ancient State and Chivalry*, 1840, and *A Booke of Precedence*, &c. edit. Furnivall, 1869. The British Museum has quite lately (Dec. 1870) acquired a curious volume of French and Latin pieces on this subject.]

⁷ The bishop of Gloucester [says Warton] has most obligingly condescended to point out to me another source, to which many of the romances of the fourteenth century owed their existence. Montfaucon, in his *Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise*, has printed the "Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint Esprit au droit desir ou du Noeud etabli par Louis d'Anjou roi de Jerusalem et Sicile en 1352-3-4," tom. ii. p. 329. This was an annual celebration "au Chastel de l'Euf enchanti du merueilleux peril." The castle, as appears by the monuments which accompany these statutes, was built at the foot of the obscure grot of the enchantments of Virgil. The statutes are as extraordinary as if they had been drawn up by Don Quixote himself, or his assessors, the curate and the barber. From the seventh chapter we learn that

consisted, and the minute prolixity with which they were displayed, seemed to have infected the professed historians of this age. Of this there are various instances in Froissart, who had no other design than to compile a chronicle of real facts. I will give one example out of many. At a treaty of marriage between our Richard II. and Isabel daughter of Charles V. king of France, the two monarchs, attended with a noble retinue, met and formed several encampments in a spacious plain, near the castle of Guynes. Froissart expends many pages in relating at large the costly furniture of the pavilions, the riches of the side-boards, the profusion and variety of sumptuous liquors, spices, and dishes, with their order of service, the number of the attendants, with their address and exact discharge of duty in their respective offices, the presents of gold and precious stones made on both sides, and a thousand other particulars of equal importance, relating to the parade of this royal review.¹ On this account, Caxton, in his exhortation to the knights of his age, ranks Froissart's history, as a book of chivalry, with the romances of Lancelot and Percival, and recommends it to their attention, as a manual equally calculated to inculcate the knightly virtues of courage and courtesy.² This indeed was in an age when not only the courts of princes, but the castles of barons, vied with one another in the lustre of their shews; when tournaments, coronations, royal interviews, and solemn festivals, were the grand objects of mankind. Froissart was an eye-witness of many of the ceremonies which he describes. His passion seems to have been that of seeing magnificent spectacles, and of hearing reports concerning them.³ Although a canon of two churches, he passed his life in travelling from court to court, and from castle to castle.⁴ He thus, either from his own observation or the credible information of others, easily procured suitable materials for a history, which professed only to deal in sensible objects, and those of the most splendid and conspicuous kind. He was familiarly known to two kings of England and one of Scotland.⁵ But the court which he

the knights who came to this yearly festival at the *chatel de l'euf*, were obliged to deliver in writing to the clerks of the chapel of the castle their yearly adventures. Such of these histories as were thought worthy to be recorded, the clerks are ordered to transcribe in a book, which was called "*Le livre des avenements aux chevaliers, &c. Et demeura le dit livre toujours en la dicte chapelle.*" This sacred register certainly furnished from time to time ample materials to the romance-writers. And this circumstance gives a new explanation to a reference which we so frequently find in romances: I mean, that appeal which they so constantly make to some authentic record. [Warton's episcopal informant was, of course, his friend Warburton.]

¹ See Froissart's *Cronycle*, translated by Lord Berners, 1523, vol. ii. f. 242.

² [*Book of the ordre of chyualry or knyghthode* (circa 1484).]

³ His father was a painter of armories. This might give him an early turn for shews. See Sainte-Palaye, *Mem. Lit.* tom. x. p. 664, edit. 4to.

⁴ He was originally a clerk of the chamber to Philippa, queen of Edward III. He was afterwards canon and treasurer of Chimay in Henault, and of Lisle in Flanders; and chaplain to Guy earl of Castellon. Labor. *Introd. a l'Hist. de Charles VI.* p. 69. Compare also Froissart's *Chron.* ii. f. 29, 305, 319. And Bullart, *Academ. des Arts et des Scienc.* i. p. 125, 126.

⁵ *Cron.* ii. f. 158, 161.

most admired was that of Gaston, Comte de Foix, at Orlaix in Bearn; for, as he himself acquaints us, it was not only the most brilliant in Europe, but the grand centre for tidings of martial adventures.¹ It was crowded with knights of England and Arragon. In the meantime it must not be forgotten that Froissart, who from his childhood was strongly attached to caroufals, the music of minstrels, and the sports of hawking and hunting,² cultivated the poetry of the troubadours, and was a writer of romances.³ This turn, it must be confessed, might have some share in communicating that romantic cast to his history which I have mentioned. During his abode at the court of the Comte de Foix, where he was entertained for twelve weeks, he presented to the earl his collection of the poems of the duke of Luxemburg, consisting of sonnets, balades, and virelays. Among these was included a romance, composed by himself, called *Meliade[s]* or *The Knight of the Sun of Gold*. Gaston's chief amusement was to hear Froissart read this romance⁴ every evening after supper.⁵ At his introduction to Richard II. he presented that brilliant monarch with a book beautifully illuminated, engrossed with his own hand, bound in crimson velvet, and embellished with silver bosses, clasps, and golden roses, comprehending all the matters of Amours and Moralities, which in the course of twenty-four years he had composed.⁶ This was in 1396. When he left

¹ *Cron.* ii. f. 30. This was in 1381.

² See *Mem. Lit.* ut suprà. p. 665.

³ Speaking of the death of King Richard, Froissart quotes a prediction from the old French prose romance of Brut, which he says was fulfilled in that catastrophe, liv. iv. c. 119. Froissart will be mentioned again as a poet.

⁴ I take this opportunity of remarking, that romantic tales or histories appear at a very early period to have been read as well as sung at feasts. So Wace in the *Roman du Rou*, in the British Museum, above mentioned :

"Doit l'en les vers et les regestes
Et les estoires lire as festes."

⁵ Froissart brought with him for a present to Gaston Comte de Foix four greyhounds, which were called by the romantic names of Tristram, Hector, Brut, and Roland. Gaston was so fond of hunting, that he kept upwards of six hundred dogs in his castle. Sainte-Palaye, *ut suprà.* pp. 676, 678. He wrote a treatise on hunting, printed [about 1507. See Brunet, *dern.* edit. art. *Phebus*.] In illustration of the former part of this note, Crescimbeni says, "Che in molte nobilissime famiglie Italiane, ha 400 e più anni, passarono i nomi de' *Lancillotti*, de' *Tristami*, de' *Galvani*, di *Galeotti*, delle [Ifoulde], delle *Genevre*, e d'altri cavalieri, à dame in effe Tavola Roitonda operanti," &c. *Istor. Volg. Poes.* vol. i. lib. v. p. 327.

⁶ I should think that this was his romance of *Meliadus*. Froissart says, that the king at receiving it asked him what the book treated of. He answered *d'Amour*. The king, adds our historian, seemed much pleased at this, and examined the book in many places, for he was fond of reading as well as speaking French. He then ordered Richard Crendon, the chevalier in waiting, to carry it into his privy chamber, *dont il me fit bonne chere*. He gave copies of the several parts of his chronicle, as they were finished, to his different patrons. Le Laboureur says, that Froissart sent fifty-six quires of his *Roman au Croniques* to Guillaume de Bailly, an illuminator; which, when illuminated, were intended as a present to the king of England. *Hist.* ch. vi. *En la vie de Louis duc d'Anjou*, p. 67, *seq.* See alio *Cron.* i. iv. c. i.—iii. 26. There are two or three fine illuminated copies of Froissart

England the same year,¹ the king sent him a massive goblet of silver, filled with one hundred nobles.²

As we are approaching to Chaucer, let us here stand still, and take a retrospect of the general manners. The tournaments and carousals of our ancient princes, by forming splendid assemblies of both sexes, while they inculcated the most liberal sentiments of honour and heroism, undoubtedly contributed to introduce ideas of courtesy, and to encourage decorum. Yet the national manners still retained a great degree of ferocity, and the ceremonies of the most refined courts in Europe had often a mixture of barbarism which rendered them ridiculous. This absurdity will always appear at periods when men are so far civilized as to have lost their native simplicity, and yet have not attained just ideas of politeness and propriety. Their luxury was inelegant, their pleasures indelicate, their pomp cumbersome and unwieldy. In the meantime it may seem surprising that the many schools of philosophy which flourished in the middle ages should not have corrected and polished the times. But as their religion was corrupted by superstition, so their philosophy degenerated into sophistry. Nor is it science alone, even if founded on truth, that will polish nations. For this purpose, the powers of imagination must be awakened and exerted, to teach elegant feelings, and to heighten our natural sensibilities. It is not the head only that must be informed, but the heart must also be moved. Many classic authors were known in the thirteenth century, but the scholars of that period wanted taste to read and admire them. The pathetic or sublime strokes of Virgil would be but little relished by theologians and metaphysicians.

among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum. Among the stores of Henry VIII. at his manor of Beddington in Surrey, I find the fashionable reading of the times exemplified in the following books, *viz.* "Item, a great book of parchmente written and lymned with gold of graver's work *De confessione Amantis*, with xviii. other bookes, Le premier volume de Lancelot, Froissart, Le grant voyage de Jerusalem, Enguerain de Montfrellet," &c. MSS. Harl. 1419, f. 382. Froissart was here properly classed.

¹ Froissart says, that he accompanied the king to various palaces, "A Elten, a Ledos, a Kinkestove, a Cenes, a Certesée et a Windsor." This is, Eltham, Leeds, Kingston, Chertsey, &c. *Cron.* liv. iv. c. 119, p. 348. The French are not much improved at this day in spelling English places and names.

Perhaps by *Cenes*, Froissart means Shene, the royal palace at Richmond.

² *Cron.* f. 251, 252, 255, 319, 348. Bayle, who has an article on Froissart, had no idea of searching for anecdotes of Froissart's life in his *Chronicle*. Instead of which, he swells his notes on this article with the contradictory accounts of Moreri, Vossius, and others, whose disputes might have been all easily settled by recurring to Froissart himself, who has interspersed in his history many curious particulars relating to his own life and works.

SECTION XII.



THE most illustrious ornament of the reign of Edward III. and of his successor Richard II. was Geoffrey Chaucer, a poet with whom the history of our poetry is by many supposed to have commenced, and who has been pronounced, by a critic of unquestionable taste and discernment, to be the first English versifier who wrote poetically.¹ He was born [about] the year [1340, and was probably in his youth a page of Elizabeth, wife of Prince Lionel, third son of Edward III.]² but the liveliness of his parts, and the native gaiety of his disposition, soon recommended him to the patronage of a magnificent monarch, and rendered him a very popular and acceptable character in the brilliant court which I have above described. In the meantime he added to his accomplishments by frequent tours into France and Italy, which he sometimes visited under the advantages of a public character. Hitherto our poets had been persons of a private and circumscribed education, and the art of versifying, like every other kind of composition, had been confined to reclusive scholars. But Chaucer was a man of the world; and from this circumstance we are to account, in great measure, for the many new embellishments which he conferred on our language and our poetry. The descriptions of splendid processions and gallant carousals with which his works abound are a proof that he was conversant with the practices and diversions of polite life. Familiarity with a variety of things and objects, opportunities of acquiring the fashionable and courtly modes of speech, connections with the great at home, and a personal acquaintance with the vernacular poets of foreign countries, opened his mind, and furnished him with new lights.³ In Italy he [is said to have met] Petrarch, at the wedding of Violante, daughter of Galeazzo, duke of Milan, with the duke of Clarence; and it is [even alleged] that Boccaccio was of the party.⁴ Although Chaucer had undoubtedly studied the works of these celebrated writers, and particularly of Dante, before this, yet it seems likely that these excursions gave him a new relish for their compositions, and enlarged his knowledge of the Italian fables. His travels likewise enabled him to cultivate the Italian and [French] languages with

¹ Johnson's *Dict.* Pref. p. 1.

² [*New Facts in the Life of Geoffrey Chaucer*, by E. A. Bond, *Fortnightly Rev.*, Aug. 15, 1866.]

³ The earl of Salisbury, beheaded by Henry IV., could not but patronize Chaucer. I do not mean for political reasons. The earl was a writer of verses, and very fond of poetry. On this account his acquaintance was much cultivated by the famous Christina of Pisa, whose works, both in prose and verse, compose so considerable a part of the old French literature. She used to call him, "Gracieux chevalier, aimant dictiez, et lui-meme gracieux dictieur." See M. Boivin, *Mém. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 767, seq. 4to.

⁴ Froissart was also present. *Vie de Petrarque*, 1766, iii. 772. I believe Paulus Jovius is the first who mentions this anecdote. *Vit. Galas.* ii. p. 152.

the greatest success, and induced him to polish the asperity, and enrich the sterility of his native versification with softer cadences, and a more copious and variegated phraseology. [This attempt was] authorized by the recent and popular examples of Petrarch in Italy and [Jean de Meun and others] in France.¹ The revival of learning in most countries appears to have first owed its rise to translation. At rude periods the modes of original thinking are unknown, and the arts of original composition have not yet been studied. The writers, therefore, of such periods are chiefly and very usefully employed in importing the ideas of other languages into their own. They do not venture to think for themselves, nor aim at the merit of inventors, but they are laying the foundations of literature; and while they are naturalizing the knowledge of more learned ages and countries by translation, they are imperceptibly improving the national language. This has been remarkably the case, not only in England, but in France and Italy. [To mention only a few instances: Lažamon translated and enlarged Wace; Robert of Brunne translated William of Waddington, Wace, and Langtoft; and] in the year 1387, John Trevisa, canon of Westbury in Gloucestershire and a great traveller, not only finished a translation of the Old and New Testaments at the command of his munificent patron, Thomas Lord Berkley,² but also translated Higden's *Polychronicon* and other Latin pieces.³ But these translations would have been alone insufficient to have produced or sustained any considerable revolution in our language: the great work was reserved for Gower and Chaucer. Wickliffe had also translated the Bible;⁴ and in other respects his attempts to bring about a reformation in religion at this time proved beneficial to English literature. The orthodox divines of this period generally wrote in Latin: but Wickliffe, that his arguments might

¹ [Not Alain Chartier, as Warton says; for Alain Chartier was born at Bayeux not later than 1395, and did not compose his first work till after the battle of Agincourt (25 Oct. 1415); it was *Le Livre des Quatre Dames*. He was sent to Scotland on an embassy in June or July, 1428. See *Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, tome xxviii. and *Revue Critique*, Aug. 28, 1869.—F. The example of Chartier could not have been, consequently, of much service to our Chaucer!]

² See Wharton, *Append. Cav.* p. 49.

³ Such as Bartholomew Glanville *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, lib. xix. and Vegetius *De Arte Militari*. MSS. Digb. 233. Bibl. Bodl. In the same manuscript is Ægidius Romanus *De Regimine Principum*, a translation by [Occeleve. It was edited for the Roxburghe Club, by Mr. T. Wright, 1860.] He also translated some pieces of Richard Fitzralph, archbishop of Armagh. See *supr.* He wrote a tract, prefixed to his version of the *Polychronicon*, on the utility of translations: *De Utilitate Translationum, Dialogus inter Clericum et Patronum*. See more of his translations in MSS. Harl. 1900. I do not find his *English Bible* in any of our libraries, nor do I believe that any copy of it now remains. Caxton mentions it in the preface to his edition of the English *Polychronicon*. See Lewis's *Wickliffe*, p. 66, 329, and Lewis's *History of the Translations of the Bible*, p. 66.

⁴ It is observable that he made his translation from the vulgate Latin version of Jerom. See MS. Cod. Bibl. Coll. Eman. Cant. 102. [There is nothing in the MS. to warrant the statement in the former editions as to the work having been finished in 1383, which date is simply added in a note written in a second hand.—Madden.]

be familiarized to common readers and the bulk of the people, was obliged to compose in English his numerous theological treatises against the papal corruptions. Edward III. while he perhaps intended only to banish a badge of conquest, greatly contributed to establish the national dialect, by abolishing the use of the Norman tongue in the public acts and judicial proceedings, as we have before observed, and by substituting the natural language of the country. But Chaucer manifestly first taught his countrymen to write English, and formed a style by naturalizing words from the [*Langue d'Oye*],¹ at that time the [richest] dialect of any in Europe, and the best adapted to the purposes of poetical expression.

It is certain that Chaucer abounds in classical allusions; but his poetry is not formed on the ancient models. He appears to have been an universal reader, and his learning is sometimes mistaken for genius; but his chief sources were the French and Italian poets. From these originals two of his capital poems, the *Knight's Tale*,² and the *Romaunt of the Rose* [if his] are imitations or translations. The first of these is taken from Boccaccio. [Chaucer, out of the 2250 lines of his *Knight's Tale*, has translated 270 (less than one-eighth) from the 9054 of Boccaccio's original: 374 more lines

¹ The ingenious editor of the *Canterbury Tales* treats the notion, that Chaucer imitated the Provençal poets, as totally void of foundation. He says, "I have not observed in any of his writings a single phrase or word, which has the least appearance of having been fetched from the South of the Loire. With respect to the manner and matter of his compositions, till some clear instance of imitation be produced, I shall be slow to believe, that in either he ever copied the poets of Provence; with whose works, I apprehend, he had very little, if any acquaintance," vol. i. *Append. Pref.* p. xxxvi. I have advanced the contrary doctrine, at least by implication: and I here beg leave to explain myself on a subject materially affecting the system of criticism that has been formed on Chaucer's works. I have never affirmed that Chaucer imitated the Provençal bards; although it is by no means improbable that he might have known their tales. But as the peculiar nature of the Provençal poetry entered deeply into the substance, cast, and character, of some of those French and Italian models, which he is allowed to have followed, he certainly may be said to have copied, although not immediately, the *manner* and *manner* of these writers. I have called his *House of Fame* originally a Provençal composition. I did not mean that it was written by a Provençal troubadour: but that Chaucer's original was compounded of the capricious mode of fabling, and that extravagant style of fiction, which constitute the essence of the Provençal poetry. As to the *Flower and the Leaf*, which Dryden pronounces to have been composed *after their manner*, it is framed on the old allegorising spirit of the Provençal writers, refined and disfigured by the fopperies of the French poets in the fourteenth century. The ideas of these fablers had been so strongly imbibed, that they continued to operate long after Petrarch had introduced a more rational method of composition.

² Chaucer alludes to some book whence this tale was taken, more than once, viz. v. 1. "Whilom, as *olde stories* tellen us." v. 1465. "As *olde bookes* to us faine, that *all this storie telleth more plain*." v. 2814. "Of *foulis* fynd I nought in this *registre*." That is, this history, or narrative. See also v. 2297. In the *Legend of good women*, where Chaucer's works are mentioned, is this passage, v. 420.

"And al the love of Palamon and Arcite
Of Thebis, though the *fores* known liie."

[The last words seem to imply that it had not made itself very popular.—*Tyrwhitt*.]

bear a general likeness to the Italian poets, and 132 more, a slight likeness.¹]

Boccaccio was the disciple of Petrarch: and although principally known and deservedly celebrated as a writer or inventor of tales, he was by his cotemporaries usually placed in the third rank after Dante and Petrarch. But Boccaccio having seen the Platonic sonnets of his master Petrarch, in a fit of despair committed [a portion of his own] to the flames,² except [only certain pieces, of which perhaps] his good taste had taught him to entertain a more favourable opinion, [one] thus happily rescued from destruction [was formerly] so little known even in Italy, as to have left its author but a slender proportion of that eminent degree of poetical reputation which he might have justly claimed from so extraordinary a performance. It is an heroic poem, in twelve books, entitled *La Teseide*, and written in the octave stanza, called by the Italians *ottava rima*, which Boccaccio adopted from the old French chansons, and here first introduced among his countrymen.³ It was printed at Ferrara, but with some deviations from the original, and even misrepresentations of the story, in 1475.⁴ [It was reprinted without date in 4to, and again in 1528. The poem has also been translated into Italian and French prose.]

Whether Boccaccio was the inventor of the story of this poem [seems rather doubtful]. It is certain that Theseus was an early hero of romance.⁵ He was taken from that grand repository of the Grecian heroes, the *History of Troy*, [composed from various materials] by Guido de Colonna. In the royal library at Paris there is a MS. entitled, *Roman de Theseus et de Gadifer*.⁶ Probably, this is the French romance, [printed at Paris in two folio volumes in 1534.⁷] Gadifer, with whom Theseus is joined in this ancient tale, written probably by a troubadour of Picardy, is a champion in the oldest French romances.⁸ He is mentioned frequently in the *Roman d'Alexandre*. In the romance of *Perceforest*, he is called king of Scotland, and said to be crowned by Alexander the Great.⁹ [But this Theseus, as Mr. Douce has pointed out, is a different person altogether from the classical hero, being the son of Floridas, king of

¹ [Temporary Preface, by F. J. F., pp. 104-5.]

² Goujet, *Bibl. Fr.* tom. vii. p. 328.

³ See Crescimbeni *Istor. Volg. Poes.* vol. i. l. i. p. 65.

⁴ [See the correct title in Brunet, last edit. i. 1016-17. A purer text of the poem appeared in 1819, 8vo, in which it was taken from a MS. The *Teseid* forms vol. 9 of the collected edit. of Boccaccio, published at Florence, 1827-31, 13 vols. 8vo.]

⁵ In Lydgate's *Temple of Glas*, among the lovers painted on the wall is Theseus killing the Minotaur. I suppose from Ovid, or from Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*. *Bibl. Bodl. MSS.* Fairfax, 16.

⁶ MSS. *Bibl. Reg. Paris.* tom. ii. 974. E.

⁷ [See the full and correct title in the last edition of Brunet, v. 808. There was a later edition about 1550.]

⁸ The chevaliers of the courts of Charles V. and VI. adopted names from the old romances, such as Lancelot, Gadifer, Carados, &c. *Mem. Anc. Cheval.* i. p. 340.

⁹ [See Brunet, *dern.* edit. in v. *Perceforest*. This tedious story was printed at Paris in 1528, in six folio volumes, usually bound in three.]

Cologne, in the year 682.] There is in the same library a MS. called by Montfaucon *Historia Thesei in lingua vulgari*, in ten books.¹ The Abbé Goujet observes, that there is in some libraries of France an old French translation of Boccaccio's *Thefeid*, from which Anna de Graville formed the French poem of *Palamon and Arcite*, at the command of Queen Claude, wife of Francis I., about the year 1487. Either the translation used by Anna de Graville, or her poem, is perhaps the second of the MSS. mentioned by Montfaucon. Boccaccio's *Thefeid* has also been translated into Italian prose by Nicolas Granuci, and printed at Lucca in 157[9].² In the *Dedication* to this work, which was printed about one hundred years after the Ferrara edition of the *Thefeide* appeared, Granucci [wrongly and even ignorantly, as we are much inclined to think], mentions Boccaccio's work as a translation from the barbarous Greek poem cited below.³ Boccaccio himself mentions the story of Palamon and Arcite. This may seem to imply that the story existed before his time: unless he artfully intended to recommend his own poem on the subject by such an allusion. It is where he introduces two lovers singing a portion of this tale:—"Dioneo e Fiametta gran pezza canterono insieme d'Arcite e di Palamone."⁴ By Dioneo Boccaccio represents himself; and by Fiametta, his mistress, Mary of Arragon, a natural daughter of Robert, king of Naples.

I confess I am of opinion, that Boccaccio's *Thefeid* is [to a great extent] an original composition [though based on, and improved from, the *Thebais* of Statius]. But there is a Græco-barbarous poem extant on this subject, which, if it could be proved to be antecedent in point of time to the Italian poem, would degrade Boccaccio to a mere translator on this occasion. It is a matter that deserves to be examined at large, and to be traced with accuracy.

This Greek poem is [by no means so well] known as Boccaccio's. It is entitled *Θησεύς και Γαμου της Εμυλιας*. It was printed at Venice in 1529.⁵ It is often cited by Du Cange in his Greek glossary under the title, *De Nuptiis Thesei et Emiliae*. The heads of the chapters are adorned with rude wooden cuts of the story. I once suspected that Boccaccio, having received this poem from some of his learned friends among the Grecian exiles, who being driven from Constantinople took refuge in Italy about the fourteenth century, translated it into Italian. Under this supposition, I was indeed surprised to find

¹ Bibl. MSS. *ut supr.*

² [But see Brunet, i. 1017.] The *Thefeid* has also been translated into French prose, 1597, 12mo.—[*Ibid.*] Jeanne de la Fontaine translated into French verse this poem. She died 1536. Her translation was never printed. It is applauded by Joannes Secundus, *Eleg.* xv.

³ *Dedicaz.* fol. 5. "Volendo far cosa, que non ffo stata fatta da loro, pero mutato parere mi dicoli a ridurre in prosa questo Innamoramento, Opera di M. Giovanni Boccaccio, quale egli trasporto dal Greco in octava rima per compiacere alla sua Fiametta," &c. See Sloane MS. 1614. Brit. Mus.

⁴ Giorn. vii. Nov. 10, p. 348, edit. 1548. Chaucer himself alludes to this story, *Bl. Kn.* v. 369. Perhaps on the same principle.

⁵ A MS. of it is in the Royal Library at Paris, Cod. 2569. Du Cange, *Ind. Auct. Gloss. Gr. Barb.* ii. p. 65, col. 1.

the ideas of chivalry and the ceremonies of a tournament minutely described, in a poem which appeared to have been written at Constantinople. But this difficulty was soon removed, when I recollected that the [Latins, in which name we include the French, Flemings, Italians, and] Venetians, had been in possession of that city for more than one hundred years, Baldwin, earl of Flanders, having been elected emperor of Constantinople in 1204.¹ Add to this, that the word, *τερνεμεντον*, a tournament, occurs in the Byzantine historians.² From the same communication likewise, I mean the Greek exiles, I fancied Boccaccio might have procured the stories of several of his tales in the *Decameron*: as, for instance, that of *Cymon and Iphigenia*, where the names are entirely Grecian, and the scene laid in Rhodes,

¹ About which period it is probable that the anonymous Greek poem, called the *Loves of Lybister and Rhodamna*, was written. This appears by the German name Frederic, which often occurs in it, and is grecified, with many other German words. In a MS. of this poem which Crusius saw, were many paintings and illuminations; where, in the representation of a battle, he observed no guns, but javelins and bows and arrows. He adds, "et musicæ testudines." It is written in the iambic measure mentioned below. It is a series of wandering adventures with little art or invention. Lybister, the son of a Latin king, and a Christian, sets forward accompanied with an hundred attendants in search of Rhodamna, whom he had lost by the stratagems of a certain old woman skilled in magic. He meets Clitophon son of a king of Armenia. They undergo various dangers in different countries. Lybister relates his dream concerning a partridge and an eagle; and how from that dream he fell in love with Rhodamna daughter of Chysēs a pagan king, and communicated his passion by sending an arrow, to which his name was affixed, into a tower, or castle, called Argyrocastre, &c. See Crusius, *Turko-Græcia*, p. 974. But we find a certain species of erotic romances, some in verse and some in prose, existing in the Greek empire, the remains and the dregs of Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, Xenophon the Ephesian, Charito, Eustathius or Eumathius, and others, about or rather before the year 1200. Such are the *Loves of Rhodante and Doficles*, by Theodoros Prodromus, who wrote about the year 1130. This piece was imitated by Nicetas Eugenianus in the *Loves of Charicell and Drosilla*. See Labb, *Bibl. Nov. Manuscript*, p. 220. *The Loves of Callimachus and Chrysorrhoe*, *The Erotic history of Hemperius*, *The history of the Loves of Florius and Platzastora*, with some others, all by anonymous authors, and in Græco-barbarous iambics, were written at Constantinople; [and were probably translations from another language.] See Nessel. i. p. 342-343. Meurs. *Gloss. Gr. Barb.* v. Bann. And Lambec. v. p. 262, 264.

² As also *Τορν*, *Hastiludium*. Fr. *Tournoi*. And *Τουρνουαν*, *hastiludio contendere*. Johannes Cantacuzenus relates, that when Anne of Savoy, daughter of Amadeus, the fourth earl of Savoy, was married to the Emperor Andronicus, junior, the Frankish and Savoyard nobles, who accompanied the princefs, held tilts and tournaments before the court at Constantinople; which, he adds, the Greeks learned of the Franks. This was in 1326. *Hist. Byzant.* l. i. cap. 42. But Nicetas says, that when the Emperor Manuel [Comnenus] made some stay at Antioch, the Greeks held a solemn tournament against the Franks. This was about 1160. *Hist. Byzant.* l. iii. cap. 3. Cinnamus observes, that the same Emperor Manuel altered the shape of the shields and lances of the Greeks to those of the Franks. *Hist.* lib. iii. Nicephorus Gregoras, who wrote about the year 1340, affirms that the Greeks learned this practice from the Franks. *Hist. Byzant.* l. x. p. 339, edit. fol. Genev. 1615. The word *καβαλλαρν*, knights, chevaliers, occurs often in the Byzantine historians, even as early as Anna Comnena, who wrote about 1140. *Alexiad.* lib. xiii. p. 411. And we have in J. Cantacuzenus, "ἡ καβαλλαρν παρρηχησεν:"—He conferred the honour of Knighthood. This indeed is said of the Franks. *Hist.* ut sup. l. iii. cap. 25. And in the Greek poem now under consideration, one of the titles is, "Πως ἐπαυεν ὁ θεσπης τας δυο θεβαιας καβαλλαρνς:"—How Theseus dubbed the two Thebans knights. Lib. vii. signatur 711 fol. vers.

Cyprus, Crete, and other parts of Greece belonging to the imperial territory.¹ But, to say no more of this, I have at present no sort of doubt of what I before asserted, that Boccaccio is the writer and inventor of this piece. Our Greek poem is in fact a literal translation from the Italian *Theſeid*. The writer has translated the prefatory epistle addressed by Boccaccio to the *Fiametta*. It consists of twelve books, and is written in Boccaccio's octave stanza, the two last lines of every stanza rhyming together. The verses are of the iambic kind, and something like the *Versus Politici*, which were common among the Greek scholars a little before, and long after, Constantinople was taken by the Turks in 1453. It will readily be allowed, that the circumstance of the stanzas and rhymes is very singular in a poem composed in the Greek language, and is alone sufficient to prove this piece to be a translation from Boccaccio. I must not forget to observe, that the Greek is extremely barbarous, and of the lowest period of that language.

It was a common practice of the learned and indigent Greeks, who frequented Italy and the neighbouring states about the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to translate the popular pieces of Italian poetry, and the romances or tales most in vogue, into these Græco-barbarous iambics.² *Pastor Fido* was thus translated. The romance of *Alexander the Great* was also translated in the same manner by Demetrius Zenus, who flourished in 1530, under the title of *Ἀλεξάνδρου ὁ Μακεδων*, and printed at Venice in 1529.³

In the very year, and at the same place, when and where our Greek poem on Theseus, or Palamon and Arcite, was printed, *Apollonius of Tyre*, another famous romance of the middle ages, was translated in the same manner, and entitled *Διηγησις ὡραιωτάτη Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ ἐν Τυρῶν ῥημαδα*.⁴ The story of King Arthur they also reduced into the same language. The French history or [rather] romance

¹ Giorn. v. Nov. 1.

² That is *versus politici* above mentioned, a sort of loose iambic. See Langius, *Philologia Græco-barbara*. Tzetzes's Chiliads are written in this verification. See Du Cange, *Gl. Gr.* ii. col. 1196.

³ Crus. *ut sup.* pp. 373, 399.

⁴ That is, Rhythmically, poetically, *Gr. Barb.*

⁵ Du Cange mentions, "Μεταφραστικὸν ἀπὸ Λατινικῆς εἰς Ρωμαϊκὴν διαγωγὴς πολλοῦ ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ τυρῶν." *Ind. Auſt. Gloss. Gr. Barb.* ii. p. 36, col. b. Compare Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* vi. 821. First printed at Venice [in 1534. See Brunet, i. 350-1, where other editions are quoted.] In the works of Velferus there is *Narratio Eorum quæ Apollonio regi acciderunt*, &c. He says it was first written by some Greek author. Velferi Op. p. 697, edit. 1682. The Latin is in *Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud.* 39.—*Bodl. F.* 7, and *F.* 11.45. In the preface, Velferus, who died 1614, says that he believes the original in Greek still remains at Constantinople, in the library of Manuel Eugenicus. Montfaucon mentions a noble copy of this romance, written in the xiiith century, in the royal library at Paris. *Bibl. MSS.* p. 753. Compare *MSS. Langb. Bibl. Bodl.* vi. p. 15. *Gesta Apollonii*, &c. There is a [version] in [Anglo-]Saxon of the romance. Wanley's *Catal. apud Hickes*, ii. 146, [printed by Thorpe, 1834, 8vo.] See Martin. *Crusii Turco Græc.* p. 209, edit. 1594. Gower recites many stories of this romance in his *Confessio Amantis*. He calls Apollonius "a yonge, a freshe, a lustie knight." See lib. viii. fol. 175, b.—185, a. But he refers to Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon*, or universal Chronicle, called also *Me-*

of *Bertrand du Guesclin*, printed at Abbeville in 1487,¹ and that of *Belifaire* or *Belisarius*, they rendered in the same language and metre, with the titles *Διηγησις εξαίρετος Βελθανδρου του Ρωμαιοιου*,² and *Ἱστορικη εξηγησις περι Βελισσαριου, &c.*³ Boccaccio himself, in the *Decameron*,⁴

morie Seculorum, partly in prose, partly verse, from the creation of the world to the year 1186. The author died in 1190.

“—A Cronike in daies gone

The which is cleped Panteone,” &c.

fol. 175, a. [There is a fragment of 140 lines of a fifteenth-century English verse translation of this romance in MS. Douce 216.—F. Another is in the possession of Sir Thomas Philipps. Neither has any connection with the English (prose) version of *Apollonius of Tyre*, executed by Robert Copland, and printed in 1510. The Duke of Devonshire's copy of the latter, purchased at the Roxburghe sale in 1812, seems to be unique. It has been lately (1870) reprinted in facsimile by Athbee. Respecting *Apollonius of Tyre*, see the present work *infra*, Collier's *Shakespeare's Library*, 1843, and Halliwell's *New Boke about Shakespeare and Stratford-on-Avon*, 1850, where the Philipps fragment is printed for the first time. It formerly belonged to Dr. Farmer.] The play called *Pericles Prince of Tyre*, attributed to Shakespeare, is taken from this story of Apollonius as told by Gower, who speaks the prologue. It existed in Latin before the year 900. See Barth. *Adversar.* lviii. cap. i. Chaucer calls him “of Tyre Apolloneus” (*Prolog. Man. L. Tale*, ver. 82), and quotes from this romance:

“How that the cursed kyng Anteocheus

Byreft his doughter of hir maydenhede,

That is so horrible a tale as man may redee,

Whan he hir threw upon the pament.”

[But Shakespeare is also supposed to have been indebted to Lawrence Twyne's compilation: “The Patterne of painefull Aduentures,” first published probably in 1576, and reprinted from a later ed. in the first vol. of *Shakespeare's Library*, 1843.] In the British Museum there is *Histoire d'Apollin roy de Thir*. MSS. Reg. 20 C. ii. 2. With regard to the French editions of this romance, [the oldest is probably that of Geneva, *sine ulla nota*, folio. See Brunet, i. 351. Those of 1530 and *sans date* (Paris, Jehan Boufont) are later, curtailed, and of course less valuable.] At length the story appeared in a modern dress by M. le Brun, under the title of *Avantures d'Apollonius de Thyr*, printed in 1710, and again the following year. In the edition of the *Gesta Romanorum*, printed at Rouen in 1521, and containing 181 chapters, [as well as in that of 1488 and others,] the history of Apollonius of Tyre occurs, ch. 153. This is the first of the additional chapters.

¹ At the end of *Le Triumphe des neuf Preux*: that is, *The Nine Worthies*. [Compare Brunet, i. 44, with *ibid.* ii. 869.]

² See Du Cange, *Gl. Gr. Barb.* ii. *Ind. AuHor.* p. 36, col. b. This history contains Beltrand's or Bertrand's amours with Χρυσατσα, Chrysatfa, the king of Antioch's daughter.

³ See Lambec. *Bibl. Cesar.* lib. v. p. 264. It is remarkable that the story of *Date obolum Belisario* is not in Procopius, but in this romance. Probably Vandyck got this story from a modernized edition of it, called *Belisfaire ou le Conquerant*, Paris, 1643. It, however, is said in the title-page to be taken from Procopius. It was written by [François de Grenaille, sieur de Chateauniers.]

⁴ They sometimes applied their Greek iambics to the works of the ancient Greek poets. Demetrius Zenus, above mentioned, translated Homer's *Βατραχομυμηχια*; and Nicolaus Lucanus the *Iliad*. The first was printed at Venice, and afterwards reprinted by Crusius, *Turco-Græc.* p. 373; the latter was also printed at Venice, 1526. This Zenus is said to be the author of the *ραδωμυμηχια*, or *Battle of the Cats and Mice*. See Crus. *ubi sup.* 396, and Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* i. 264, 223. [But the true writer was Theodorus Prodronus.—Rye.] On account of the Græco-barbarous books, which began to grow common, chiefly in Italy about the year 1520, Sabius above-mentioned, the printer of many of them, published a Græco-barbarous lexicon at Venice, 1527: [*Introduttorio nuovo intitolato Corona preciosa*, &c. See Brunet, *dern.* edit. v. 7, and *ibid.* ii. 293.] It is a mixture of

mentions the story of Troilus and Cressida in Greek verse, which I suppose had been translated by some of the fugitive Greeks with whom he was connected, from a romance on that subject, many ancient copies of which now remain in the libraries of France.¹ The story of *Florius and Platzflora*, a romance which Ludovicus Vives with great gravity condemns under the name of *Florian and Blanca-Flor*, as one of the pernicious and unclassical popular histories current in Flanders about the year 1523,² of which there are old editions in French, Spanish,³ and perhaps Italian, is likewise extant very early in Greek iambics, most probably as a translation into that language.⁴ I could give many others, but I hasten to lay before my readers some specimens both of the Italian and the Greek *Palamon and Arcite*:⁵ only premising that both have about a thousand verses

modern and ancient Greek words, Latin and Italian. It was reprinted at Venice [in 1543, of which there was a re-issue in] 1546.

¹ See *Le Roman de Troilus*, [a prose French copy of the *Filoftrato*, in *Nouvelles Françaises du XIV^{me} Siècle*, 1858,] and Montfaucon, *Bibl. MSS.* p. 792, 793, &c. &c. There is, "L'Amore di Troleo et Grifeida, ove si tratta in buone parte la Guerra di Troja," d'Angelo Leonico, Ven. 1553, in octave rhyme.

² Lud. Viv. *de Christiana Femina*, lib. i. cap. cui tit. *Qui non legendi Scriptores*, &c. He lived at Bruges. He mentions other romances common in Flanders, *Leonela and Canamor*, *Curias and Florela*, and *Pyramus and Thijbe*.

³ *Flores y Blancaflor*. En Alcalá, 1512, 4to. See Brunet's remarks, ii. 1300. This Spanish version was translated into French, under the title:] *Histoire Amoureuse de Flores et de Blanchefleur*, traduite de l'Espagnol par Jacques Vincent. Paris, 1554, 8vo. *Florimont et Passeroze*, traduite de l'Espagnol en prose Françoisse, Lyon, 1551, 8vo. There is a French edition at Lyons, 1571; it was, perhaps, originally Spanish. [Compare Brunet, ii. 1307.]

The translation of *Flores and Blanca[f]lore* in Greek iambics might also be made in compliment to Boccaccio. Their adventures make the principal subject of his *Philopopo*: but the story existed long before, as Boccaccio himself informs us, lib. i., edit. [1827-31.] *Flores and Blancaflor* are mentioned as illustrious lovers by Matfres Eymengau de Bezers, a poet of Languedoc, in his *Breviari d'Amor*, dated 1288. MSS. Reg. 19 C. i. fol. 199. This tale was probably enlarged in passing through the hands of Boccaccio. [The two different versions of the French thirteenth century romance of *Florice and Blancheflore* (Bibl. Imperiale, No. 6987; Paulin-Paris, vol. 3, pp. 215-16) have been printed at Berlin in 1844, and at Paris in 1856. Read in the latter M. du Méril's excellent introduction. Several MSS. of the English version are extant. There is a copy in the Auchinleck MS. printed in *Ancient English Poetry*, 1857; in Cotton. MS. Vitellius, D, 111, printed by Early Engl. Text Society (with *King Horn*), 1866; and at Cambridge, printed (probably very badly) in Hartshorne's *Ancient Metrical Tales*, 1829. The Cotton. MS. is sadly mutilated.—F.]

[A German romance on this subject was translated by Konrad Flecke from the French of Robert d'Orleans, in the early part of the thirteenth century. The subject is referred to at an earlier period by several Provençal poets, and this, coupled with the theatre of its events, makes Warton's conjecture extremely probable that it is of Spanish origin.—*Price*. For the fullest account of the bibliography of this popular romance see Hoffmann's *Horæ Belgicæ*, 1830, part 3. See also art. *Affenede* in the *Dict. Soc. Useful Knowledge*.—Rye.]

⁴ [Dr. Wagner is editing a Middle-Greek *Floris* for the Philological Society.—F.]

⁵ [Warton was indebted, he tells us, to Mr. Stanley for the use of the Greek *Thefens*, printed at Venice in 1529, with woodcuts. Another copy was at that time in the hands of Ramfay the painter. The first edition of the original Italian, Ferrara, 1475, folio, was in Dr. Atkew's collection. Consul Smith's copy was bought for King George III. Another copy is at Althorp, and a fourth sold at

in each of the twelve books, and that the two first books are introductory; the first containing the war of Theseus with the Amazons, and the second that of Thebes, in which Palamon and Arcite are taken prisoners. Boccaccio thus describes the Temple of Mars:

Ne' campi tracci sotto i cieli iberni
Da tempesta continova agitati
Dove schieré di nemi sempiterni
Da venti or qua ed or la trasmutati
In vari luoghi ne guazzori verni
E d' acqua globi per freddo aggroppati
Gittati sono, e neve tuttavia,
Che 'n ghiaccio a mano a man' s' indura e cria:

E 'n una selva steril di robusti
Cerri, dov' eran folti ed alti molte,
Nodoli ed aspri, rigidi e vetusti,
Che d' ombra eterna ricuoprono il volto
Del tristo fuolo, e in fra gli antichi fusti,
Da ben mille furor sempre ravalto
Vi si sentia grandissimo romore,
Ne v' era bestia ancora nè pastore

In questa vide la ca' dello iddio
Armipotente, e questa è edificata
Tutta d' acciaio splendido e pulio,
Dal quale era dal sol riverberata
La luce, che abborriva il luogo rio:
Tutta di ferro era la stretta entrata
E le porte eran d' eterno diamante
Ferrate d' ogni parte tutte quante,
E le colonne di ferro cuftei
Vide, che l' edificio sostengono
Li gl' Impeti dementi parve a lei
Veder, che fier fuor della uscieno,
Ed il cieco Peccare, ed ogni Omei
Similmente quivi si vedieno;
Videvi l' Ire rosse come fuoco,
E la Paura pallida in quel loco.

E con gli occulti ferri i Tradimenti
Vide, e le Infidie con giusta apparenza:
Li Discordia sedeva, e sanguinenti
Ferri avie in mano, e d' ogni differenza;
E tutti i luoghi pareano strepenti
D' aspre minacce e di crudele intenza:
E 'n mezzo il loco la Virtù tristissima
Sedie di degne lode poverissima.

Videvi ancora l' allegro Furore,
E oltre a ciò con volto sanguinoso
La Morte armata vide e lo Stupore;
Ed ogni altare quivi era copioso
Di sangue sol nelle battaglie fuore
De' corpi uman cacciato, e luminoso
Era ciascun di fuoco tolto a terre
Arse e disfatte per le triste guerre.

Ed era il tempio tutto istoriato¹



Hibbert's sale in 1829 for £160. See Dibdin's *Biblioth. Spencer.* iv. 84, and Brunet, i. 1015-16.]

¹ Thus, *Στορηματα* means paintings, properly history-paintings, and *λεπρον*, and

Da sottil mano e di sopra e d' intorno
 E ciò che pria vi vide disegnato
 Eran prede di notte e di giorno
 Tolti alle terre, e qualunque isforzato
 Fu era quivi in abito musorno :
 Vedevansi le genti incatenate,
 Porti di ferro e fortezze spezzate
 Videvi ancor le navi bellatrici,
 I vòti carri, e li volti guastati,
 E li miseri pianti ed infelici,
 Ed ogni forza cogli aspetti elati,
 Ogni sedita ancor si vedea lici :
 E fangui colle terre mescolati :
 E 'n ogni loco nell' aspetto fiero
 Si vedea Marte torbido ed altiero, &c.¹

The Temple of Venus has these imageries :

Poi vide presso a sè passar Bellezza
 Senz' ornamento alcun sè riguardando,
 E vide gir con lei Piacevolezza,
 E l' una e l' altra seco commendano;
 Poi con lor vide starli Giovinezza
 Destra ed adorna molto festeggiando :
 E d' altra parte vide il folle Ardire
 Lusinghe e Ruffanie insieme gire.
 E 'n mezzo il loco in su alte colonne
 Di rame vide un tempio, al qual d' intorno
 Danzando giovinetti vide e donne,
 Qual da sè belle : e qual d' abito adorno,
 Discinte e scalze, in capelli e gonne,
 Che in questo solo dispendeano il giorno :
 Poi sopra il tempio vide volitare
 Passere molte e columbe rucchiare.
 Ed all' entrata del tempio vicina
 Vide che si sedeva pianamente
 Madonna Pace, e in mano una cortina
 'Nanzi alla porta tenea lievemente :
 Appresso a lei in vista assai tapina
 Pacienza sedea discretamente,

αἱσθησις, is to *paint*, in barbarous Greek. There are various examples in the Byzantine writers. In middle Latinity *Historiographus* signifies literally a painter. Perhaps our historiographer royal was originally the king's illuminator. *ἱστογραφὸς μουσιότης* occurs in an inscription published by Du Cange, *Dissertat. Joinv.* xxvii. p. 319. Where *μουσιότης* implies an artist who painted in mosaic work called *μουσαῖα*, or *μουσικὴ τέχνη*, *musivum*. In the Greek poem before us *ἱστορίας* is used for a painter, lib. ii. :

Εκ τῶν παλαιῶν τῶν ζωστὶς ἱστορίας οἱ ἱστορίαι.

In the middle Latin writers we have *depingere historialiter*, to paint with histories or figures, viz. "Forinfecus dealbavit illud [delubrum,] intrinsecus autem *depinxit historialiter*." Dudo, *De Ab. Norman.* l. iii. p. 153. Dante uses the Italian word before us in the same sense. Dante, *Purgat.* Cant. x. :

"Quivi era historiata l'alta gloria
 Del Roman Principe."

ἱστορία frequently occurs, simply for picture or representation in colours. Nilus Monach. lib. iv. *Epist.* 61. Καὶ ἱστορίας ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἑρπετῶν καὶ θηρίων. "Pictures of birds, serpents, and plants." And in a thousand other instances.

¹ L. vii. [Ed. 1827-31, ix. 221-3. In all the former editions, the extract, as well as that which succeeds, was so disfigured by errors, as to be absolutely unintelligible.]

Pallida nell' aspetto : e d' ogni parte
D' intorno a lei vide Promesse ad arte.
Poi dentro al tempio entrata, di sospiri
Vi senti un tumulto, che girava
Focoso tutto di caldi disiri:
Questo gli altari tutti aluminaua
Di nuove fiamme nate di martiri,
De' qua' ciascun di lagrime grondava,
Mosse da una dona cruda e ria,
Che vide li, chiamata Gelosia. &c.¹

It is highly probable that Boccaccio learned many anecdotes of Grecian history and Grecian fable, not to be found in any Greek writer now extant, from his preceptors Barlaam, Leontius, and others, who had lived at Constantinople, while the Greek literature was yet flourishing. Some of these are perhaps scattered up and down in the composition before us, which contains a considerable part of the Grecian story; and especially in his Treatise of the Genealogies of the Gods.² Boccaccio himself calls his master Leontius an inexhaustible archive of Grecian tales and fables, although not equally conversant with those of the Latins.³ He confesses that he took many things in his book of the genealogies of the gods from a vast work entitled *Collectivum*, now lost, written by his cotemporary Paulus Perusinus, the materials of which had in great measure been furnished by Barlaam.⁴ We are informed also, that Perusinus made

¹ [*Ibid.* pp. 230-1.] Some of these stanzas are thus expressed in the Græco-barbarous translation:

Εἰς τούτων ἴδιδι τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν οἶκον τὸν μεγάλον,
ἀπαρμματα πολλὰ σκληρὰ, κτισμένους ἦτον ὅλος.
Ὁ λόλαμπρος γὰρ ἦτοναί, ἔλαμπεν ὡς τὸν ἥλιον,
ἦταν ὁ ἥλιος ἔκρουε, ἀστραπτὸν ὡς τὸν φέγγος.
Ὁ τύπος ὅλος ἔλαμπεν, ἐκτὸν λαμπρότητάντου,
τὸ ἔμπωτον ὁλοσίδου, καὶ τὰ στυγνέματατόου.
Ἀπὸ διαμάντι πύρρειστον, ἦσαν καὶ τὰ καρφία,
σφιδερμέναις δυνατὰ, ἀπάπασαν μερία.
Κολύβαις ἦσαν σιδηρῆς, πολλὰ χροτῆρες μεγάλαις,
ἀπάναντους ἰθάσταναι, ὅλον τὸν οἶκον καίνον.
Ἐκείδῃ τὴν βουρένταται, τὴν λογισμὸν ἐκείνου,
ὀπικτὴν πύρταν βγάσας, ἀγροὶ καὶ θυρομέναι.
Καὶ τὴν τυφλὴν τὴν ἀμαρτίαν καὶ τὸ οὐαὶ καὶ ὄχου
ἐκείσε ἰφαιπνόντουσαν, ὅμως σὰν τὸ ἄλλα.
Καὶ ταῖς ὀργαῖς ἰσκαύθησαν, κόκιναις ὡς φασία,
τὸν φάβον εἶδε λήχλομον, ἐκείσε σμίαν μερία.
Μετὰ καὶ τὰ σιδηρὰ, εἶδε δημιουργαῖς,
καὶ ταῖς φαλοῖς πυρρίνται, καὶ μόλαζαν δικαιοσύνης.
Ἐκείτου ἀστυβασία, μεταῖς διαφοραῖς,
ἰθάσας εἰς τὸ χέρτης, σιδηρὰ ματαμένα.
Ὅλος ὁ τύπος ἰδιχη, ἀγροὶ καὶ χυλισμένους,
ἀγροὶ γὰρ φοβερισμοῖς, κωμύταται μαλάν.
Μέσα τὸν τύπον τούτον, ἡ χάρις τυχημένη,
ἐκείθεν ὁ πύρρεις, καὶ ἦται πασιμύνη.

² In fifteen books. First printed in 1481, fol. And in Italian by Betussi, Venet. 1553. In French at Paris, 1531, fol. In the interpretation of the fables he is very prolix and jejune.

³ *Geneal. Deor.* lib. xv. cap. vi.

⁴ "Quicquid apud Græcos inveniri potest, adjutorio Barlaæ arbitror collegisse."
—*Ibid.*

use of some of these fugitive Greek scholars, especially Barlaam, for collecting rare books in that language. Perusinus was librarian, about the year 1340, to Robert, king of Jerusaleam and Sicily, and was the most curious and inquisitive man of his age for searching after unknown or uncommon manuscripts, especially histories and poetical compositions, and particularly such as were written in Greek. I will beg leave to cite the words of Boccaccio, who records this anecdote.¹ By the *Historiæ* and *Poetica Opera*, [mentioned below as] brought from Constantinople by Barlaam, undoubtedly works of entertainment, and perhaps chiefly of the romantic and fictitious species, I do not understand the classics. It is natural to suppose that Boccaccio, both from his connections and his curiosity, was no stranger to these treasures: and that many of these pieces, thus imported into Italy by the dispersion of the Constantinopolitan exiles, are only known at present through the medium of his writings. It is certain that many oriental fictions found their way into Europe by means of this communication.

Boccaccio borrowed the story of Titus and Gesippus from the *Gesta Romanorum*, or from the second fable of Alphonfus. There is another Latin history of these two friends, a translation from [the eighth novel of the tenth day of the *Decameron*,] by Bandello, and printed at Milan in 1509. An exceedingly scarce book.²

I take this opportunity of pointing out another source of Boccaccio's *Tales*. Friar Philip's story of the *Goose*, or of the young man who had never seen a woman, in the prologue to the fourth day of the *Decameron*, is taken from a spiritual romance, called the *History of Barlaam and Josaphat*. This fabulous narrative, in which Barlaam is a hermit and Josaphat a king of India, is supposed to have been originally written in Greek by Johannes Damascenus. The Greek is no uncommon manuscript.³ It was from the old Latin translation, which is mentioned by Vincent of Beauvais, that it became a favourite in the dark ages. The Latin, which is also a common manuscript, was printed so early as the year 1470. It has often appeared in French. A modern Latin version was published at Paris in 1577. The legendary historians, who believed everything, and even Baronius, have placed Barlaam and Josaphat in their catalogues of confessors. Saint Barlaam and Saint Josaphat occur in the *Metrical Lives of the Saints*.⁴ This history seems to have been composed by an oriental Christian: and, in some manuscripts, is said to have been brought by a monk of Saint Saba into the holy city from Ethiopia. Among the Baroccian MSS. Cod. xxi. there was an office in Greek for these two supposed saints.

In passing through Chaucer's hands, this poem has received many new beauties. Not only those capital fictions and descriptions, the

¹ "Et, si usquam curiosissimus fuit homo in perquirendis, jussu etiam principis, peregrinis undecunque libris, *Historiis et Poeticis* operibus, iste fuit. Et ob id, singulari amicitia Barlaæ conjunctus, quæ a Latinis habere non poterat eo medio innumera exhausit a Græcis."—*Geneal. Deor.* lib. xv. cap. vi.

² [See, for the correct title, *Brunet*, i. 636.]

³ See MSS. Laud. C. 72.

⁴ MSS. Bodl. 72, fol. 288, b, [Vernon MS., &c.]

temples of Mars, Venus, and Diana, with their allegorical paintings, [but also] the figures of Lycurgus and Emetrius with their retinue, are so much heightened by the bold and spirited manner of the British bard, as to strike us with an air of originality. Boccaccio's situations and incidents respecting the lovers are often inartificial and unassuming. In the Italian poet, Emilia walking in the garden and singing is seen and heard first by Arcite, who immediately calls Palamon. They are both equally, and at the same point of time, captivated with her beauty; yet without any expressions of jealousy, or appearance of rivalry. But in Chaucer's management of the commencement of this amour, Palamon by seeing Emilia first acquires an advantage over Arcite, which ultimately renders the catastrophe more agreeable to poetical justice. It is an unnatural and unanimated picture which Boccaccio presents, of the two young princes violently enamoured of the same object, and still remaining in a state of amity. In Chaucer, the quarrel between the two friends, the foundation of all the future beautiful distress of the piece, commences at this moment, and causes a conversation full of mutual rage and resentment. This rapid transition, from a friendship cemented by every tie to the most implacable hostility, is on this occasion not only highly natural, but produces a sudden and unexpected change of circumstances, which enlivens the detail and is always interesting. Even afterwards, when Arcite is released from the prison by Pirithous, he embraces Palamon at parting; and in the fifth book of *La Teseide*, when Palamon goes armed to the grove in search of Arcite, whom he finds sleeping, they meet on terms of much civility and friendship, and in all the mechanical formality of the manners of romance. In Chaucer, this dialogue has a very different cast. Palamon, at seeing Arcite, feels a "colde swerde" glide throughout his heart: he starts from his ambushcade, and instantly salutes Arcite with the appellation of "false traitour;" and although Boccaccio has merit in discriminating the characters of the two princes, by giving Palamon the impetuosity of Achilles, and Arcite the mildness of Hector, yet Arcite by Boccaccio is here injudiciously represented as too moderate and pacific. In Chaucer he returns the salute with the same degree of indignation, draws his sword, and defies Palamon to single combat. So languid is Boccaccio's plan of this amour, that Palamon does not begin to be jealous of Arcite till he is informed in the prison that Arcite lived as a favourite servant with Theseus in disguise, yet known to Emilia. When the lovers see Emilia from the window of their tower, she is supposed by Boccaccio to observe them, and not to be displeased at their signs of admiration. This circumstance is justly omitted by Chaucer, as quite unnecessary, and not tending either to promote the present business or to operate in any distant consequences. On the whole, Chaucer has eminently shewn his good sense and judgment in rejecting the superfluities and improving the general arrangement of the story. He frequently corrects or softens Boccaccio's false manners; and it is with singular address he has often abridged the Italian poet's ostentatious and pedantic parade of ancient history and mythology.

Therefore it is to be remarked, that as Chaucer in some places has thrown in strokes of his own, so in others he has contracted the uninteresting and tedious prolixity of narrative, which he found in the Italian poet; and that he might avoid a fervile imitation, and indulge himself as he pleased in an arbitrary departure from the original, it appears that he neglected the embarrassment of Boccaccio's stanza, and preferred the English heroic couplet, of which this poem affords the first conspicuous example extant in our language.

The situation and structure of the temple of Mars are thus described :

A foreste,¹

In which ther dwellede neyther man ne best,
With knotty knarry bareyn trees olde
Of stubbes scharpe and hidous to byholde;
In which ther ran a swymbul in a swough,
As it were a storme schulde berst every bough :
And downward on an hil under a bent,²
Ther stood the tempul of Marz armypotent,
Wrought al of burned³ steel, of which thentre
Was long and freyt, and gaffly for to see.
And therout came a rage of suche a prife,
That it maad al the gates for to rise.
The northen light in at the dore schon,
For wyndow on the walle *ne* was ther noon,
Thorough the which men might no light discerne.
The dore wer alle ademaunte eterne,
I-clenched overthward and endelong
With iren tough; and, for to make it strong,
Every piler the tempul to sustene
Was tonne greet of iren bright and schene.

The gloomy sanctuary of this tremendous fane, was adorned with these characteristical imageries.

Ther saugh I furst the derk ymaginyng⁴
Of felony, and al the compassyng;
The cruel ire, as reed as eny gleede;
The pikepurs, and eek the pale drede;
The smyler with the knyf under his cloke;
The schipne brennyng with the blake smoke;
The tresoun of the murtheryng in the bed;
The open werres, with woundes al bi-bled;
Contest with bloody knyf,⁵ and scharp manace.
Al ful of chirkyng⁶ was that sory place.
The fleer of himself yet saugh I there,
His herre-blood hath bathed al his here;
The nayl y-dryve in the schode a-nyght;

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 61, ver. 1117.]

² [declivity]. ³ burnished.

⁴ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 62, ver. 1137.]

⁵ This image is likewise entirely misrepresented by Dryden, and turned to a satire on the Church :

"Contest with sharpen'd knives in *cloysters* drawn,
And all with blood bespread the *holy lawns*."

⁶ Any disagreeable noise, or hollow murmur. Properly, the jarring of a door upon the hinges. See also Chaucer's *Boeth.* p. [25, edit. Morris:] "Whan the felde *chirkynges* agrisethe of colde by the fellnesse of the wynde that hyt aquilon." The original is, "Vento Campus inhorruit."

The colde deth, with mouth gapyng upright.¹
 Amyddes of the tempul set melchaunce,
 With fory comfort and evel contynauunce.
 Yet I saugh woodnes laughyng in his rage;
 The hunte strangled with wilde bores corage.
The caraigne in the busche, with throte i-korwe :
A thousand slayne, and not of qualme i-florwe ;²
The tiraunt, with the pray bi force i-rafte ;
The toune destroyed, there was no thing lasse.
 Yet saugh I brent the schippis hoppesteres,³
The hunte⁴ strangled with the wilde beeres.
 The fowe freten the child right in the cradel;
 The cook i-skalded, for al his longe ladel.
 Nought beth forgeten the infortune of Mart;
 The carter over-ryden with his cart,
 Under the whel ful lowe he lay adoun.
 Ther wer also of Martz divisoun,
 The barbour, and the bowcher, and the smyth,
 That forgeth scharpe swerdes on his stith.
 And al above depeynted in a tour
 Saw I conquest sitting in gret honour,
 With the scharpe swerd over his heed
 Hangyng by a sotil twyne threed.

This group is the effort of a strong imagination, unacquainted with selection and arrangement of images. It is rudely thrown on the canvas without order or art. In the Italian poets, who describe every thing, and who cannot, even in the most serious representations, easily suppress their natural predilection for burlesque and familiar imagery, nothing is more common than this mixture of sublime and comic ideas.⁵ The form of Mars follows, touched with the impetuous dashes of a savage and spirited pencil :

The statue⁶ of Mars upon a carte stood,
 Armed, and lokede grym as he were wood ;

¹ This couplet refers to the suicide in the preceding one, who is supposed to kill himself by driving a nail into his head [in the night], and to be found dead and cold in his bed, with his "mouth gapyng upryght." This is properly the meaning of his "hair being bathed in blood." *Shode*, in the text, is literally a *busb of hair*. Dryden has finely paraphrased this passage.

² "slain—not destroyed by sickness or dying a natural death."

³ A writer in *Notes and Queries* (1st S. ii. 31,) conjectures, that Chaucer may have misread the *bellatrici* of Statius *ballatrici*. Another writer in the same miscellany (2nd S. iv. 407) thinks that it should be *hoppesteres* quasi upholsteries=dock-yards. Now, a *hopyr* is the old word for the *trough*, in which the grain is placed to be ground, and there may have been a term, now lost, but known to Chaucer, founded upon *hopyr*, and having the sense of ship's stocks. This appears to be on the whole the most probable solution :

"By God! right by the *hoper* wol I stande,
 Quod Johan, 'And se how that the corn gus inne.'"

Reeves Tale, l. 4034, ed. Wright.]

⁴ [The huntsman; from the Saxon *hunta*.—Tyrwhitt.]

⁵ There are many other instances of this mixture. v. 319. "We strive as did the houndis for the bone." v. 403. "We fare he that dronk is as a moufe, &c." "Farewel physsick! Go bere the corse to church;" "Some said he lokid grim and he wolde fight," &c. *infra*.

⁶ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 63, ver. 1183.] Statuary is not implied here. Thus he mentions the *statue* of Mars on a banner, *supr.* v. 117. I cannot forbear adding in

A wolf ther flood byforn him at his feet
 With eyen reed, and of a man he eet;
 With sotyl pencil depeynted was this storic,
 In redoutyng¹ of Mars and of his glorie.

But the groundwork of this whole description is in the *Thebais* of Statius. I will make no apology for transcribing the passage at large, that the reader may judge of the resemblance. Mercury visits the temple of Mars situated in the frozen and tempestuous regions of Thrace:—²

Hic steriles delubra notat Mavortia silvas,
 Horrefcitque tuens: ubi mille furoribus illi
 Cingitur adverso domus immanis uba sub Hæmo.
 Ferrea compago laterum, ferro arcta teruntur
 Limina, ferratis incumbunt testa columnis.
 Læditur adversum Phœbi jubar, ipsaque sedem
 Lux timet, et dirus contristat sidera fulgor.

Digna loco statio? primis salit Impetus amens
 E foribus, cæcumque Nefas, Iræque rubentes,
 Exsanguesque Metus; occultisque enfibus adstant
 Insidiæ, geminumque tenens Discordia ferrum.
 Innumeris strepit aula Minis: tristissima Virtus
 Stat medio, lætusque Furor, vultuque cruento
 Mors armata sedet: bellorum solus in aris
 Sanguis, et incensis qui raptus ab urbibus ignis.
 Terrarum exuvie circum, et fastigia templi
 Captæ insignibant gentes, cœlataque ferro
 Fragmina portarum, bellatricesque carinæ,
 Et vacui currus, protritæque curribus ora.³

this place these fine verses of Mars arming himself in haste, from our author's *Complaint of Mars and Venus*, v. 99:

"He throweth on him his helme of huge wyghte,
 And girt him with his swerde; and in his honde
 His myghty spere, as he was wont to fyghte,
 He shaketh so, that almost it to-wonde;"

Here we see the force of description without a profusion of idle epithets. These verses are all *finew*: they have nothing but verbs and substantives.

¹ recording, [reverence, T.]

² Chaucer points out this very temple in the introductory lines, v. 1113:

"Like to the estres of the grisly place,
 That hight the gret tempul of Mars in Trace,
 In that colde and frosty regioun,
 Ther as Mars hath his sovereyn mancioun."

³ Stat. *Theb.* vii. 40 [Edit. Paris, 1827, iii. 9-10]. And below we have Chaucer's *Doors of adamant eterne*, viz. v. 68.

"Clauſæque adamante perenni
 Diffiluere fores."

Statius also calls Mars, *Armipotens*, v. 78. A sacrifice is copied from Statius, where, says Chaucer (v. 1435):

"And did hir thinges, as men may biholde
 In Stace of Thebes."

I think Statius is copied in a simile, v. 1640. The introduction of this poem is also taken from the *Thebaid*, xii. 545, 481, 797. Compare Chaucer's lines, v. 870, *seq.* v. 917, *seq.* v. 996, *seq.* The funeral pyre of Arcite is also translated from *Theb.* vi. 195, *seq.* See Ch. v. 2940, *seq.* I likewise take this opportunity of

Statius was a favourite writer with the poets of the middle ages. His bloated magnificence of description, gigantic images, and pompous diction, suited their taste, and were somewhat of a piece with the romances they so much admired. They neglected the gentler and genuine graces of Virgil, which they could not relish. His pictures were too correctly and chaste drawn to take their fancies: and truth of design, elegance of expression, and the arts of composition were not their objects.¹ In the meantime we must observe, that in Chaucer's *Temple of Mars* many personages are added: and that those which existed before in Statius have been retouched, enlarged, and rendered more distinct and picturesque by Boccaccio

observing, that Lucretius and Plato are imitated in this poem, together with many passages from Ovid and Virgil.

¹ In *Troilus and Cressida* he has translated the arguments of the twelve books of the *Thebais* of Statius. See B. v. p. 1479, *seq.*

But to be more particular as to these imitations, ii. 28, v. 40:—

“A companye of ladies, tweye and tweye,” &c.

Thus Theseus, at his return in triumph from conquering Scythia, is accosted by the dames of Thebes, Stat. *Theb.* xii. 519:—

“Jamque domos patrias, Scythicæ post aspera gentis
Prælia, laurigero subeuntem Thesea curru
Lætifici plausus, &c. &c.
Paulum et ab infessis mœstæ Pelopeides aris
Promovere gradum, feriemque et dona triumph
Mirantur, victique animo rediere mariti.
Atque ubi tardavit currus, et ab axe superbo
Explorat causas victor, posticitque benigna
Aure preces; orsa ante alias Capaneia conjux,
Belliger Ægide,” &c.

Chaucer here copies Statius (*Theb.* v. 861-966). *Kn. T.* from [v. 70 to v. 151,] See also *ibid.* v. 70, *seq.* v. 930:

“Here in the Temple of the goddess Clemence,” &c.

Statius mentions the temple of Clemency as the asylum where these ladies were assembled, *Theb.* xii. 481:

“Urbe fuit media, nulli concessa potentum
Ara deum, mitis posuit Clementia sedem,” &c.

Ver. 2087.

“Ne what jewels men in the fyr caste,” &c.

Literally from Statius, *Theb.* vi. 206:

“Ditantur flammæ, non unquam opulentior illa
Ante cinis; crepitant gemmæ,” &c.

But the whole of Arcite's funeral is minutely copied from Statius. More than a hundred parallel lines on this subject might be produced from each poet. In Statius the account of the trees felled for the pyre, with the conflation of the Nymphs, takes up more than twenty-four lines, v. 84-116. In Chaucer about thirteen, v. 2060-2072. In Boccaccio, six stanzas, B. xi. Of the three poets, Statius is most reprehensible, the first author of this ill-placed and unnecessary description, and who did not live in a Gothic age. The statues of Mars and Venus I imagined had been copied from Fulgentius, Boccaccio's favourite mythographer. But Fulgentius says nothing of Mars: and of Venus, that she only stood in the sea on a couch, attended by the Graces. It is from Statius that Theseus became a hero of romance.

and Chaucer. Arcite's address to Mars, at entering the temple, has great dignity, and is not copied from Statius :

O stronge god, that in the reynes colde¹
Of Trace honoured and lord art thou y-holde,
And hast in every regne and every land
Of armes al the bridel in thy hand,
And hem fortuneft as the luste devyse,
Accept of me my pitous sacrifice.

The following portrait of Lycurgus, an imaginary king of Thrace, is highly charged, and very great in the Gothic style of painting :

Ther maihtow se comyng with Palomoun²
Ligurge himself, the grete kyng of Trace;
Blak was his berd, and manly was his face.
The cercles of his eyen in his heed
They gloweden bytwixe yolw and reed,
And lik a griffoun loket he aboute,
With kempe heres on his browes stowte;
His lymes greet, his bawnes hard and stronge,
His schuldres brood, his armes rounde and longe.
And as the gyse was in his contré,
Ful heye upon a chare of gold stood he,
With foure white boles in a trays.
In stede of cote armour in his harnays,
With nales yolwe, and bright as eny gold,
He had a bere³ skyn, cole-blak for old.
His lange heer y-kempt byhynd his bak,
As eny raven fether it schon for blak.
A wrethe of gold arm-gret, and huge of wighte,
Upon his heed, set ful of stoones brighte,
Of fyne rubeus and of fyn dyamauntz.
Aboute his chare wente white alauntz,⁴
Twenty and mo, as grete as eny stere,
To hunt at the lyoun or at the bere,
And folwed him, with mosel fast i-bounde,
Colerd with golde, and torettz⁵ fyled^{*} rounde.

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 73, ver. 1515.] ² [*Ibid.* ii. 66, ver. 1270.] ³ A bear's.

⁴ Greyhounds. A favourite species of dogs in the middle ages. In the ancient pipe-rolls, payments are frequently made in greyhounds. *Rot. Pip. an. 4, Reg. Johann.* [A. D. 1203.] "Rog. Constabul. Cestrie debet D. Marcas, et x. palfridos et x. *laissas Leporariorum* pro habenda terra Vidonis de Loverell de quibus debet reddere per ann. c. m." Ten leashes of greyhounds, *Rot. Pip. an. 9 Reg. Johann.* [A. D. 1208.] "Suthant. Johan. Teingre debet c. m. et x. *leporarios magnos, pulchros, et bonos, de redemptione sua.*" &c. *Rot. Pip. an. 11, Reg. Johan.* [A. D. 1210.] "Everveycire. Rog. de Mallvell redd. comp. de I. palefrido velociter corrente, et ii. *Laissis leporariorum* pro habendis literis deprecatoriis ad Matildam de M." I could give a thousand other instances of the sort. ["Speght interprets *alauntz*; greyhounds; Tyrrwhitt, mastiffs. The latter was apparently misled by the fact that the wolf-dog, generally known by the name of the *Irish greyhound*, because used most recently in that country, is called by Buffon *le matin.*"—Bell.]

In Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure*, Fame is attended with two greyhounds, on whose golden collars Grace and Governauce are inscribed in diamond letters. See next note.

⁵ Rings; the fastening of dogs' collars. They are often mentioned in the inventory of furniture, in the royal palaces of Henry VIII. above cited. MSS. Harl. 1419. In the *Castle of Windsor*, article Collars, f. 409. "Two grey-

* Filed; highly polished.

An hundred lordes had he in his route
 Armed ful wel, with hertes stern and stoute.

The figure of Emetrius, king of India, who comes to the aid of Arcite, is not inferior in the same style, with a mixture of grace :

With Arcita, in stories as men fynde,¹
 The gret Emetreus, the kyng of Ynde,
 Uppon a steede bay, trapped in steel,
 Covered with cloth of gold dyapred wel,
 Cam rydyng lyk the god of armes Mars.
 His coote armour was of a cloth of Tars,²
 Cowched of perlys whyte, round and grete.
 His sadil was of brend gold newe i-bete ;
 A mantelet upon his schuldre hangyng
 Bret-ful of rubies reed, as fir sparcllyng.
 His crispe her lik rynge was i-ronne,
 And that was yalwe, and gliteryng as the sonne.
 His nose was heigh, his eyen *bright* cytryne,
 His lippes rounde, his colour was sangwyn,
 A fewe freknes in his face y-spreynd,
 Betwixe yolwe and somdel blak y-meynd,
 And as a lyoun he his lokyng caste.
 Of fyve and twenty yeer his age I caste.
 His berd was wel bygonne for to spryng ;
 His voys was as a trumpe thunderyng.
 Upon his heed he wered of laurer grene
 A garlond freisch and lusty for to sene.
 Upon his hond he bar for his delyt
 An egle tame, as eny lylie whyt.
 An hundred lordes had he with him ther,
 Al armed sauf here hedes in here ger,

About the kyng ther ran on every part
 Ful many a tame lyoun and lepart.

The banner of Mars displayed by Theseus, is sublimely conceived :

The reede statue of Mars with spere and targe³
 So schyneth in his white baner large,
 That alle the feeldes gliteren up and down.

This poem has many strokes of pathetic description, of which these specimens may be selected :

houndes collars of crimfun velvett and cloth of gold, lacking *torrettes*."—"Two other collars with the kinges armes, and at the ende portcullis and rose."—"Item, a collar embrowdered with pomegranates and roses with *tarrets* of silver and gilt."—"A collar garnished with stole-worke with one shallop shelle of silver and gylte, with *torrettes* and pendauntes of silver and guilte."—"A collar of white velvette, embrowdered with perles, the swivels of silver."

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 67, ver. 1297.]

² Not of Tarsus in Cilicia. It is rather an abbreviation for Tartarin, or Tartarium. See [the] *Flower and Leaf*, [*ibid.* iv. 94, ver. 211:]

"On every trumpe hanging a broad banere
 Of fine tartarium ful richely bete."

That it was a costly stuff appears from hence. "Et ad faciendum unum Jupoun de *Tartaryn* blu powderat. cum garteriis blu paratis cum boucles et pendans de argento deaurato."—*Comp. J. Coke Provisoris Magn. Garderob. temp. Edw. III.* ut supr. It often occurs in the wardrobe-accounts for furnishing tournaments. Du Cange says, that this was a fine cloth manufactured in Tartary.—*Gloss. v. Tartarium*. But Skinner in v. derives it from Tortona in the Milanese. He cites tat. 4, Hen. VIII. c. vi. ³ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 31, ver. 117.]

Uppon that other syde Palomon,¹
 Whan he wiste that Arcite was agoon,
 Such forwe maketh, that the grete tour
 Refowneth of his yollyng and clamour.
 The pure feteres of his schynes grete
 Weren of his bitter salte teres wete.

Arcite is thus described, after his return to Thebes, where he despairs of seeing Emilia again :

His sleep, his mete, his drynk is him byraft,²
 That lene he wexe, and drye as eny schaft.
 His eyen holwe, grisly to biholde ;
 His hewe falwe, and pale as aschen colde,
 And solitary he was, and ever alone,
 And dwellyng al the night, making his moone.
 And if he herde song or instrument,
 Then wolde he wepe, he mighte nought be stent ;
 So feble were his spirites, and so lowe.
 And chaunged so, that no man couthe knowe
 His speche nother his vois, though men it herde.

Palamon is thus introduced in the procession of his rival Arcite's funeral :

Tho cam this woful Theban Palomoun,³
 With flotery⁴ berd, and ruggy ashy heeres,
 In clothis blak, y-dropped al with teeres,
 And, passyng other, of wepyng Emelye,
 The rewfullest of al the companye.

To which may be added the surprise of Palamon, concealed in the forest, at hearing the disguised Arcite, whom he supposes to be the squire of Theseus, discover himself at the mention of the name of Emilia :

Thurgh his herte⁵
 He felt a cold swerd sodeynliche glyde :
 For ire he quook, he nolde no lenger abyde.
 And whan that he hath herd Arcites tale,
 As he were wood, with face deed and pale,
 He sterte him up out of the buffches thikke, &c.

A description of the morning must not be omitted ; which vies both in sentiment and expression with the most finished modern poetical landscape, and finely displays our author's talent at delineating the beauties of nature :

The busy larke, messager of day,⁶
 Salueth in hire song the morwe gray ;
 And fyry Phebus ryfeth up so bright,
 That al the orient⁷ laugheth of the light,⁸
 And with his stremes dryeth in the greves
 The silver drops, hongyng on the leeves.

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 40, ver. 417.]

² [*Ibid.* ii. 42, ver. 503.]

³ [*Ibid.* ii. 89, ver. 2024.]

⁴ Iqualid. [*Flotery* seems literally to mean floating ; as hair dishevelled (*ra-buffata*) may be said to float upon the air.—*Tyrwhitt*.]

⁵ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 49, ver. 716.]

⁶ [*Ibid.* ii. 46, ver. 633.]

⁷ For *Orient*, perhaps *Orisount*, or the *horison*, is the true reading. So the edition of Chaucer in 1561. So also the barbarous Greek poem on this story, 'ο Ουρανός ὁριζόν, Orient.—The ear instructs us to reject this emendation.

⁸ See Dante, *Purgat.* c. 1. p. 234.


Nor must the figure of the blooming Emilia, the most beautiful object of this vernal picture, pass unnoticed :

Emelie, that fairer was to scene¹
Than is the lillie on hire stalkes grene.
And frescher than the May with floures newe—
For with the rose colour strof hire hewe.

In other parts of his works he has painted morning scenes *con amore* : and his imagination seems to have been peculiarly struck with the charms of a rural prospect at sun-rising.

We are surprised to find, in a poet of such antiquity, numbers so nervous and flowing : a circumstance which greatly contributed to render Dryden's paraphrase of this poem the most animated and harmonious piece of versification in the English language. I cannot leave the *Knight's Tale* without remarking, that the inventor of this poem appears to have possessed considerable talents for the artificial construction of a story. It exhibits unexpected and striking turns of fortune, and abounds in those incidents which are calculated to strike the fancy by opening resources to sublime description, or to interest the heart by pathetic situations. On this account, even without considering the poetical and exterior ornaments of the piece, we are hardly disgusted with the mixture of manners, the confusion of times, and the like violations of propriety, which this poem, in common with all others of its age, presents in almost every page. The action is supposed to have happened soon after the marriage of Theseus with Hippolita, and the death of Creon in the siege of Thebes : but we are soon transported into more recent periods. Sunday, the celebration of matins, judicial astrology, heraldry, tilts and tournaments, knights of England and targets of Prussia,² occur in the city of Athens under the reign of Theseus.

SECTION XIII.

 HAUCER'S *Romaunt of the Rose*³ is translated from a French poem entitled *Le Roman de la Rose*. It was begun by William of Lorris, a student in jurisprudence, who died about the year 1260. Being left unfinished, it was completed by John of Meun, a native of a little town of that name, situated on the River Loire near Orleans, who

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 33, ver. 177.]

² The knights of the Teutonic order were settled in Prussia, before 1300. See also Ch. ProL. v. 53 ; where tournaments in Prussia are mentioned. Arcite quotes a fable from Æsop (v. 1179).

³ [The one fifteenth century MS. of this poem that we possess (in the Hunterian Museum, at Glasgow) is a very faulty one. Mr. Bradshaw contends that it is not Chaucer's translation at all, but that of a fifteenth century poet, mainly because it contains so many false rhymes of the final *e*—false according to Chaucer's uniform

seems to have flourished about the year 1310.¹ This poem is esteemed by the French the most valuable piece of their old poetry. It is far beyond the rude efforts of all their preceding romancers: and they have nothing equal to it before the reign of Francis I., who died in the year 1547. But there is a considerable difference in the merit of the two authors. William of Lorris, who wrote not one quarter of the poem, is remarkable for his elegance and luxuriance of description, and is a beautiful painter of allegorical personages. John of Meun is a writer of another cast. He possesses but little of his predecessor's inventive and poetical vein; and in that respect was not properly qualified to finish a poem begun by William of Lorris. But he has strong satire and great liveliness.² He was one of the wits of the court of Charles le Bel.

The difficulties and dangers of a lover, in pursuing and obtaining the object of his desires, are the literal argument of this poem. This design is couched under the allegory of a Rose, which our lover after frequent obstacles gathers in a delicious garden. He traverses vast ditches, scales lofty walls, and forces the gates of adamant and almost impregnable castles. These enchanted fortresses are all inhabited by various divinities, some of which assist, and some oppose, the lover's progress.³

Chaucer has luckily translated all that was written by William of Lorris: he gives only part of the continuation of John of Meun.⁴

practice in his genuine poems. For instance, the Romaunt rhymes the infinitives *ly-e*, *li-e*, with the adverbs *erly*, *tendirly*, l. 264, p. 2738; *maladie*, *jelousie*, with I, l. 1850, 3910, 4146, &c. &c. See *Temporary Preface to Six-Text Chaucer*, pp. 107-11. Prof. Child of Harvard also holds the Romaunt not to be Chaucer's.—F.]

¹ Fauchet, pp. 198-200. He also translated Boethius *De Consolatione*, [recently edited by Dr. Morris (1868, 8°) from Addit. MS. Br. Mus. 10,340, collated with MS. Univ. Lib. Cam. I. 3, 21,] and *Abelard's Letters*, and wrote *Answers of the Sibyls*, &c.

² The poem consists of 22734 verses. William of Lorris's part ends with v. 4149, viz:

“A peu que je ne m'en desespoir.”

³ In the preface of the edition printed in the year 1538, all this allegory is turned to religion. The Rose is proved to be a state of grace, or divine wisdom, or eternal beatitude, or the Holy Virgin to which heretics cannot gain access. It is the white Rose of Jericho, *Quasi plantatio Rose in Jericho*, &c. &c. The chemists, in the mean time, made it a search for the philosopher's stone: and other professions, with laboured commentaries, explained it into their own respective sciences.

⁴ See Occleve (*Letter of Cupide*, written 1402. Urry's *Chaucer*, p. 536, v. 283), who calls John of Meun the author of the *Romaunt of the Rose*.

⁵ Chaucer's poem consists of 7699 verses: and ends with this verse of the original, viz. ver. 13105.

“Vous aurez absolution.”

But Chaucer has made several omissions in John of Meun's part, before he comes to this period. He has translated all William of Lorris's part, as I have observed; and his translation of that part ends with ver. 4432, viz.

“Than shuldin I fallin in wanhope.”

Chaucer's cotemporaries called his *Romaunt of the Rose* a translation. Lydgate says that Chaucer

“Notably did his busynesse

How far he has improved on the French original, the reader shall judge. I will exhibit passages selected from both poems : respectively placing the French beside the English, for the convenience of comparison. The renovation of nature in the month of May is thus described.

That it was May, thus dremede me,¹
In tyme of love and jolité,
That al thing gynneth waxen gay,
For ther is neither busk nor hay
In May, that it nyl shrouded bene,
And it with newe leves wrene.
These wodes eek recoveren grene,
That drie in wynter ben to sene ;
And the erth wexith proude withalle,
For swote dewes that on it falle ;
And the pore estat forgette,
In which that wynter had it sette.
And than bycometh the ground so proude,
That it wole have a newe shroude,
And makith so queynt his robe and faire,
That it had hewes an hundred payre,
Of gras and flouris, ynde and pers,
And many hewes ful dyvers :

Qu'on joli mois de May songeoye,
Ou temps amoureux plein de joye,
Que toute chose si s'esgaye,
Si qu'il n'y a buissons ne haye
Qui en May parer ne se vueille,
Et couvrir de nouvelle fueille :
Les boys recouvrent leur verdure,
Qui sont secs tant qui l'hiver dure ;
La terre mesmes s'en orgueille
Pour la rousée qui la mouille,
En oubliant la povreté
Où elle a tout l'hiver esté ;
Lors devient la terre si gobe,
Qu'elle veult avoir neuve robe ;
Si sçet si cointe robe faire,
Que de couleurs y a cent paire,
D'herbes, de fleurs Indes et Perses :
Et de maintes couleurs diverses,

By grete avyse his wittes to dispose,
To translate the *Romans of the Rose*."

Prolog. Boek. ft. vi. It is manifest that Chaucer took no pains to disguise his translation. He literally follows the French, in saying, that a river was "lesse than Saine," i. e. the Seine at Paris, ver. 118. "No wight in all Paris," ver. 7157. A grove has more birds "than ben in all the relme of Fraunce," ver. 495. He calls a pine, "A tree in France men call a pine," ver. 1457. He says of roses, "so faire werin never in Ronce," ver. 1674. "That for Paris ne for Pavie," ver. 1654. He has sometimes reference to French ideas, or words, not in the original. As "Men clepin hem Sereins in France," ver. 684. "From Jerusalem to Burgoine," ver. 554. "Grein de Paris," ver. 1369. In mentioning minstrells and jugglers, he says, that some of them "Songin songes of Lorraine," ver. 776. He adds,

"For in Lorraine there notis be
Full swetir than in this contre."

There is not a syllable of these songs and singers of Lorraine, in the French. By the way, I suspect that Chaucer translated this poem while he was at Paris. There are also many allusions to English affairs, which I suspected to be Chaucer's ; but they are all in the French original. Such as, "Hornpipis of Cornevaile," v. 4250. These are called in the original, "Chalemeaux de Cornouaille," ver. 3991. [Cornouaille here mentioned was a part of the province of Bretagne in France. Mr. Warton must have consulted some French MS. respecting the singers of Lorraine, for the passage certainly occurs in some of the printed editions, and in several MSS. —*Douce*.] A knight is introduced, allied to king "Arthur of Bretagne," ver. 1199. Who is called, "Bon roy Artus de Bretagne," Orig. ver. 1187. Sir Gawin and Sir Kay, two of Arthur's knights, are characterised, ver. 2206, *seq.* See Orig. ver. 2124. Where the word Keulx is corrupt for Keie. But there is one passage, in which he mentions a Bachelere as fair as "The Lordis sonne of Windisore," ver. 1250. This is added by Chaucer, and intended as a compliment to some of his patrons. In the *Legend of Good Women*, Cupid says to Chaucer, ver. 329 :

"For in pleyne text, withouten nede of glose,
Thou hast translated the *Romaunce of the Rose*."

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 2, ver. 51.]

*That is the robe I mene, iwis,
Through which the ground to preisen is.
The bridders, that haven leste her song,
While thei han suffride cold so strong
In wedres gryl and derk to fighte,
Ben in May for the sonne brighte,
So glade, &c.*

*Eft la robe que je devise
Parquoy la terre mieulx se prise.
Les oiseaulx qui tant se sont teuz
Pour l'hiver qu'ils ont tous sentuz,
Et pour le froit et divers temps,
Sont en May, et par la printemps,
Si liez, &c.*

In the description of a grove, within the garden of Mirth, are many natural and picturesque circumstances, which are not yet got into the storehouse of modern poetry :¹

*These trees were sette, that I devyse,
One from another in assyse
Five fadome or fyxe, I trowe so,
But they were hye and great also :
And for to kepe oute well the sonne,
The croppes were so thycke yronne,²
And every braunche in other knytte,
And full of grene leves fytted,
That sonne myghte there noon dyscende,
Left the tender grasses shende.
There myghte men does and roes yfe,
And of squyrels ful gret plenté,
From bowe to bowe alwaye lepyng.
Connies there were also playenge,³
That comyn out of her clapers
Of sondry colours and maners,
And maden many a tourneyng
Upon the freshe grass spryngyng.*

*Mais sachiez que les arbres furent
Si loing a loing comme estre durent
L'ung fut de l'autre loing assis
De cinque toises voyre de fix,
Mais moult furent fueilluz et haulx
Pour gardir de l'este le chaulx
Et si espis par dessus furent
Que chaleurs percer ne lis peurent
Ne ne povoient bas descendre
Ne faire mal a l'erbe tendre.
Au vergier eut dains & chevreleux,
Et aussi beaucoup d'escureux,
Qui par dessus arbres failloient ;
Connins y avoit qui yffoient
Bien souvent hors de leurs tanieres,
En moult de diverses manieres,⁴
[Aloient entr'eus tornoiant
Sor l'erbe fresche verdoiant.⁵]*

Near this grove were shaded fountains without frogs, running into murmuring rivulets, bordered with the softest grass enamelled with various flowers.⁶

*In places sawe I welles there,
In whych there no frogges were,
And fayre in shadowe was every well ;⁷
But I ne can the nombre telle
Of strems fynale, that by devyse
Myrthe hadde done come through con-
dyse.⁸*

*Par lieux y eut cleres fontaines,
Sans barbelotes & sans raines,
Qui des arbres estoient umbrez,
Par moy ne vous seront nombrez,
Et petit ruisseaulx, que Deduit
Avoit la trouvés par conduit ;
L'eau alloit aval faissant
Son melodieux et plaissant.
Aux borts des ruisseaulx et des rives
Des fontaines cleres et vives
Poignoit l'erbe dru et plaissant
Grant foulas et plaisir faissant.
Amy pavoit avec sa mye
Soy deporter ne'en doubtez mye.—*

*Of whych the water in rennyng
Gan make a noyse full lykyng.
Aboute the brynkes of these welles,
And by the strems over al elles
Sprange up the grass, as thycke yset
And softe as any velvet,
On whych men myght hys lemman leye,
As on a fetherbed to pleye,*

*Violette y fut moult belle
Et aussi parvenche nouvelle ;*

*There sprange the vyolet al newe,
And freshe pervynke⁹ ryche of hewe,*

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 43, ver. 1391.]

² "the tops, or boughs, were so thickly twisted together."

³ Chaucer imitates this passage in the *Assemble of Foules*, v. 190, *seq.* Other passages of that poem are imitated from the *Roman de la Rose*.

⁴ ver. 1348. ⁵ ed. Michel, p. 46.

⁶ [Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 43, ver. 1409.]

⁷ A species of insect often found in stagnant water. ⁸ conduits. ⁹ periwinkle.

And floures yellowe, white, and rede ;
 Suche plenté grewe there never in mede.
 Ful gaye was al the grounde, and queynt,
 And poudred, as men had it peynt,
 With many a freshe and sondrye floure,
 That casten up ful good fávoure.

Fleurs y eut blanches et vermeilles,
 Ou ne pourroit trouver pareilles,
 De toutes diverses couleurs,
 De hault pris et de grans valeurs,
 Si estoit loef flairans
 Et reflagrans et odorans.¹

But I hasten to display the peculiar powers of William de Lorris in delineating allegorical personages ; none of which has suffered in Chaucer's translation. The poet supposes that the garden of Mirth, or rather Love, in which grew the Rose, the object of the lover's wishes and labours, was enclosed with embattled walls, richly painted with various figures, such as Hatred, Avarice, Envy, Sorrow, Old Age, and Hypocrisy. Sorrow is thus represented :

Sorowe was peynted next Envie²
 Upon that walle of masonrye.
 But wel was feyn in hir colour
 That she hadde lyved in langour ;
 Hir semede to have the jaunyce.
 Nought half so pale was Avarice,
 Nor no thyng lyk of lenesse ;
 For sorowe, thought, and gret distresse.

De les Envie estoit Tristesse
 Painte aussi et garnye d'angoisse.
 Et bien paroit à sa couleur
 Qu'elle avoit a cuer grant douleur :
 Et sembloit avoir la jaunice,
 La n'y faisoit riens Avarice,
 Ne de paleur ne de maigresse ;
 Car le travaille et la destresse, &c.

A sorowful thyng wel semede she.
 Nor she hadde no thyng slowe be
 For to forcracchen al hir face,
 And for to rent in many place
 Hir clothis, and for-to tere hir swire,
 As she that was fulfilled of ire ;
 And al to-torn lay eek hir here
 Aboute hir shuldris, here and there,
 As she that hadde it al to-rent
 For angre and for maltalent.

Moult sembloit bien que fust dolente ;
 Car el n'avoit pas este lente
 D'esgratignier toute sa chiere ;
 Sa robe ne luy estoit chiere
 En mains lieux l'avoit desirée,
 Comme celle qui moult fut yrée.
 Ses cheveux dérompus estoient,
 Qu'autour de son col pendoient,
 Presque les avoit tous desroux
 De maltalent et de corroux.³

Nor are the images of Hatred and Avarice inferior :

Amyd laugh I a Hate stonde,⁴
 And she was no thyng wel arraied,
 But lyk a wode womman afraied,
 Frounced foule was hir visage,
 And grennyng for dispitous rage,
 Hir nose snorted up for tene.
 Ful hidous was she for to sene,
 Ful foule and rusty was she this.
 Hir heed ywrithen was, y-wis,
 Ful grymly with a greet towayle.

Au milieu de mur je vy Hayne.
 Si n'estoit pas bien atournée,
 Ains sembloit estre forcenée,
 Rechignée estoit et froncé,
 Le vis et le nez rebourfé.
 Moult hydeuse estoit et souillée,
 Et fut sa teste entortillée
 Tres ordement d'un touaille.⁵

The design of this work will not permit me to give the portrait of Idleness, the portress of the garden of Mirth, and of others, which form the group of dancers in the garden : but I cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing those of Beauty, Franchise, and Richesse, three capital figures in this genial assembly :

¹ v. 1348. [Warton quotes a very late and poor French text, much modernized.

—F.]

² [Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 10, ver. 301.]

³ ver. 300.

⁴ [*Ibid.* vi. 5, ver. 147.]

⁵ ver. 143.

The God of Love, jolyf and lyght,¹
 Ladde on his honde a lady bright,
 Of high prys, and of grete degré.
 This lady called was Beauté,
 And an arowe, of which I tolde.
 Ful wel thewed² was she holde,
 Ne she was derk ne broun, but bright,
 And clere as the mone-lyght.

Hir flesh was tendre as dewe of flour,
 Hir chere was symple as byrde in bour;
 As whyte as lylle or rose in rys,³
 Hir face gentyl and tretys.
 Fetys⁴ she was, and smale to se,
 No wyntred⁵ browis hadde she,
 Ne popped hir, for it nedede nought
 To wyndre hir, or to peynte hir ought.
 Hir tresses yellowe, and longe straughten,
 Unto hir helys down they raughten.

Le Dieu d'amours si s'estoit pris
 A une dame de hault pris,
 Pres se tenoit de son costé,
 Celle dame eut nom Beaulte.
 Ainsy comme une des cinque flesches
 En elle aut toutes bonnes taiches :
 Point ne fut obscur, ne brun,
 Mais fut clere comme la lune.—

Tendre eut la chair comme rousée,
 Simple fut comme une espousée.
 Et blanche comme fleur de lis,
 Visage eut bel doulx et alis,
 Elle estoit gresle et alignée
 N'estoit fardié ne pignée,
 Car elle n'avoit pas mestier
 De soy farder et affaistier.
 Les cheveulx eut blons et si longs
 Qu'ils batoient aux talons.⁶

Nothing can be more sumptuous and superb than the robe and other ornaments of Richesse, or Wealth. They are imagined with great strength of fancy. But it should be remembered, that this was the age of magnificence and show; when a profusion of the most splendid and costly materials was lavished on dress, generally with little taste and propriety, but often with much art and invention :

Richesse a robe of purpur on hadde,⁷
 Ne trowe not that I lye or madde;
 For in this world is noon hir lyche,
 Ne by a thousand deelle so riche,
 Ne noon so faire; for it ful welle
 With orfraws leyd was everydeelle,
 And portraied in the ribanynges
 Of dukes storyes, and of kynges.
 And with a bend of gold tasseled,
 And knoppis fyne of gold enameled.⁸

De pourpre fut le vestement
 A Richesse, si noblement,
 Qu'en tout le monde n'eust plus bel,
 Mieux fait, ne aussi plus nouvel :
 Pourtraictes y furent d'orfrois,
 Hystories d'empereurs et roys.
 Et encores y avoit-il
 Un ouvrage noble et sobtil;
 A noyaux d'or au col fermoit,
 Et a bendes d'azur tenoit;

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 31, ver. 1003.]

² Having good qualities. See *supr.* ver. 939, *seq.*

³ [On the branch. Sax. *hrus*, *virgulta*.]

⁴ contracted. ⁵ ver. 1004.

⁶ [well-made, neat.—*T.*]

[Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 33, ver. 1071.]

⁷ Enameling, and perhaps pictures in enamel, were common in the Middle Ages. From the Testament of Joh. de Foxle, knight, Dat. apud Bramshill co. Southampt. Nov. 5, 1378. "Item lego domino abbati de Waltham unum annulum auri grossi, cum uno saphiro infixa, et nominibus trium regum [of Cologne] sculptis in eodem annulo. Item lego Margarite forori mee unam tabulam argenti deaurati et amelitam, minorem de duabus quas habeo, cum diversis ymaginibus sculptis in eadem.—Item lego Margerite uxori Johannis de Wilton unum monile auri, cum S. litera sculpta et amelita in eodem." *Registr. Wykeham Episc. Winton.* p. ii. fol. 24. See also Dugd. *Bar.* i. 234, 2.

Enameled is from the French *email*, or enamel. This art flourished most at Limoges in France. So early as the year 1197, we have "Duas tabulas æneas superauratas de labore Limogiæ." Chart. ann. 1197, apud Ughelin.—*Ital. Sacr.* vii. 1274. It is called *Opus Lemnoviticum*, in Dugdale's *Mom.* iii. 310, 313, 331. In Wilkins's *Concil.* i. 666, two cabinets for the host are ordered, one of silver or of ivory, and the other *de opere Lemovicino*. *Synod. Wigorn.* A.D. 1240. And in many other places. I find it called *Limaise* in a metrical romance the name of which I have forgotten, where a tomb is described,

Aboute hir nekke of gentyl entayle
 Was shete the riche chevefaile,
 In which ther was fulle gret plenté
 Of stones clere and bright to see.
 Rycheffe a girdelle hadde upon,
 The bokele of it was of a stoon,
 Of vertu gret, and mochel of myght
 For who so bare the stoon so bright,
 Of venym durft hym no thing doute,
 While he the stoon hadde hym aboute.

The mourdaunt, wrought in noble wise,
 Was of a stoon fulle precious,
 That was so fyne and vertuous,
 That hole a man it koude make
 Of palasie, and tothe ake.
 And yit the stoon hadde such a grace,
 That he was siker in every place
 Alle thilke day not blynde to bene,
 That fastyng myghte that stoon seene.
 The barres¹ were of gold ful fyne,
 Upon a tyssu of satyne,
 Fulle hevye, gret, and no thyng lyght,
 In everiche was a befaunt wight.
 Upon the tresses of Richeffe
 Was sette a cercle for noblesse
 Of brend gold, that fulle lyghte shoon;
 So faire trowe I was never noon.
 But she were kunnyng for the nonys,
 That koude devyie alle the stonys
 That in that cercle shewen clere;
 It is a wondir thing to here.
 For no man koude preysen or gesse
 Of hem that valewe on richeffe.

Noblement eut le chief paré,
 De riches pierres decoré,
 Qui gettoient moult grant clarté;
 Tout y estoit bien assorté.
 Puis eut une riche sainture,
 Sainte par dessus sa vesture:
 Le boucle d'une pierre fu,
 Grosse, et de moult grant vertu:
 Celluy qui sur soy la portoit,
 De tous venins garde estoit.—

D'une pierre fut le mordans

Qui guerissoit du mal des dens.

Cest pierre portoit bon eur,
 Qui l'avoit pouvoit estre afeur
 De sa santé et de sa vei,
 Quant à jeun il l'avoit vei:
 Les cloux furent d'or epuré,
 Par dessus le tiffu doré,
 Qui estoient grans et pesans;
 En chascun avoit deux besans.
 Si eut avecques a Richeffe
 Uns cadre d'or mis sur la tresse,
 Si riche, si plaissant, et si bel,
 Qu'onques on ne veit le pareil:
 De pierres estoit fort garny,
 Precieuses et aplany,
 Qui bien en vouldroit deviser,

On ne les pourroit pas priser:

“And yt was, the Romans sayes,
 All with golde and limaise.”

[Du Cange v. Limogia]. observes, that it was anciently a common ornament of sumptuous tombs. He cites a Testament of the year 1327, “Je lais huit cent livres pour faire deux tombes hautes et levées de l'Euvre de Limoges.” The original tomb of Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester, erected in his cathedral about the year 1276 [?], was made at Limoges. This appears from the accmpts of his executors, viz. “Et computant xl l. v s. vi d. liberat. Magistro Johanni Linnomcensi, pro tumba dicti Episcopi Roffensis, scil. pro Construtione et carriagio de Lymoges ad Roffam. Et xls. viii d. cuidam Executori apud Lymoges ad ordinandum et providendam Construtionem dictæ Tumbæ. Et x s. viii d. cuidam garcioni eunti apud Lymoges quærenti dictam tumbam constructam, et ducenti eam cum dicto Mag. Johanne usque Roffam. Et xxii l. in maceoneria circa dictam tumbam defuncti. Et vii marcas, in ferramento ejusdem, et carriagio a Londin. usque ad Roff. et aliis parandis ad dictam tumbam. Et xis. cuidam vitriario pro vitris fenestrarum emptarum juxta tumbam dicti Episcopi apud Roffam.” Ant. Wood's *MS. Merton Papers*, Bibl. Bodl. Cod. Ballard, 46.

¹ I cannot give the precise meaning of *Barris*, nor of *Cloux* in the French. It seems to be part of a buckle. In the wardrobe-roll, quoted above, are mentioned, “One hundred garters *cum boucles, barris, et pendentibus de argento*.” For which were delivered, “ccc barrs argenti.” An. 21, Edw. III.—[*Clavus* in Latin, whence the Fr. *cloux* is derived, seems to have signified not only an outward border, but also what we call a stripe. Montfaucon, t. iii. P. i. ch. vi. A bar in heraldry is a narrow stripe or fascia.—*Tyrwhitt*.]

Rubyes there were, saphires, jagounces,¹
 And emeraudes, more than two ounces.
 But alle byfore ful totilly
 A fyn charboncle sette laugh I.
 The stoon so clere was and so bright,
 That, also soone as it was nyght,
 Men myghte seen to go for nede
 A myle or two, in lengthe and brede.
 Sich lyght *the* sprang oute of the stonc,
 That Richeffe wondir brighte shone
 Bothe hir heed, and alle hir face,
 And eke aboute hir al the place.

Rubis y eut, saphirs, jagonces,
 Esmeraudes plus de cent onces :
 Mais devant eut, par grant maistrise,
 Un escarboucle bien assise,
 Et le pierre si clere estoit,
 Que cil qui devant la mettoit,
 Si en pouvoit veoir au besoing
 A foy conduire une lieue loing.
 Telle clarté si en yssoit
 Que Richeffe en resplendissoit
 Par tout le corps et par sa face,
 Aussi d'autour d'elle la place.²

The attributes of the portrait of Mirth are very expressive :

Of berde unnethe hadde he no thyng,³
 For it was in the firste spryng.
 Ful yonge he was, and mery of thought,
 And in samette,⁴ with briddis wrought,

Et si n'avoit barbe a menton,
 Si non petit poil follaton ;
 Il estoit jeune damoyseaulx ;
 Son bauldrier fut portrait d'oiseaulx

¹ The gem called a jacinth. The knowledge of precious stones was a grand article in the natural philosophy of this age ; and the medical virtue of gems, alluded to above, was a doctrine much inculcated by the Arabian naturalists. Chaucer refers to a treatise on gems, called the *Lapidary*, famous in that time. *House of Fame*, L. iii. ver. 260 [edit. Morris]:

“ And they were set as thik of nouchis
 Fyne, of the fynest stones faire
 That men reden in the Lapidaire.”

Montfaucon, in the royal library at Paris, recites, “ Le Lapidaire, de la vertu des pierres.”—*Catal. MSS.* p. 794. This I take to be the book here referred to by Chaucer. Henry of Huntingdon [has, among his minor productions (of which there is a copy in Royal MS. 13, C. 11), some verses on precious stones. See Wright's *Biog. Brit. Literaria*, Anglo-Norman period, p. 169. This writer was living in 1154]. See Du Cange, *Gloss. Gr. Barb.* ii. *Ind. Auctor.* p. 37, col. 1. In the Cotton library is a Saxon Treatise on precious stones. *Tiber.* A. 3, liii. fol. 98. The writing is [very] ancient. [The treatise referred to contains a meagre explanation of the twelve precious stones mentioned in the Apocalypse.] Pelloutier mentions a Latin poem of the eleventh century on precious stones, written by Marbode, bishop of Rennes [who died in the year 1123], and soon afterwards translated into French verse. *Mem. Lang. Celt.* part i. vol. i. ch. xiii. p. 26. The translation begins:

“ Evax fut un mult riche reis
 Lu reigne tint d'Arabeis.”

It was printed in [the folio edit. (1708) of the works of St. Hildebert,] col. 1638. This may be reckoned one of the oldest pieces of French versification. A MS. *De Speciebus Lapidum*, occurs twice in the Bodleian library, falsely attributed to one Adam Nidzarde, Cod. Digb. 28, f. 169. and Cod. Laud. C. 3, *Princ.* “ Evax rex Arabum legitur scripsisse.” But it is, I think, Marbode's book above mentioned. Evax is a fabulous Arabian king, said to have written on this subject. Of this Marbode or Marbodæus, see Ol. Borrich. *Diff. Acad. de Poet.* p. 87, sect. 78, edit. Francof. 1683, 4to. His poem was published, with notes, by Lampridius Alardus. The eastern writers pretend that King Solomon, among a variety of physiological pieces, wrote a book on gems: one chapter of which treated of those precious stones which resist or repel evil Genii. They suppose that Aristotle stole all his philosophy from Solomon's books. See Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* xiii. 387, seq. and i. p. 71. Compare Herbelot, *Bibl. Oriental*, p. 962, b. Artic. *Ketab alahgiar* seq.

² ver. 1066.

³ [Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 26, ver. 833.]

⁴ *samite*; *fattin*.

And with gold beten ful fetyfly,
 His body was clad ful richely.
 Wrought was his robe in straunge gise,
 And al to-flytered for queyntise
 In many a place, lowe and hie.
 And shode he was with grete maistrie,
 With shoon decoped,¹ and with laas,
 By druery,² and by folas.
 His leef a rosyn chapelet
 Hadde made, and on his heed it set.

Qui tout estoit è or batu,
 Tres richement estoit vestu
 D'un' robe moult desgyfée,
 Qui fut en maint lieu incisée,
 Et decouppée par quointise.
 Et fut chauffé par mignotise
 D'un souliers decouppés à las,
 Par joyeufete et foulas,
 Et sa neye luy fist chapeau
 De roses gracieux et beau.³

Franchise is a no less attractive portrait, and sketched with equal grace and delicacy :

And next hym dauncede dame Fraunchise,⁴

Après tous ceulx estoit Franchise,

Arayed in fulle noble gyfe.

She was not broune ne dunne of hewe,
 But white as snowe falle newe.
 Hir nose was wrought at poynt devys,
 For it was gentyl and tretys ;
 With eyen gladd, and browes bente ;
 Hir here down to hir helis wente⁵
 And she was symple as dowwe of tree,
 Ful debonaire of herte was she.

Qui ne fut ne brune ne bise ;
 Ains fut comme la neige blanche
 Courtoise estoit, joyeuse et franche,
 Le nez avoit long et tretis
 Yeulx vers rins, fourails faitis,
 Les cheveux eut tres-blons et longs,
 Simple feut comme les coulons,
 Le cuer eut doux et debonnaire.⁶

The personage of Danger is of a bolder cast, and may serve as a contrast to some of the preceding. He is supposed suddenly to start from an ambuscade, and to prevent Bialcoil, or *Kind Reception*, from permitting the lover to gather the rose of beauty :

With that ferte outeanoon Daungere,⁷
 Out of the place where he was hidde.
 His malice in his chere was kidde ;⁸
 Fulle grete he was and blak of hewe,
 Sturdy, and hidous, who-so hym knewe,
 Like sharp urchouns⁹ his here was growe,
His eyes rede sparkling as the fire glowe,
 His nose frounced fulle kirked stodee,
 He come criande as he were woode.

A tant saillit villain Dangere,
 De là ou il estoit mucé ;

Grant fut, noir, et tout hericé,

S'ot les yeulx rouges comme feux,
 Le vis froncé, le nez hydeux
 Et s'escrie tout forcenez.¹⁰

Chaucer has enriched this figure. The circumstance of Danger's hair standing erect like the prickles on the urchin or hedge-hog is his own, and finely imagined.

Hitherto specimens have been given from that part of this poem

¹ cut or marked with figures. From *decouper*, Fr. to *cut*. I suppose *Poulis windows* was a cant phrase for a fine device or ornament. [Compare *infra*, p. 358, and Note 12.]

² [courtship, gallantry, T.]

³ v. 832.

⁴ [Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 37, ver. 1211.]

⁵ All the females of this poem have grey eyes and yellow hair. One of them is said to have "Hir yen grey as is a faucoun," v. 546. Where the original word, translated *grey*, is *vers*. v. 546. We have this colour again, Orig. v. 822. "Les yeulx eut *vers*." This too Chaucer translates, "Hir yen greye," v. 862. The same word occurs in the French text before us, v. 1195. This comparison was natural and beautiful, as drawn from a very familiar and favourite-object in the age of the poet. Perhaps Chaucer means "grey as a falcon's eyes."

⁶ v. 1190.

⁷ [Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 96, 3130.]

⁸ "was discovered by his behaviour, or countenance."

⁹ *urchins*, hedge-hogs.

¹⁰ v. 2959.

which was written by William de Lorris, its first inventor. Here Chaucer was in his own walk. One of the most striking pictures in the style of allegorical personification, which occurs in Chaucer's translation of the additional part, is much heightened by Chaucer, and indeed owes all its merit to the translator; whose genius was much better adapted to this species of painting than that of John of Meun, the continuator of the poem:

With hir Labour and Travaile¹
 Logged ben with Sorwe and Woo,
 That never out of hir court goo.
 Peyne and Distresse, Syknesse, and Ire,
 And Malencoly, that angry fire,
 Ben of hir paleys² fenatours.
 Gronyng and Grucchyng, hir herbe-
 jous,³

The day and nyght, hir to turmente,
 With cruelle Deth they hir presentz.
 And tellen hir, erliche⁴ and late,
 That Deth stondith armed at hir gate.
 Thanne brynge they to her remem-
 braunce
 The foly dedis of hir infaunce,
 Whiche causen hir to mourne in woo
 That Youthe hath hir bigiled so.

Travaile et Douleur la herbergent,
 Mais il la lient et la chargent,

Et tant la batent et tormentent,
 Que mort prochaine luy presentent,
 Et talent de se repentir;
 Tant luy sont de fleaux sentir.
 Adonc luy vient en remembrance,
 En cest tardive pesance,
 Quant el se voit foible et chenuë,⁵
 Que malement l'a décéue
 Jouesce . . .

The fiction that Sickness, Melancholy, and other beings of the like sort were counsellors in the palace of Old Age, and employed in telling her day and night, that "Death stood armed at her gate," was far beyond the sentimental and satirical vein of John of Meun, and is conceived with great vigour of imagination.

Chaucer appears to have been early struck with this French poem.⁶ [So were many other English poets. The author of the *Yle of Ladyes*, called generally *Chaucer's Dreame*,⁷ supposes that the chamber in which he slept was richly painted with the story of the *Romaunt of the Rose*.⁸ It is natural to imagine that such a poem must have been a favourite with Chaucer. No poet, before William of Lorris, either Italian or French, had delineated allegorical personages in so distinct and enlarged a style, and with such a fulness of characteristical attributes: nor had descriptive poetry selected such a variety of circumstances, and disclosed such an exuberance of embellishment, in forming agreeable representations of nature. On this account, we are surprised that Boileau should mention Villon as the first poet of France who drew form and order from the chaos of the old French romancers:

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 152, 4997.]

² [providers of lodgings, harbingers.—T.]

³ palace.

⁴ early.

⁵ v. 4733.

⁶ [See M. Sandras's *Étude sur Chaucer considéré comme Imitateur des Trouvères*, Paris, 1859, arguing that Chaucer owed nearly everything to Jean de Meun's and other French influence on him. See on the other side as to the greater influence of Italian on him.—Ebert's review of Sandras in the *Chaucer Society's Essays*, p. 5, and Prof. Ten Brink's *Studien*.—F.]

⁷ [Mr. Bradshaw and Prof. Ten Brink contend that the poem called Chaucer's *Dreame* is decidedly not his.—F.]

⁸ v. 322. Chaucer alludes to this poem in *The Marchaunt's Tale*, v. 1548.

Villon sçeut le Premier, dans ces siècles groffiers,
Debrôuïller l'art confus de nos vieux romanciers.¹

But the poetry of William of Lorris was not the poetry of Boileau.

That this poem should not please Boileau, I can easily conceive. It is more surprising that it should have been censured as a contemptible performance by Petrarch, who lived in the age of fancy. Petrarch having desired his friend Guido di Gonzaga to send him some new piece, he sent him the *Roman de la Rose*. With the poem, instead of an encomium, he returned a severe criticism; in which he treats it as a cold, inartificial, and extravagant composition: as a proof how much France, who valued this poem as her chief work, was surpassed by Italy in eloquence and the arts of writing.² In this opinion we must attribute something to jealousy. But the truth is, Petrarch's genius was too cultivated to relish these wild excursions of imagination: his favourite classics, whom he revived, and studied with so much attention, ran in his head. Especially Ovid's *Art of Love*, a poem of another species, and evidently formed on another plan; but which Petrarch had been taught to venerate, as the model and criterion of a didactic poem on the passion of love reduced to a system. We may add that, although the poem before us was founded on the visionary doctrines and refinements concerning love invented by the Provençal poets, and consequently less unlikely to be favourably received by Petrarch, yet his ideas on that delicate subject were much more Platonic and metaphysical.

SECTION XIV.



HAUCER'S poem of *Troilus and Cresseide* is said to be formed on an old history, written by Lollius, a native of Urbino in Italy.³ Lydgate says that Chaucer in this poem

made a translacon
Of a boke which called is Trophe
In Lumbarde tongue, &c.⁴

¹ *Art. Poet.* ch. i. He died about the year 1456.

² See Petrarch, *Carm.* l. i. ep. 30.

³ Petrus Lambecius enumerates Lollius Urbicus among the *Historici Latini profani* of the third century. *Prodrom.* p. 246. Hamb. 1659. See also Vols. *Historic. Latin.* ii. 2, p. 163, edit. Lugd. Bat. But this could not be Chaucer's Lollius. Chaucer places Lollius among the historians of Troy, in his *House of Fame*, iii. 380. It is extraordinary, that Du [Cange] in the *Index Aulorum*, used by him for his Latin glossary, should mention this Lollius Urbicus of the third century. *Tom. vii.* p. 407, edit. [1850.] As I apprehend, none of his works remain. A proof that Chaucer translated from some Italian original is, that in a manuscript which I have seen of this poem, I find, *Monesteo* for *Menestes*, *Rupheo* for *Ruphes*, *Phebusco* for *Phebuset*, lib. iv. 50, *seq.* Where, by the way, Xantippe, a Trojan chief, was perhaps corruptly written for Xantippo, *i.e.* Xantippus. As Joseph. *Iscan* iv. 10. In Lydgate's *Troy*, *Zantiphus*, iii. 26. All corrupted from Antiphus, (*Dict. Cret.* p. 105). In the printed copies we have *Ascalapho* for *Ascalaphus*, lib. v. 319.

⁴ *Prol. Boch.* ff. iii.

It is certain that Chaucer frequently refers to "*Myne auſtor Lollius*."¹ But he hints, at the ſame time, that Lollius wrote in Latin.² I have never ſeen this hiſtory either in the Italian or Latin language. I have before obſerved, that it is mentioned in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, and that a tranſlation of it was made into Greek verſe by ſome of the Greek fugitives in the fourteenth century. Du Freſnoy mentions it in Italian.³ In the Royal Library at Paris it occurs often as an ancient French romance.⁴ Much fabulous hiſtory concerning *Troilus* is related in Guido de Columna's *Deſtruction of Troy*.⁵ Whatever were Chaucer's materials, he has on this ſubject conſtructed a poem of conſiderable merit, in which the viciffitudes of love are depicted in a ſtrain of true poetry, with much pathos and ſimplicity of ſentiment.⁶ He calls it, "a litill tragedie."* *Troilus* is ſuppoſed to have ſeen *Creſſide* in a temple,

¹ See lib. i. v. 395.

² Lib. ii. v. 10.

³ [*L'Amore di Troilo e Criſeida*, di Angelo Leonico, Ven. 1553, 8vo. Du Freſnoy, *Bibl. des Romans*, i. 217.—Douce.]

⁴ "Cod. 7546. *Roman de Troilus*."—"Cod. 7564. *Roman de Troilus et de Briſeida ou Criſeida*."—Again, as an original work of Boccaccio. "Cod. 7757. *Filoftrato dell' amoroſe ſaiſche de Troilo per Giovanni Boccaccio*."† "Les ſuivans (adds Montfaucon †) contiennent les autres œuvres de Boccace."

⁵ [See M. Joly's *Benoit de Ste.-More et le Roman de Troie*, 1870, and the very valuable Introduction by MM. Moland and D'Hericault, in *Nouvelles Françoiſes en proſe du xiv^e ſiècle*, 1858, where they have printed the proſe French verſion of the *Filoftrato*, entitled *Le Roman de Troilus*.]

⁶ Chaucer however claims no merit of invention in this poem. He invokes *Clio* to favour him with rhymes only; and adds:

"To every lover I me excuſe,
That of no ſentement I this endyte,
But out of Latyn in my tonge it write."

L. ii. ver. 12. *ſeq.* But Sir Francis Kinaſton who tranſlated *Troilus and Creſſide* into

* L. ult. v. 1785.

† Boccaccio *Filoftrato* was printed [at Venice before 1483 (ſee Brunet, i. 1013), and was reprinted at Bologna in 1498, and at Milan in 1499.] It is in the oſtave ſtanza. The editor of the *Canterbury Tales* [Tyrwhitt] informs me, that Boccaccio himſelf, in his *Decameron*, has made the ſame honourable mention of this poem as of the *Teſeide*: although without acknowledging either for his own. In the Introduction to the Sixth Day, he ſays that "Dioneo inſieme con Lauretta de *Troile et di Criſeida* cominciarono cantare." Juſt as, afterwards, in the conclusion of the Seventh Day, he ſays that the ſame "Dioneo et Fiametta gran pezzì cantarono inſieme d'Arcita et di Palamone." See *Canterb. T.* vol. iv. p. 85; iii. p. 311 [edit. Tyrwhitt.] Chaucer appears to have been as much indebted to Boccaccio in his *Troilus and Creſſide*, as in his *Knights Tale*. At the ſame time we muſt obſerve, that there are ſeveral long paſſages, and even episodes, in *Troilus*, of which no traces appear in the *Filoftrato*. Chaucer ſpeaks of himſelf as a tranſlator out of Latin, B. ii. 14. And he calls his author *Lollius*, B. i. 394-421, and B. v. 1652. The latter of theſe two paſſages is in the *Filoftrato*: but the former, containing Petrarch's ſonnet, is not. And when Chaucer ſays, he *tranſlates from Latin*, we muſt remember that the Italian language was called *Latino volgare*. Shall we ſuppoſe, that Chaucer followed a more complete copy of the *Filoftrato* than that we have at preſent, or one enlarged by ſome officious interpolater? The Pariſian manuſcript might perhaps clear theſe difficulties. In Bennet Library at Cambridge, there is a MS. of Chaucer's *Troilus*, elegantly written, with a frontſpiece beautifully illuminated, LXI.

‡ *Bibl. p.* 793, col. 2. Compare Lengli. *Bibl. Rom.* ii. p. 253.

and, retiring to his chamber, is thus naturally described in the critical situation of a lover examining his own mind after the first impression of love.

And when that he in chaumber was allon,¹
He down upon his beddes feet him sette,
And first he gan to fyke, and eft to grone,
And thoughte ay on hire so, withouten lette,
That as he satt and woke, his spirit mette
That he hire laugh, and temple, and al the wyse
Right of hire loke, and gan it new avise.

There is not so much nature in the sonnet to Love, which follows. It is translated from Petrarch; and had Chaucer followed his own genius, he would not have disgusted us with the affected gallantry and exaggerated compliments which it extends through five tedious stanzas. The doubts and delicacies of a young girl disclosing her heart to her lover are exquisitely touched in this comparison:

And as the new abayfed nyghtyngale,²
That stynteth first, when *she* bygynneth synge,
When that the hereth any *herdes* tale,
Or in the hegges any wight sterynge;
And, after, lyker doth hire vois oute ryng;
Right so Crisseyde, when hire drede stente,
Opned hire herte, and told hym hire entente.

The following pathetic scene may be selected from many others. Troilus, seeing Creffide in a swoon, imagines her to be dead. He unsheaths his sword with an intent to kill himself, and utters these exclamations:

"And thow cite, in *which* I lyve in wo!³
And thow Priam, and bretheren alle ifere!
And thow *my* moder, farwel, for I go!
And, Attropes, mak redy thow my beere!
And thow Crisseyde, O swete herte deere,
Receyve now my spirit!" wolde he seye,
With swerd at herte, al redy for to dye.
But, as God wold, of swough she therwith brayde,
And gan to fike, and "Troilus," she cryede;
And he answerde, "Lady myn Crisseyde,
Lyve ye yit?" and lete his swerde down glide:
"Ye, herte myn, that thanked be Cupide!"
Quod she, and therwithal *she* fore fighte,
And he bigan to glad hire as he myghte.

Latin rhymes, says that Chaucer in this poem "has taken the liberty of his own inventions." [The two first books of Kinaaston's translation were printed in 1635; but a MS. of the whole work is in the possession of Mr. James Croftley, of Manchester.] In the mean time, Chaucer, by his own references, seems to have been studious of seldom departing from Lollius. In one place, he pays him a compliment, as an author whose excellences he could not reach. L. iii. v. 1330.

"But sothe is, though I can not tellen all,
As can mine author *of his excellence*."

See also l. iii. 576, 1823.

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, iv. 122, lib. i. ver. 358.]

² [*Ibid.* iv. 275, lib. iii. ver. 1184.]

³ [*Ibid.* iv. 349, lib. iv. ver. 1177.]

Took hire in armes two, and kyfte hire ofte,
 And hire to glade, he dide al his entente,
 For which hire gootte, that fliked ay o lofte,
 Into hire woful herte ayein it wente :
 But, at the lafte, as that hire eye glente
 Afyde, anon she gan his swerde afpye,
 As it lay bare, and gan for feere crie,
 And asked hym whi he it hadde out drawe ;
 And Troilus anon the cause hire tolde,
 And how hymself therwith he wolde han flawe ;
 For which Criseyde upon hym gan byholde,
 And gan hym in hire armes faste folde,
 And seyde, " O mercy God, lo, which a dede !
 Allas ! how neigh we weren bothe dede ! "

Pathetic description is one of Chaucer's peculiar excellences.

In this poem are various imitations from Ovid, which are of too particular and minute a nature to be pointed out here, and belong to the province of a professed and formal commentator on the piece. The Platonic notion in the third book about universal love, and the doctrine that this principle acts with equal and uniform influence both in the natural and moral world, are a translation from Boethius.¹ In the *Knights Tale* he mentions from the same favourite system of philosophy, the *Fair Chain of Love*. It is worth observing, that the reader is referred to Dares Phrygius, instead of Homer, for a display of the achievements of Troilus :

His worthy dedes, who-~~so~~ left hem here,²
 Rede Dares ; he kan telle hem alle ifeere.

Our author, from his [somewhat unguarded imitation of Boccaccio] has been guilty of a very diverting and what may be called a double anachronism. He represents Cressida, with two of her female companions, sitting in a "pavid parlour," and reading the *Thebais* of Statius, which is called *The Gest of the Siege of Thebes*, and *The Romance of Thebes*.³ In another place, Cassandra translates the Arguments of the twelve books of the *Thebais*.⁴ In the fourth book of this poem, Pandarus endeavours to comfort Troilus with arguments concerning the doctrine of predestination, taken from [Boethius

¹ *Consolat. Philosoph.* l. ii. Met. ult. iii. Met. 2. Spenser is full of the same doctrine. See *Fairy Queen*, i. ix. 1, iv. x. 34, 35, &c. &c. I could point out many other imitations from Boethius in this poem.

² [Morris's *Chaucer*, v. 73, ver. 1784.]

³ L. ii. v. 100. *Bishop Amphiorax* is mentioned, ib. v. 104. Pandarus says, v. 106 :

" All this I know my selve,
 And all the assiege of Thebes, and all the care ;
 For herof ben ther makid *bokis twelve*."

In his *Boke of the Duchesse* (Works, v. 156, l. 47-51), Chaucer, to pass the night away, rather than play at chess, calls for a *Romaunce* ; in which "were writtin fables of quenis livis and of kings, and many othir thingis finale." This proves to be Ovid, v. 52, *seq.* See *Man of L. T.* v. 54.

⁴ L. v. v. 1490. I will add here, that Cressida proposes the trial of the Ordeal to Troilus, l. iii. v. 1048. Troilus, during the times of truce, amuses himself with hawking, l. iii. v. 1785.

De Consolatione Philosophiæ—a book which Chaucer himself translated.^{1]}

This poem, although almost as long as the *Eneid*, was intended to be sung to the harp, as well as read.

And red wher so thow be, or elles songe.²

It is dedicated to the "morall" Gower, and to the "philosophical" Strode. Gower will occur as a poet hereafter. Strode was eminent for his scholastic knowledge, and tutor to Chaucer's son Lewis at Merton college in Oxford.

Whether the *House of Fame* is Chaucer's invention, or suggested by any French or Italian poet, I cannot determine. But I am apt to think it was originally a Provençal composition,—among other proofs, from this passage:

And theroute come so grete a noyse,³
That had hyt stonde upon Oye,
Men myght hyt han herd efely
To Rome, Y trowe fikerly.

The Oye is a river in Picardy, which falls into the River Seine, not many leagues from Paris. An Englishman would not have expressed distance by such an unfamiliar illustration. Unless we reconcile the matter by supposing that Chaucer wrote this poem during his travels. There is another passage where the ideas are those of a foreign romance. To the trumpeters of renown the poet adds,

And alle that usede clarioun,⁴
In Cataloigne and Aragoun.

Casteloigne is Catalonia in Spain.⁵ The martial musicians of English tournaments, so celebrated in story, were a more natural and obvious allusion for an English poet.⁶

This poem contains great strokes of Gothic imagination, yet bordering often on the most ideal and capricious extravagance. The poet, in a vision, sees a temple of glass:

In whiche ther were moo ymages⁷
Of golde, stondynge in sondry stages,
And moo ryche tabernacles,

¹ [Book v. Prose 2-3, edit. Morris. See the extracts, *ibid.* vi-x.] Bradwardine, a learned archbishop and theologian, and nearly Chaucer's contemporary, [treated this subject] in his book, *De Causa Dei*, edit. 1617. [Chaucer] touches on this controversy (*Nonnes Preests Tale*, v. 1349. See also *Troilus and Creseide*, lib. iv-v, 961 et seq.)

² [Morris's *Chaucer*, v. 75, ver. 1811.]

³ [*Ibid.* v. 267, ver. 837. See *supra*, p. 298, note 1.] ⁴ [*Ibid.* v. 247, ver. 157.]

⁵ See *Marchaunt's Tale*, ver. 1231. He mentions a rock higher than any in Spain, B. iii. ver. 27. But this I believe was an English proverb.

⁶ He mentions a plate of gold, "As fine as duckett in Venise," B. iii. ver. 258. But he says that the Galaxy is called *Watlyng-strete*, B. ii. ver. 431. He swears by Thomas Becket, B. iii. ver. 41. In one place he is addressed by the name of Geoffrey, B. ii. ver. 221; but in two others by that of Peter, B. ii. ver. 526, B. iii. ver. 909. Among the musicians he mentions "Pipers of all the Duche tong," B. iii. ver. 144.

⁷ [Morris's *Chaucer*, v. 212, ver. 121.]

And with perré¹ moo pynacles,
 And moo curiouse portreytures,
 And queynt maner of figures
 Of golde werke, then I sawgh ever.

On the walls of this temple were engraved stories from Virgil's *Eneid*² and Ovid's *Epistles*.³ Leaving this temple, he sees an eagle with golden wings soaring near the sun :

That faste be the sonne, as hye⁴
 As kenne myght I with myn ye,
 Me thought I sawgh an egle fore,
 But that hit semede moche more⁵
 Then I had any egle seyne.⁶

Hyt was of golde, and shone so bryght,
 That never sawgh men such a syght.

The eagle descends, seizes the poet in his talons, and mounting again, conveys him to the House of Fame, which is situated, like that of Ovid, between earth and sea. In their passage thither they fly above the stars, which our author leaves, with clouds, tempests, hail, and snow, far beneath him. This aerial journey is partly copied from Ovid's Phaeton in the chariot of the sun. But the poet apologises for this extravagant fiction, and explains his meaning by alleging the authority of Boethius, who says that Contemplation may soar on the wings of Philosophy above every element. He likewise recollects, in the midst of his course, the description of the heavens given by Marcius Capella in his book *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*,⁷ and Alanus in his *Anticlaudian*.⁸ At his arrival in the confines of the House of Fame, he is alarmed by confused murmurs issuing thence, like distant thunders or billows. This circumstance is also borrowed from Ovid's temple.⁹ He is left by the eagle near the

¹ jewels.

² Where he mentions Virgil's hell, he likewise refers to Claudian *De Raptu Proserpine* and Dante's *Inferno*, ver. 450. There is a translation of a few lines from Dante, whom he calls "the wise poet of Florence," in the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, ver. 1125. The story of Count Ugolino, a subject which Sir Joshua Reynolds has lately painted in a capital style, is translated from Dante, "the grete poete of Italie that hight Dante," in the *Monkes Tale*, ver. 877. A sentence from Dante is cited in the *Legend of Good Women*, ver. 360. In the *Freeres Tale*, Dante is compared with Virgil, ver. 256.

³ It was not only in the fairy palaces of the poets and romance-writers of the middle-ages that Ovid's stories adorned the walls. In one of the courts of the palace of Nonestuch, all Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were cut in stone under the windows. Hearne, Coll. MSS. 55, p. 64. But the *Epistles* seem to have been the favourite work, the subject of which coincided with the gallantry of the times.

⁴ [Morris's *Chaucer*, v. 224, ver. 497.] ⁵ greater.

⁶ The eagle says to the poet, that this house stands

"Right so as thine owne boke tellith."

B. ii. ver. 204. That is, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. See *Met.* l. xii. ver. 40, &c.

⁷ See the *Marchaunt's Tale*, v. 1248, and Lidg. *Stor. Theb.* fol. 357.

⁸ A famous book in the middle ages. There is an old French translation of it. Bibl. Reg. Paris, MSS. Cod. 7632.

⁹ See *Met.* xii. 39, and Virg. *Æn.* iv. 173; Val. Flacc. ii. 117; Lucan. i. 469.

house, which is built of materials bright as polished glass, and stands on a rock of ice of excessive height, and almost inaccessible. All the southern side of this rock was covered with engravings of the names of famous men, which were perpetually melting away by the heat of the sun. The northern side of the rock was alike covered with names, but being here shaded from the warmth of the sun, the characters remained unmelted and uneffaced. The structure of the house is thus imagined.

me thoughte, by seynte Gyle,¹
 Alle was of stone of beryle,
 Bothe castel and the toure,
 And eke the halle, and every boure,
 Wythouten peces or joynnynges.
 But many subtil compassynges,
 As rabewyres and pynacles,
 Ymageries and tabernacles,
 I say; and ful eke of wyndowes,
 As flakes falle in grete snowes.

In these lines, and in some others which occur hereafter, the poet perhaps alludes to the many new decorations in architecture which began to prevail about his time, and gave rise to the florid Gothic style. There are instances of this in other poems [ascribed to him.] In [the poem called *Chaucer's Dreame*,

And of a fute were all the toures,²
 Subtily corven after floures,

With many a small turret hie.

And in the description of the palace of Pleasant Regard, in the Assembly of Ladies :

Fairir is none, though it were for a king,³
 Devisid wel and that in every thing;
 The towris hie, ful plefante shal ye finde,
 With fannis fresh, turning with everie winde.
 The chambris, and the parlirs of a sorte,
 With bay windowes, goodlie as may be thought :
 As for daunfing or othir wise disporte,
 The galleries be al right wel ywrought.

In *Chaucer's Life* by William Thomas,⁴ it is not mentioned that he was appointed clerk of the king's works in the palace of Westminster, in the royal manors of Shene, Kennington, Byfleet, and Clapton, and in the Mews at Charing.⁵ Again in 1380, of the works of St. George's Chapel at Windsor, then ruinous.⁶ But to return.

Within the niches formed in the pinnacles stood all round the castle,

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, v. 245, lib. iii. ver. 93.]

² [*Ibid.* v. 88, ver. 81.]

³ *Chaucer's Works*, ed. Urry, p. 434, col. 2, lines 158-165.

⁴ *Chaucer's Life* in Urry's edition. William Thomas digested this *Life* from collections by Dart. His brother, Dr. Timothy Thomas, wrote or compiled the Glossary and Preface to that edition. See Dart's *Westminster Abbey*, i. 80. Timothy Thomas was of Christ Church, Oxford, and died in 1757.

⁵ Claus. 8, Ric. II.

⁶ Pat. 14, Ric. II. *apud* Tanner, *Bibl.* p. 166, note c.

al maner of mynstralles,¹
And geftiours, that tellen tales
Bothe of wepinge and of game.

That is, those who sang or recited adventures either tragic or comic, which excited either compassion or laughter. They were accompanied by the most renowned harpers, among which were Orpheus, Arion, Chiron, and the Briton Glasferion.² Behind these were placed, "by many a thousand time twelve," players on various instruments of music. Among the trumpeters are named Joab, Virgil's Misenus, and Theodamas.³ About these pinnacles were also marshalled the most famous magicians, jugglers, witches, propheteesses, forcereesses, and professors of natural magic,⁴ which ever existed in ancient or modern times: such as Medea, Circe, Calliope, Hermes,⁵ Limothus, and Simon Magus.⁶ At entering the hall he sees an infinite multitude of heralds, on the surcoats of whom were richly embroidered the armorial ensigns of the most redoubted champions that ever tourneyed in Africa, Europe, or

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, v. 245, ver. 107.]

² Concerning this harper, see Percy's *Ballads*.

³ See also the *Marchaunt's Tale*, v. 1236, *seq.*

⁴ See the *Frankelien's Tale*, where several feats are described, as exhibited at a feast, done by natural magic, a favourite science of the Arabians. Chaucer there calls it "An art which sotill tragetoris plaie," v. 2696. Of this more will be said hereafter.

⁵ None of the works of the first Hermes Trismegistus now remain[s]. See Cornel. Agripp. *De Van. Scient.* cap. xlviii. The astrological and other philosophical pieces under that name are supposititious. See Fabr. *Biblioth. Gr.* xii. 708. And *Chan. Yem. Tale*, v. 1455. Some of these pieces were published under the fictitious names of Abel, Enoch, Abraham, Solomon, Saint Paul, and of many of the patriarchs and fathers. Cornel. Agripp. *De Van. Scient.* cap. xlv. who adds, that these *tristes* were followed by Alphonius, king of Castile, Robert Grosseteste, Bacon, and Apponus. He mentions Zabulus and Barnabas of Cyprus as famous writers in magic. See also Gower's *Confess. Amant.* p. 134, b; 149, b; edit. 1554. In speaking of ancient authors who were known or celebrated in the middle ages, it may be remarked, that Macrobius was one. He is mentioned by Guill. de Lorris in the *Roman de la Rose*, v. 9. "Ung aucteur qui ot nom *Macrobe*." A line literally translated by Chaucer, "An author that hight *Macrobes*," v. 7. Chaucer quotes him in his *Dreme*, v. 284. In the *Nonnes Priest's Tale*, v. 1238. In the *Assemblée of Foules*, v. 111, see also *ibid.* v. 31. He wrote a comment on Tully's *Somnium Scipionis*, and in these passages he is referred to on account of that piece. Petrarch, in a letter to Nicolas Sigeros, a learned Greek of Constantinople, quotes Macrobius, as a Latin author of all others the most familiar to Nicolas. It is to prove that Homer is the fountain of all invention. This is in 1354. *Famil. Let.* ix. 2. There is a manuscript of the first and part of the second book of Macrobius, elegantly written, as it seems, in France, about the year 800. *MSS. Cotton. Vuell.* C. iii. fol. 138. M. Planudes, a Constantinopolitan monk of the fourteenth century, is said to have translated Macrobius into Greek. But see Fabr. *Bibl. Gr.* x. 534. It is remarkable that in the above letter, Petrarch apologises for calling Plato the Prince of Philosophers, after Cicero, Seneca, Apuleius, Plotinus, Saint Ambrose, and Saint Austin.

⁶ Among these he mentions *Jugglers*, that is, in the present sense of the word, those who practised legerdemain: a popular science in Chaucer's time. Thus in *Squ. T.* v. 239:

"As jogelours playen at this festes grete."

It was an appendage of the occult sciences studied and introduced into Europe by the Arabians.

Asia. The floor and roof of the hall were covered with thick plates of gold studded with the costliest gems. At the upper end, on a lofty shrine made of carbuncle, sat Fame. Her figure is like those in Virgil and Ovid. Above her, as if sustained on her shoulders, sat Alexander and Hercules. From the throne to the gates of the hall, ran a range of pillars with respective inscriptions. On the first pillar made of lead and iron,¹ stood Josephus, the Jewish historian, "That of the Jewis gestis told," with seven other writers on the same subject. On the second pillar, made of iron, and painted all over with the blood of tigers, stood Statius. On another higher than the rest stood Homer, Dares Phrygius, Livy,² Lollius, Guido di Columna, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, writers of the Trojan story. On a pillar of "tinnid iron clere," stood Virgil: and next him on a pillar of copper, appeared Ovid. The figure of Lucan was placed on a pillar of iron "wrought full sternly," accompanied by many Roman historians.³ On a pillar of sulphur stood Claudian, so symbolised, because he wrote of Pluto and Proserpine:

That bare up *than* the fame of helle; ⁴
Of Pluto, and of Proserpyne,
That quene ys of the derke pyne.

The hall was filled with the writers of ancient tales and romances, whose subjects and names were too numerous to be recounted. In the mean time crowds from every nation and of every condition filled the hall, and each presented his claim to the queen. A messenger is dispatched to summon Eolus from his cave in Thrace; who is ordered to bring his two clarions called *Slander* and *Praise*, and his trumpeter Triton. The praises of each petitioner are then refounded, according to the partial or capricious appointment of Fame; and equal merits obtain very different success. There is much satire and humour in these requests and rewards, and in the disgraces and honours which are indiscriminately distributed by the queen, without discernment and by chance. The poet then enters the house or labyrinth of Rumour. It was built of fallow twigs, like a cage, and therefore admitted every sound. Its doors were also more numerous than leaves on the trees, and always stood open. These are romantic exaggerations of Ovid's inventions on the same subject. It was moreover sixty miles in length, and perpetually turning round. From this house, says the poet, issued tidings of

¹ In the composition of these pillars, Chaucer displays his chemical knowledge.

² Dares Phrygius and Livy are both cited in Chaucer's *Dreme*, v. 1070, 1084. Chaucer is fond of quoting Livy. He was also much admired by Petrarch, who, while at Paris, assisted in translating him into French. This circumstance might make Livy a favourite with Chaucer. See *Vie de Petrarque*, iii. p. 547.

³ Was not this intended to characterise Lucan? Quintillian says of Lucan, "*Oratoribus magis quam poetis annumerandus.*" *Instit. Orat.* L. x. c. 1.

⁴ [Morris's *Chaucer*, v. 255, ver. 420.] Chaucer alludes to this poem of Claudian in the *Marchaunt's Tale*, where he calls Pluto, the king of "fayrie," ver. 1744.

every kind, like fountains and rivers from the sea. Its inhabitants, who were eternally employed in hearing or telling news, together with the rise of reports, and the formation of lies, are then humorously described : the company is chiefly composed of sailors, pilgrims, and pardoners. At length our author is awakened at seeing a venerable personage of great authority : and thus the Vision abruptly concludes.

Pope has imitated this piece with his usual elegance of diction and harmony of versification. But in the mean time, he has not only misrepresented the story, but marred the character of the poem. He has endeavoured to correct its extravagances by new refinements and additions of another cast : but he did not consider, that extravagances are essential to a poem of such a structure, and even constitute its beauties. An attempt to unite order and exactness of imagery with a subject formed on principles so professedly romantic and anomalous, is like giving Corinthian pillars to a Gothic palace. When I read Pope's elegant imitation of this piece, I think I am walking among the modern monuments unsuitably placed in Westminster Abbey.

SECTION XV.



NOTHING can be more ingeniously contrived than the occasion on which Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* are supposed to be recited. A company of pilgrims, on their journey to visit the shrine of Thomas Becket at Canterbury, lodge at the Tabard Inn in Southwark. Although strangers to each other, they are assembled in one room at supper, as was then the custom ; and agree, not only to travel together the next morning, but to relieve the fatigue of the journey by telling each a story.¹ Chaucer undoubtedly intended to imitate Boccaccio, whose *Decameron* was then the most popular of books, in writing a set of tales. But the circumstance invented by Boccaccio, as the cause which gave rise to his *Decameron*, or the relation of his hundred stories,² is by no means so happily conceived as that of Chaucer for a similar purpose. Boccaccio supposes, that when the plague began to abate at Florence, ten young persons of both sexes retired to a country house, two miles from the city, with a design of

¹ There is an inn at Burford in Oxfordshire, which accommodated pilgrims on their road to Saint Edward's shrine in the abbey of Gloucester. A long room, with a series of Gothic windows, still remains, which was their refectory. Leland mentions such another, *Itin.* ii. 70.

² It is remarkable that Boccaccio chose a Greek title, that is, *Δεκαήμερον*, for his *Tales*. He has also given Greek names to the ladies and gentlemen who recite the tales. His *Eclogues* are full of Greek words. This was natural at the revival of the Greek language.

enjoying fresh air, and passing ten days agreeably. Their principal and established amusement, instead of playing at chess after dinner, was for each to tell a tale. One superiority which, among others, Chaucer's plan afforded above that of Boccaccio, was the opportunity of displaying a variety of striking and dramatic characters, which would not have easily met but on such an expedition;—a circumstance which also contributed to give a variety to the stories. And for a number of persons in their situation, so natural, so practicable, so pleasant, I add so rational, a mode of entertainment could not have been imagined.

The *Canterbury Tales* are unequal, and of various merit. Few perhaps, if any, of the stories are the invention of Chaucer. I have already spoken at large of the *Knights Tale*, one of our author's noblest compositions.¹ That of the *Canterbury Tales*, which deserves the next place, as written in the higher strain of poetry, and the poem by which Milton describes and characterises Chaucer, is the *Squire's Tale*.² The imagination of this story consists in Arabian fiction engrafted on Gothic chivalry. Nor is this Arabian fiction purely the sport of arbitrary fancy: it is in great measure founded on Arabian learning. Cambuscan, a king of Tartary, celebrates his birth-day festival in the hall of his palace at Sarra with the most royal magnificence. In the midst of the solemnity, the guests are alarmed by a miraculous and unexpected spectacle: the minstrels cease on a sudden, and all the assembly is hushed in silence, surprise, and suspense.

Whil that the kyng sit thus in his nobleye,³
 Herkyng his mynstrales her thinges pleye
 Byforn him atte boord deliciously,
 In atte halle dore al sodeynly
 Ther com a knight upon a steed of bras,
 And in his hond a brod myrour of glas;
 Upon his thomb he had of gold a ryng,
 And by his side a naked swerd hanging:
 And up he rideth to the heyghe bord.
 In al the halle ne was ther spoke a word,
 For mervayl of this knight; him to byholde
 Ful befily they wayten yong and olde.

¹ The reader will excuse my irregularity in not considering it under the *Canterbury Tales*. I have here given the reason, which is my apology, in the text.

² [Le Chevalier de Chatelain finds the original of this tale in the old French romance of *Cléomadès*, in 19,000 lines, printed in 1866 by the Belgian Academy, written from Spanish and Moorish sources by Adam or Adénès Le Roy, King of the Minstrels of the Duke of Brabant, in the thirteenth century. The Chevalier printed a modern French verse sketch of the story of *Cléomadès* in 1858, and reissued it in 1869 with a fresh preface, as a second edition. The French Romance has a wooden horse with springs in it, which is managed by "tournant les chevilles," (pegs, pins), and Chaucer's bras one is managed thus too: "Ye moote trille a pyn, stant in his ere." But here, and in the fact that the common people are, in both tales, astonished at the horses, ends the likeness of *Cléomadès* and the *Squire's Tale*.—F.]

³ [Morris's Chaucer, ii. 357, ver. 69.] See a fine romantic story of a Comte de Macon who, while revelling in his hall with many knights, is suddenly alarmed by the entrance of a gigantic figure of a black man, mounted on a black steed. This

These presents were sent by the king of Arabia and India to Cambuscan in honour of his feast. The horse of brass, on the skilful movement and management of certain secret springs, transported his rider into the most distant region of the world in the space of twenty-four hours; for, as the rider chose, he could fly in the air with the swiftness of an eagle: and again, as occasion required, he could stand motionless in opposition to the strongest force, vanish on a sudden at command, and return at his master's call. The Mirror of Glass was endued with the power of shewing any future disasters which might happen to Cambuscan's kingdom, and discovered the most hidden machinations of treason. The Naked Sword could pierce armour deemed impenetrable,

Were it as thikke as is a braunched ook.

And he who was wounded with it could never be healed, unless its possessor could be entreated to stroke the wound with its edge. The Ring was intended for Canace, Cambuscan's daughter, and while she bore it in her purse, or wore it on her thumb, enabled her to understand the language of every species of birds, and the virtues of every plant:

And whan this knight thus hadde his tale told,¹
He rit out of the halle, and doun he light.
His steede, which that schon as sonne bright,
Stant in the court as stille as eny stoon.
This knight is to his chambre lad anon,
And is unarmed, and to mete i-fett.
This presentz ben ful richely i-fett,
This is to sayn, the swerd and the myrrour,
And born anon unto the highe tour,
With certein officers ordeynd therfore;
And unto Canace the ryng is bore
Solempnely, ther sche syt atte table.

I have mentioned, in another place, the favourite philosophical studies of the Arabians.² In this poem the nature of those studies is displayed, and their operations exemplified: and this consideration, added to the circumstances of Tartary being the scene of action, and Arabia the country from which these extraordinary presents are brought, induces me to believe this story to be [identical with one which was current at a very ancient date among] the Arabians. At least it is formed on their principles. Their sciences were tinged with the warmth of their imaginations, and consisted in wonderful discoveries and mysterious inventions.

This idea of a horse of brass took its rise from their chemical knowledge and experiments in metals. The treatise of Jeber, a famous Arab chemist of the middle ages, called *Lapis Philosophorum*, contains many curious and useful processes concerning the nature of

terrible stranger, without receiving any obstruction from guards or gates, rides directly forward to the high table; and, with an imperious tone, orders the count to follow him, &c. Nic. Gillos, *Chron. ann.* 1120. See also *Obs. Fair Qu.* § v. p. 146.

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 360, ver. 160.]

² *Dis.* i. ii.

metals, their fusion, purification, and malleability, which still maintain a place in modern systems of that science.¹ The poets of romance, who deal in Arabian ideas, describe the Trojan horse as made of brass.² These sages pretended the power of giving life or speech to some of their compositions in metal. Bishop Grosseteste's speaking brazen head, sometimes attributed to [Roger] Bacon, has its foundation in Arabian philosophy.³ In the romance of *Valentine and Orson*, a brazen head fabricated by a necromancer in a magnificent chamber of the castle of Clerimond, declares to those two princes their royal parentage.⁴ We are told by William of Malmesbury that Pope Sylvester II. a profound mathematician who lived in the eleventh century, made a brazen head, which would speak when spoken to, and oracularly resolved many difficult questions.⁵ Albertus Magnus, who was also a profound adept in those sciences which were taught by the Arabian schools, is said to have framed a man of brass, which not only answered questions readily and truly, but was so loquacious, that Thomas Aquinas while a pupil of Albertus Magnus, and afterwards an Angelic doctor, knocked it in pieces as the disturber of his abstruse speculations. This was about the year 1240.⁶ Much in the same manner, the notion of our knight's horse being moved by means of a concealed engine corresponds with their pretences of producing preternatural effects, and their love of surprising by geometrical powers. Exactly in this notion, Rocail, a giant in some of the Arabian romances, is said to have built a palace, together with his own sepulchre, of most magnificent architecture and with singular artifice: in both of these he placed a great number of gigantic statues or images, figured of different metals by talismanic skill, which, in consequence of some occult machinery, performed actions of real life, and looked like living men.⁷ We must add that astronomy, which the Arabian philosophers studied with a singular enthusiasm, had no small share in the composition of this miraculous steed. For, says the poet,

¹ The Arabians call chemistry, as treating of minerals and metals, *Simia*; from *Sim*, a word signifying the veins of gold and silver in the mines. Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* p. 810, b. Hither, among many other things, we might refer Merlin's two dragons of gold finished with most exquisite workmanship, in Geoffrey of Monmouth, l. viii. c. 17. See also *ibid.* vii. c. 3, where Merlin prophesies that a brazen man on a brazen horse shall guard the gates of London.

² See Lydgate's *Troie Boke*, B. iv. c. 35. And Gower's *Conf. Amant.* B. i. f. 13, b. edit. 1554. "A horse of brasse thei lette do forge."

³ Gower, *Confess. Amant.* [ed. 1857, ii. 9.] L. iv. fol. lxiii. a, edit. 1554.

"For of the grete clerk Grosstest
I rede how busy that he was
Upon the clergie an heved of bras
To forge and make it for to telle
Of suche thinges as befelle—"

⁴ Ch. xxviii. *seq.*

⁵ *De Gest. Reg. Angl.* lib. ii. cap. 10. Compare *Maj. Symbolor. Aureæ Mensæ*, lib. x. p. 453.

⁶ Delrio, *Disquis. Magic.* lib. i. cap. 4.

⁷ Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* v. *Rocail*, p. 717, a.

He that it wrought cowthe *ful* many a gyn;¹
 He waytede many a constellacioun,
 Er he hadde do this operacioun.

Thus the buckler of the Arabian giant Ben Gian, as famous among the Orientals as that of Achilles among the Greeks, was fabricated by the powers of astronomy;² and Pope Sylvestre's brazen head, just mentioned, was prepared under the influence of certain constellations.

Natural magic, improperly so called, was likewise a favourite pursuit of the Arabians, by which they imposed false appearances on the spectator. This was blended with their astrology. Our author's *Frankelien's Tale* is entirely founded on the miracles of this art.

For I am fiker that ther ben sciences,³
 By whiche men maken dyverse apperances,
 Which as the subtil tregetoures⁴ pleyen.
 For ofte at festes have I herd feyen,
 That tregetoures, withinne an halle large,
 Han made in come water and a barge,
 And in the halle rowen up and down.
 Som tyme hath semed come a grym leoun;
 Some tyme a castel al of lym and ston.

Afterwards a magician in the same poem shews various specimens of his art in raising such illusions: and by way of diverting King Aurelius before supper, presents before him parks and forests filled with deer of vast proportion, some of which are killed with hounds and others with arrows. He then shews the king a beautiful lady in a dance. At the clapping of the magician's hands all these deceptions disappear.⁵ These feats are said to be performed by consultation of

¹ [Morris's Chaucer, ii. 358, ver. 120.] I do not precisely understand the line immediately following.

"And knew ful many a seal and many a bond."

Seal may mean a talismanic sigil used in astrology. Or the Hermetic seal used in chemistry. Or, connected with *Bond*, may signify contracts made with spirits in chemical operations. But all these belong to the Arabian philosophy, and are alike to our purpose. In the Arabian books now extant, are the alphabets out of which they formed Talismans to draw down spirits or angels. The Arabian word *Kimia* not only signifies chemistry, but a magical and superstitious science, by which they bound spirits to their will and drew from them the information required. See Herbelot, *Diâ. Orient.* p. 810, 1005. The curious and more inquisitive reader may consult Cornelius Agrippa, *De Vanit. Scient.* c. xlv.-vi.

² Many mysteries were concealed in the composition of this shield. It destroyed all the charms and enchantments which either demons or giants could make by *goetic* or magic art. Herbelot, *ubi supr.* v. *Gian.* p. 396, 2.

³ [Morris's Chaucer, iii. 14, ver. 411.] ⁴ jugglers.

⁵ But his most capital performance is to remove an immense chain of rocks from the sea-shore: this is done in such a manner, that for the space of one week "it seemed that the rocks were awaye." *Ibid.* ver. 560. By the way, this tale appears to be a translation. He says, "As these bokes me remembre." v. 507. And "From Gerounay to the mouth of Sayne." v. 486. The Garonne and Seine are rivers in France.

the stars.¹ We frequently read in romances of illusive appearances framed by magicians,² which by the same powers are made suddenly to vanish. To trace the matter home to its true source, these fictions have their origin in a science which professedly made a considerable part of the Arabian learning.³ In the twelfth century the number of magical and astrological Arabic books translated into Latin was prodigious.⁴ Chaucer, in the fiction before us, supposes that some of the guests in Cambuscan's hall believed the Trojan horse to be a temporary illusion, effected by the power of magic.⁵

An apparence maad by som magik,⁶
As jogelours pleyen at this festes grete.

In speaking of the metallurgy of the Arabians, I must not omit the sublime imagination of Spenser, or rather some British bard, who feigns that the magician Merlin intended to build a wall of brass about Cairmardin (Carmarthen); but that being hastily called away by the Lady of the Lake, and slain by her perfidy, he has left his fiends still at work on this mighty structure round their brazen cauldrons, under a rock among the neighbouring woody cliffs of Dynevor, who dare not desist till their master returns. At this day, says the poet, if you listen at a chink or cleft of the rock :

Such ghastly noyse of yron chaines⁷
And brasen Caudrons thou shalt rombling heare,
Which thousand sprights with long enduring paines
Doe tosse, that it will stonn thy feeble braines;

¹ See *Frankel. Tale*. The Christians called this one of the diabolical arts of the Saracens or Arabians. And many of their own philosophers, who afterwards wrote on the subject or performed experiments on its principles, were said to deal with the devil. Witness our Bacon, &c. From Sir John Mandeville's *Travels* it appears, that these sciences were in high request in the court of the Cham of Tartary about the year 1340. He says, that, at a great festival, on one side of the Emperor's table, he saw placed many philosophers skilled in various sciences, such as astronomy, necromancy, geometry, and pyromancy: that some of these had before them astrolabes of gold and precious stones, others had horologes richly furnished with many other mathematical instruments, &c. chap. lxxi. Sir John Mandeville began his travels into the East, in 1322, and finished his book in 1364, chap. cix. See Johannes Sarißb. *Polycrat.* l. i. cap. xi. fol. 10, b.

² See what is said of Spenser's *Falſe Florimel*, *Obs. Spens.* § xi. p. 123.

³ Herbelot mentions many oriental pieces, "Qui traittent de cette art pernecieux et defendu." *Diß. Orient.* v. Schr. Compare Agrippa, *ubi ſupr.* cap. xlii. *ſeq.*

⁴ "Irrepiſit hac ætate etiam turba aſtologorum et magorum, ejus farinae libris una cum aliis de Arabico in Latinum converſis." Conring. *Script Comment.* Sæc. xiii. cap. 3, p. 125. See alſo Herbelot. *Bibl. Orient.* v. *Keſab*, paſſim.

⁵ John of Salisbury ſays, that magicians are thoſe who, among other deceptions, "Rebus adimunt ſpecies ſuas." *Polycrat.* i. 10, fol. 10, b. Agrippa mentions one Paſetes a juggler, who "was wont to ſhewe to ſtrangers a very ſumptuous banquet, and when it pleaſed him, to cauſe it vaniſhe awaye, al they which ſate at the table being diſappointed both of meate and drinke," &c. *Van. Scient.* cap. xlviii. p. 62, b. Engl. Tranſl. *ut. infr.* Du Halde mentions a Chineſe enchanter, who, when the Emperor was inſoluble for the loſs of his deſeaſed queen, cauſed her image to appear before him. *Hiſt. Chin.* iii. § iv. See the deceptions of Hakem an Arabian juggler in Herbelot, in v. p. 412. See *ſupr.* p. 229, 230.

⁶ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 361, ver. 210.]

⁷ *Fairy Queen*, [lib. iii. c. 3, ft. 9-11, edit. Morris, p. 169.]

And oftentimes great grones, and grievous fownds,
 When too huge toyle and labour them constraines,
 And oftentimes loud strokes and ringing fowndes
 From under that deepe Rock most horribly rebowndes.

The cause, some say, is this: A litle whyle
 Before that Merlin dyde, he did intend
 A BRASEN WALL in compas to compyle
 About Cairmardin, and did it commend
 Unto these Sprights to bring to perfect end:
 During which worke the Lady of the Lake,
 Whom long he lov'd, for him in haste did send;
 Who, thereby forst his workemen to forsake,
 Them bownd till his retourne their labour not to flake.

In the meane time, through that false Ladies traine,
 He was surpris'd, and buried under beare,
 Ne ever to his worke returnd againe;
 Nath'lesse those feends may not their work forbear,
 So greatly his commandement they feare,
 But there doe toyle and traveile day and night,
 Untill that brasen wall they up doe reare—

This story Spenser borrowed from Giraldus Cambrensis who, during his progress through Wales in the twelfth century, picked it up among other romantic traditions propagated by the British bards.¹ I have before pointed out the source from which the British bards received most of their extravagant fictions.

Optics were likewise a branch of study which suited the natural genius of the Arabian philosophers, and which they pursued with incredible delight. This science was a part of the Aristotelic philosophy which, as I have before observed, they refined and filled with a thousand extravagances. Hence our strange knight's *Mirror of Glasse*, prepared on the most profound principles of art, and endued with preternatural qualities.

And som of hem wondred on the mirrour,²
 That born was up into the maister tour,
 How men might in hit suche thinges se.
 Another answerd, and sayd, it mighte wel be
 Naturelly by composiciouns
 Of angels, and of heigh reflexiouns;
 And sayde that in Rome was such oon.
 They speeke of *Alhazen* and Vitilyon,
 And Aristotle, that writen in her lyves
 Of queynte myrroures and prospectyves.

And again,

This mirour eek, that I have in myn hond,³
 Hath such a mighte, that men may in it see
 When ther schal falle eny adversite
 Unto your regne," &c.

Alcen, or Alhazen, mentioned in these lines, an Arabic philosopher, wrote seven books of perspective, and flourished about the

¹ See Girald. Cambrensis. *Itin. Cambr.* i. c. 6; Holinsh. *Hist.* i. 129; and Camden's *Brit.* p. 734. Drayton has this fiction, which he relates somewhat differently: *Polyolb.* lib. iv. p. 62, edit. 1613. Hence Bacon's wall of brass about England.

² [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 361, ver. 217.]

³ [*Ibid.* p. 359, ver. 124.]

eleventh century. Vitellio, formed on the same school, was likewise an eminent mathematician of the middle ages, and wrote ten books on *Perspective*. The Roman mirror here mentioned by Chaucer, as similar to this of the strange knight, is thus described by Gower :

Whan Rome stood in noble plite,
Virgile, which was tho parfite,
A mirroure made of his clergie,¹
And sette it in the townes eye
Of marbre on a pillar without,
That they by thritty mile about
By day and eke also by night
In that mirroure beholde might
Her ennemies if any were.²

The Oriental writers relate that Giamschid, one of their kings, the Solomon of the Persians and their Alexander the Great, possessed among his inestimable treasures cups, globes, and mirrors, of metal, glass, and crystal, by means of which he and his people knew all natural as well as supernatural things. The title of an Arabian book, translated from the Persian, is, *The Mirroure which reflects the World*. There is this passage in an ancient Turkish poet: "When I am purified by the light of heaven my soul will become the mirror of the world, in which I shall discern all abstruse secrets." Monsieur Herbelot is of opinion, that the Orientals took these notions from the patriarch Joseph's cup of divination and Nestor's cup in Homer, on which all nature was symbolically represented.³ Our great countryman Roger Bacon, in his *Opus Majus*, a work entirely formed on the Aristotelic and Arabian philosophy, describes a variety of Specula, and explains their construction and uses.⁴ This is the most curious and extraordinary part of Bacon's book, which was written about the year 1270. Bacon's optic tube, with which he pretended to see future events, was famous in his age, and long afterwards, and chiefly contributed to give him the name of a magician.⁵ This art, with others of the experimental kind, the philosophers of

¹ learning; philosophy. The same fiction is in Caxton's *Troie boke*. "Upon the pinnacle or top of the towre he made an ymage of copper and gave hym in his hande a looking-glasse, having such vertue, that if it happened that any shippes came to harme the citie suddenly, their army and their coming should appear in the said looking-glasse." B. ii. ch. xxii.

² *Confess. Amant.* l. v. [edit. 1857, ii. 195].

³ Herbelot, *Dict. Oriental.* v. *Giam.* p. 392, col. 2. John of Salisbury mentions a species of diviners called Specularii, who predicted future events, and told various secrets, by consulting mirrors, and the surfaces of other polished reflecting substances. *Polycrat.* i. 12, p. 32, edit. 1595.

⁴ Edit. Jebb, p. 253. Bacon, in one of his MSS. complains, that no person read lectures in Oxford *De Perspectiva* before the year 1267. He adds that in the University of Paris, this science was quite unknown. *Epist. ad Opus Minus Clementi IV.* Et ibid. *Op. Min.* cap. ii. MSS. Bibl. Coll. Univ. Oxon. c. 20. In another he affirms that Julius Cæsar, before he invaded Britain, viewed our harbours and shores with a telescope from the Gallic coast. MSS. *Lib. De Perspectiva*. He accurately describes reading-glasses or spectacles, *Op. Maj.* p. 236. The Camera Obscura, I believe, is one of his discoveries.

⁵ Wood, *Hist. Antiquit. Univ. Oxon.* i. 122.

those times were fond of adapting to the purposes of thaumaturgy; and there is much occult and chimerical speculation in the discoveries which Bacon affects to have made from optical experiments. He asserts (and I am obliged to cite the passage in his own mysterious expressions): "Omnia sciri per Perspectivam, quoniam omnes actiones rerum fiunt secundum specierum et virtutum multiplicationem ab agentibus hujus mundi in materias patientes," &c.¹ Spenser feigns, that the magician Merlin made a glassy globe, and presented it to King Ryence, which showed the approach of enemies, and discovered treasons.² This fiction, which exactly corresponds with Chaucer's Mirror, Spenser borrowed from some romance, perhaps of King Arthur, fraught with Oriental fancy. From the same sources came a like fiction of Camoens in the *Lusiad*,³ where a globe is shown to Vasco de Gama, representing the universal fabric or system of the world, in which he sees future kingdoms and future events. The Spanish historians report an American tradition, but more probably invented by themselves, and built on the Saracen fables, in which they were so conversant. They pretend that some years before the Spaniards entered Mexico, the inhabitants caught a monstrous fowl, of unusual magnitude and shape, on the lake of Mexico. In the crown of the head of this wonderful bird, there was a mirror or plate of glass, in which the Mexicans saw their future invaders the Spaniards, and all the disasters which afterwards happened to their kingdom. These superstitions remained, even in the doctrines of philosophers, long after the darker ages. Cornelius Agrippa, a learned physician of Cologne about the year 1520, and author of a famous book on the Vanity of the Sciences, mentions a species of mirror which exhibited the form of persons absent, at command.⁴ In one of these he is said to have shown to the poetical Earl of Surrey the image of his mistress, the beautiful Geraldine, sick and reposing on a couch.⁵ Nearly allied to this was the infatuation of seeing things in a beryl, which was very popular in the reign of James I., and is alluded to by Shakespeare. [Aubrey, in his *Miscellanies*, describes the beryl, and a drawing of one accompanies the text. This still remains an article of practice and belief.]

The Arabians were also famous for other machineries of glass, in which their chemistry was more immediately concerned. The philosophers of their school invented a story of a magical steel-glass, placed by Ptolemy on the summit of a lofty pillar near the city of

¹ *Op. Min.* MSS. *ut supr.*

² *Fairy Queen*, iii. ii. 21.

³ Cant. x.

⁴ It is diverting in this book to observe the infancy of experimental philosophy, and their want of knowing how to use or apply the mechanical arts which they were even actually possessed of. Agrippa calls the inventor of magnifying glasses, "without doubt the beginner of all dishonestie." He mentions various sorts of diminishing, burning, reflecting, and multiplying glasses, with some others. At length this profound thinker closes the chapter with this sage reflection, "All these things are vaine and superfluous, and invented to no other end but for pompe and idle pleasure!" Chap. xxvi. p. 36. A translation by James Sandford [appeared in 1569].

⁵ Drayton's *Heroical Epif.* p. 87, b. edit. 1598.

Alexandria, for burning ships at a distance. The Arabians called this pillar *Hemadeflaeor*, or the Pillar of the Arabians.¹ I think it is mentioned by Sandys. Roger Bacon has left a tract on the formation of burning-glasses:² and he relates that the first burning-glass which he constructed cost him sixty pounds of Parisian money.³ Ptolemy, who seems to have been confounded with Ptolemy the Egyptian astrologer and geographer, was famous among the Eastern writers and their followers for his skill in operations of glass. Spenser mentions a miraculous tower of glass built by Ptolemy, which concealed his mistress the Egyptian Phao, while the invisible inhabitant viewed all the world from every part of it.

Great Ptolmœe it for his lemans sake⁴
Ybuidled all of glasse by Magicke powre,
And also it impregnable did make.

But this magical fortress, although impregnable, was easily broken in pieces at one stroke by the builder, when his mistress ceased to love. One of Boiardo's extravagances is a prodigious wall of glass built by some magician in Africa, which obviously betrays its foundation in Arabian fable and Arabian philosophy.⁵

The Naked Sword, another of the gifts presented by the strange knight to Cambuscan, endued with medical virtues, and so hard as to pierce the most solid armour, is likewise an Arabian idea. It was suggested by their skill in medicine, by which they affected to communicate healing qualities to various substances,⁶ and by their knowledge of tempering iron and hardening all kinds of metal.⁷ It

¹ The same fablers have adapted a similar fiction to Hercules: that he erected pillars at Cape Finisterre, on which he raised magical looking-glasses. In the *Seven Wise Masters*, at the siege of Hur in Persia, certain philosophers terrified the enemy by a device of placing a habit (says an old English translation) "of a giant-like proportion on a tower, and covering it with burning-glasses, looking-glasses of cristall, and other glasses of several colours, wrought together in a marvellous order," &c. ch. xvii. p. 182, edit. 1674. The Constantinopolitan Greeks possessed these arts in common with the Arabians. See Morisotus, ii. 3, who says that, in the year 751, they set fire to the Saracen fleet before Constantinople by means of burning-glasses.

² MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Digb. 183, and Arch. A. 149. But I think it was printed at Frankfurt, 1614, 4to.

³ Twenty pounds sterling. *Compend. Stud. Theol.* c. i. p. 5, MS.

⁴ *Fairy Queen*, iii. [c. 2, ft. 20, edit. Morris].

⁵ Hither we might also refer Chaucer's *House of Fame*, which is built of glass, and Lydgate's *Temple of Glass*. It is said in some romances written about the time of the Crusades, that the city of Damascus was walled with glass. See Hall's *Satires*, &c. b. iv. s. 6, written [before] 1597:

"Or of Damascus magicke wall of glasse,
Or Solomon his sweating piles of brasse," &c.

⁶ The notion, mentioned before, that every stone of Stone-henge was washed with juices of herbs in Africa, and tinctured with healing powers, is a piece of the same philosophy.

⁷ Montfaucon cites a Greek chemist of the dark ages, "Christiani Labyrinthus Salomonis, de temperando ferro, conficiendo crystallo, et de aliis naturæ arcanis." *Palæogr. Gr.* p. 375.

is the classial spear of Peleus, perhaps originally fabricated in the same regions of fancy :

And other folk have wondred on the swerd,¹
That wolde passe thoroughout every thing ;
And fel in speche of Thelophus the kyng,
And of Achilles for his queynte spere,
For he couthe with hit bothe hele and dere,²
Right in such wyse as men maye with the swerd,
Of which right now ye have your-selven herd.
They speken of fondry hardyng of metal,
And speken of medicines therewithal,
And how and whan it schulde harded be, &c.

The sword which Berni, in the *Orlando Innamorato*, gives to the hero Ruggiero is tempered by much the same sort of magic :

Quel brando con tal tempra fabbricato,
Che taglia incanto, ed ogni fatatura.³

So also his continuator Ariosto :

Non vale incanto, ov' elle mette il taglio.⁴

And the notion that this weapon could resist all incantations is like the fiction above mentioned of the buckler of the Arabian giant Ben Gian, which baffled the force of charms and enchantments made by giants or demons.⁵ Spenser has a sword endued with the same efficacy, the metal of which the magician Merlin mixed with the juice of meadow-wort, that it might be proof against enchantment ; and afterwards, having forged the blade in the flames of Etna, he gave it hidden virtue by dipping it seven times in the bitter waters of Styx.⁶ From the same origin is also the golden lance of Berni, which Galafron, King of Cathaia, father of the beautiful Angelica and the invincible champion Argalia, procured for his son by the help of a magician. This lance was of such irresistible power, that it unhorsed a knight the instant he was touched with its point.

e una lancia d'oro
Fatto con arte, e con sottil lavoro.
E quella lancia di natura tale,
Che resister non puossi alla sua spinta ;
Forza, o destrezza contra lei non vale,
Convien che l'una, e l'altra resti vinta :
Incanto, a cui non è nel Mondo eguale,
L'ha di tanta possanza intorno cinta,
Che nè il Conte di Brava, nè Rinaldo,
Nè il Mondo al colpo suo starebbe saldo.⁷

Britomart in Spenser is armed with the same enchanted spear, which was made by Bladud, an ancient British king skilled in magic.⁸

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 362, ver. 228.]

² hurt ; wound.

³ *Orl. Innam.* ii. 17, ft. 13.

⁴ *Orl. Fur.* xii. 83.

⁵ [In 1694 was printed the *History of Amadis of Greece, son of Lisuarte of Greece, and the fair Onoloria of Trebisond*. This worthy is called the Knight of the Burning Sword.] See *Don Quixote*, B. iii. ch. iv.

⁶ *Fairy Queen*, ii. viii. 20. See also Ariost. xix. 84.

⁷ [Berni's] *Orl. Innam.* i. i. [43-4]. See also i. ii. ft. 20, &c. And Ariosto, viii. 17, xviii. 118, xxiii. 15.

⁸ *Fairy Queen*, iii. 3, 60, iv. 6, 6, iii. 1, 4.

The ring, a gift to the king's daughter Canace, which taught the language of birds, is also quite in the style of some others of the occult sciences of these inventive philosophers;¹ and it is the fashion of the Oriental fabulists to give language to brutes in general. But to understand the language of birds was peculiarly one of the boasted sciences of the Arabians, who pretend that many of their countrymen have been skilled in the knowledge of the language of birds ever since the time of King Solomon. Their writers relate that Balkis, the Queen of Sheba or Saba, had a bird called *Hudhud*, that is, a lapwing, which she dispatched to King Solomon on various occasions, and that this trusty bird was the messenger of their amours. We are told that Solomon having been secretly informed by this winged confidant that Balkis intended to honour him with a grand embassy, enclosed a spacious square with a wall of gold and silver bricks, in which he ranged his numerous troops and attendants in order to receive the ambassadors, who were astonished at the suddenness of these splendid and unexpected preparations.² Herbelot tells a curious story of an Arab feeding his camels in a solitary wilderness, who was accosted for a draught of water by Alhejaj, a famous Arabian commander, who had been separated from his retinue in hunting. While they were talking together, a bird flew over their heads, making at the same time an unusual sort of noise, which the camel-feeder hearing, looked steadfastly on Alhejaj, and demanded who he was. Alhejaj, not choosing to return him a direct answer, desired to know the reason of that question. "Because," replied the camel-feeder, "this bird assured me that a company of people is coming this way, and that you are the chief of them." While he was speaking, Alhejaj's attendants arrived.³

This wonderful ring also imparted to the wearer a knowledge of the qualities of plants, which formed an important part of the Arabian philosophy.⁴

The vertu of this ryng, if ye wol heere,⁵
Is this, that who-so lust it for to were
Upon hir thomb, or in hir purs to bere,
Ther is no foul that fleeth under the heven,
That sche ne schal underfonden his steven,⁶
And know his menyng openly and pleyn,
And answer him in his langage ayeyn;
And every gras that groweth upon roote

¹ Rings are a frequent implement in romantic enchantment. Among a thousand instances, see *Orland. Innam.* i. 14, where the palace and gardens of Dragontina vanish at Angelica's ring of virtue.

² *DiZ. Oriental.* v. Balkis, p. 182. Mahomet believed this foolish story, at least thought it fit for a popular book, and has therefore inserted it in the *Alcoran*. See Grey's note in *Hudibras*, part i. cant. i. v. 547.

³ Herbel. *ubi sup.* v. *Hegiage Ebn Yusef Al Thakefi.* p. 442. This Arabian commander was of the eighth century. In the *Seven Wise Masters* one of the tales is founded on the language of birds, ch. xvi.

⁴ See what is said of this in the *Dissertations*.

⁵ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 359, ver. 138.]

⁶ [voice.]

Sche schal eek knowe, to whom it wol do boote,
Al be his woundes never so deep and wyde.

Every reader of taste and imagination must regret that, instead of our author's tedious detail of the quaint effects of Canace's ring, in which a falcon relates her amours, and talks familiarly of Troilus, Paris, and Jason, the notable achievements we may suppose to have been performed by the assistance of the horse of bras are either lost, or that this part of the story, by far the most interesting, was never written. After the strange knight has explained to Cambuscan the management of this magical courser, he vanishes on a sudden, and we hear no more of him.

And after souper goth this noble kyng¹
To see this hors of bras, with al his route
Of lordes and of ladyes him aboute.
Swich wondryng was ther on this hors of bras,²
That sethen this grete siege of Troye was,
Ther as men wondred on an hors also,
Ne was ther such a wondryng as was tho.
But fynally the kyng askede the knight
The vertu of this courser, and the might,
And prayd him tellen of his governaunce.
The hors anon gan for to trippe and daunce,
Whan *that* the knight leyd hand upon his rayne,

Enformed when the kyng was of the knight,
And hadde conceyved in his wit aright
The maner and the forme of al this thing,
Ful glad and blith, this noble doughty kyng
Repeyryng to his revel, as biforn,
The bridel is unto the tour i-born,³
And kept among his jewels leef and deere;
The hors vanyfcht, I not in what manere.

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 364, ver. 294.]

² Cervantes mentions a horse of wood which, like this of Chaucer, on turning a pin in his forehead, carried his rider through the air. [A similar fiction occurs in the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, and must be in the recollection of every reader.] This horse, Cervantes adds, was made by Merlin for Peter of Provence; with it that valorous knight carried off the fair Magalona. The reader sees the correspondence with the fiction of Chaucer's horse, and will refer it to the same original. See *Don Quixote*, B. iii. ch. 8. We have the same thing in *Valentine and Orson*, ch. xxxi. [The romance alluded to by Cervantes is entitled "La Historia de la linda Magalona hija del rey de Napoles y de Pierres de Provença," printed at Seville 1533, and is a translation from a much more ancient and very celebrated French romance under a similar title.—*Ritson*. The French romance is confessedly but a translation: "Ordonnée en cestui language . . . et fut mis en cestui language l'an mil cccclvii." A Provençal romance on this subject, doubtlessly the original, was written by Bernard de Treviez, a canon of Maguelone, before the close of the twelfth century. See Raynouard, *Poésies des Troubadours*, vol. ii. p. 317. On the authority of Gariel, *Idee de la ville de Montpellier*, Petrarch is stated to have corrected and embellished this romance.—*Price*. Of this extremely popular book there were numerous editions in French and Spanish, and there is one in German. See Brunet, last edit. iv. 643-8.]

³ The bridle of the enchanted horse is carried into the tower, which was the treasury of Cambuscan's castle, to be kept among the jewels. Thus when King Richard I. in a crusade, took Cyprus, among the treasures in the castles are recited

By such inventions we are willing to be deceived. These are the triumphs of deception over truth :

Magnanima menfogna, hor quando è al vero
Si bello, che si possa à te preporre ?

The *Clerke of Oxenfordes Tale*, or the story of Patient Griselda, is the next of Chaucer's Tales in the serious style, which deserves mention. The Clerk declares in his Prologue, that he learned this tale of Petrarch¹ at Padua. But it was the invention of Boccaccio, and is the last in his *Decameron*.² Petrarch, although most intimately connected with Boccaccio for near thirty years, never had seen the *Decameron*, till just before his death. It accidentally fell into his hands, while he resided at Arquà, between Venice and Padua, in 1374. The tale of Griselda struck him more than any:—so much, that he got it by heart to relate it to his friends at Padua. Finding that it was the most popular of all Boccaccio's tales, for the benefit of those who did not understand Italian, and to spread its circulation, he translated it into Latin with some alterations. Petrarch relates this in a letter to Boccaccio: and adds that, on showing the translation to one of his Paduan friends, the latter, touched with the tenderness of the story, burst into such frequent and violent fits of tears, that he could not read to the end. In the same letter he says that a Veronese, having heard of the Paduan's exquisiteness of feeling on this occasion, resolved to try the experiment. He read the whole aloud from the beginning to the end, without the least change of voice or countenance; but on returning the book to Petrarch confessed that it was an affecting story: "I should have wept," added he, "like the Paduan, had I thought the story true. But the whole is a manifest fiction. There never was, nor ever will be, such a wife as Griselda."³ Chaucer, as our Clerk's declaration in the Prologue seems to imply, received this tale from Petrarch, and not from Boccaccio: and I am inclined to think, that he did not take it from Petrarch's Latin translation, but that he was one of those friends to whom Petrarch used to relate it at Padua. This too seems sufficiently pointed out in the words of the Prologue :

precious stones and golden cups, together with "*Sellis aureis frenis et calcaribus*," Vineislauf, *Iter. Hierosol.* cap. xli. p. 328. *Vet. Script. Angl.* tom. ii.

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 279. Mr. Thomas Wright states in his ed. of the *Cant. Tales*, that Chaucer translates his *Clerk's Tale* "closely from Petrarch's Latin Romance *De Obedientiâ et fide Uxorâ Mythologia*."—F.]

² Giorn. x. Nov. 10. Dryden, in the superficial but lively Preface to his *Fables* says, "The Tale of Griselda was the invention of Petrarch: by him sent to Boccaccio, from whom it came to Chaucer."

It may be doubted whether Boccaccio invented the story of Griselda. For, as Tyrwhitt observes, it appears by a Letter of Petrarch to Boccaccio, pp. 540-7, edit. Basil. 1581, *Opp. Petrarch*, sent with his Latin translation, in 1373, that Petrarch had heard the story with pleasure, many years before he saw the *Decameron*, vol. iv. p. 157.

³ *Vie de Petrarque*, iii. 797.

I wil yow telle a tale, which that I¹
 Lerned at Padowe of a worthy clerk,

Fraunces Petrark, the laureat poete,
 Highte this clerk, whos rethorique swete
 Enlumynd al Ytail of poetrie.

Chaucer's tale is also much longer, and more circumstantial, than Boccaccio's. Petrarch's Latin translation from Boccaccio [has been printed more than once].² It is in the royal library at Paris, in that of Magdalen College at Oxford, [among Laud's MSS. in the Bodleian],³ and in Bennet College library.⁴

The story soon became so popular in France, that the comedians of Paris represented a mystery in French verse entitled *Le Mystere de Griseldis Marquis de Saluces*, in the year 1393.⁵ [Before, or in the same year, the French prose version in *Le Ménagier de Paris* was composed, and there is an entirely different version in the Imperial Library.⁶] Lydgate, almost Chaucer's cotemporary, in his poem entitled the *Temple of Glas*,⁷ among the celebrated lovers painted on the walls of the temple,⁸ mentions Dido, Medea and Jason,

¹ [Morris's Chaucer, ii. 278, ver. 26]. Afterwards Petrarch is mentioned as dead. He died of an apoplexy, Jul. 18, 1374. See ver. 36.

² [See Brunet, last edit. iv. 569-71, for a tolerably copious account of the editions of this tract in Latin, French, and German. Also for the *Epistola in Waltherum*.] Among the royal MSS. in the British Museum, there is, "Fr. Petrarchæ super Historiam Walterii Marchionis et Griseldis uxoris ejus." 8. B. vi. 17.

³ MS. 177, 10, fol. 76; 275, 14, fol. 163. Again, *ibid.* 458, 3, with the date 1476, I suppose, from the scribe.

⁴ MSS. Laud, G. 80.

⁵ [This piece was printed at Paris about 1550; it has been reprinted in facsimile from the (supposed unique) copy in the Bibl. Imperiale. See Brunet, iii. 1968-9 (last edit.) The earliest French theatre is that of Saint Maur, and its commencement is placed in the year 1398. Afterwards Apostolo Zeno wrote a theatrical piece on this subject in Italy. I need not mention that it is to this day represented in England, on a stage of the lowest species, and of the highest antiquity: I mean at a puppet-show. The French have this story in their *Parément des dames*. See *Mem. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 743, 4to.

⁶ [Catal. No. 7999, edit. Paulin Paris.]

⁷ And in a Balade, translated by Lydgate from the Latin, "Griseldes humble patience" is recorded. Urr. Ch. p. 550, ver. 108.

⁸ There is a more curious mixture in [Gower's] *Balade to king Henry IV.*, where Alexander, Hector, Julius Cæsar, Judas Maccabeus, David, Joshua, Charlemagne, Godfrey of Boulogne, and King Arthur, are [associated as the Nine Worthies]. Ver. 281, *seq.* But it is to be observed, that the French had a metrical romance called *Judas Macchabée*, begun by Gualtier de Belleperche, before 1240. It was finished a few years afterwards by Pierros du Reiz. Fauch. p. 197. See also Lydgate, [*apud*] Urr. Chauc. p. 550, ver. 89. Sainte Palaye has given us an extract of an old Provençal poem in which, among heroes of love and gallantry, are enumerated Paris, Sir Trifram, Ivaine the inventor of gloves and other articles of elegance in dress, Apollonius of Tyre, and King Arthur. *Mem. Chev.* (Extr. de Poes. Prov.) ii. p. 154. In a French romance, *Le livre de cuer d'amour espris*, written 1457, the author introduces the blazoning of the arms of several celebrated lovers: among which are King David, Nero, Mark Antony, Theseus, Hercules, Eneas, Sir Lancelot, Sir Trifram, Arthur duke of Brittany, Gaston de Foix, many French dukes, &c. *Mem. Lit.* viii. p. 592, edit. 4to. The Chevalier Bayard, who

Penelope, Alceftis, Patient Griselda, Bel Ifoulde and Sir Triftram,¹ Pyramus and Thifbe, Thefeus, Lucretia, Canace, Palamon and Emilia.²

The pathos of this poem, which is indeed exquisite, chiefly confifts in invention of incidents and the contrivance of the ftory, which cannot conveniently be developed in this place; and it will be impoffible to give any idea of its effential excellence by exhibiting detached parts. The verfification is equal to the reft of our author's poetry.

SECTION XVI.



THE *Tale of the Nonnes Priest* is perhaps a ftory of Englifh growth. The ftory of the cock and the fox is evidently borrowed from a collection of Æfopean and other fables, written by Marie [de France³], whose *Lays* [have been published.] Befide the abfolute refemblance, it appears ftill more probable that Chaucer copied from Marie, becaufe no fuch fable is to be found either in the Greek *Æfop*, or in any of the Latin Æfopean compilations of the dark ages.⁴ All the manufcripts of Marie's fables in the Britifh Mufeum prove, that fhe translated her work "*de l'Anglois en Roman*." Probably her Englifh original was Alfred's Anglo-Saxon verfion of Æfop modernifed, and ftill bearing his name. She profefles to follow the verfion of a king who, in the beft of the Harleian copies, is called *Li reis Alured*.⁵ She appears, from paffages in her *Lais*, to have underftood Englifh.⁶ I will give her Epilogue to the Fables:⁷

Al finement de cest efcrit
Qu'en romanz ai treite e dit
Me numerai pour remembraunce.
Marie ai nun fui de France
Pur cel eftre que clerc plusur
Prendreient fur eus mun labeur
Ne voit que nul fur li fa die
Eil feit que fol que fei ublie
Pur amur le cunte Wllame

died about the year 1524, is compared to Scipio, Hannibal, Thefeus, King David, Samfon, Judas Maccabeus, Orlando, Godfrey of Boulogne, and Monfieur de Paliffe, marfhal of France. [*Les gēstes enſemble la vie du preulx cheualier Bayard*, &c., printed in 1525.]

¹ From *Mort d'Arthur*. They are mentioned in Chaucer's *Aſſemble of Fowles*, ver. 290. See alfo *Compl. Bl. Kn.* ver. 367.

² MSS. Bibl. Bodl. (Fairfax 16).

³ [By M. Roquefort, 1820, 2 vols. 8vo. Dr. Mall is preparing a new edition of Marie's *Lais* for 1871, with a much improved text.]

⁴ [See MSS. Harl. 978, f. 76.]

⁵ [*Ibid.* 978, *ſupr. citat.*]

⁶ See Chaucer's *Canterb. Tales*, vol. iv. p. 179 [edit. Tyrwhitt].

⁷ MSS. James, viii. p. 23, Bibl. Bodl.

Le plus vaillant de nul realme
 M'entremis de ceste livre feire
 E des Engleis en romanz treire
 E sop apelum cest livre
 Qu'il translata e fist escrire
 Del Gru en Latin le turna
 Le Reiz Alurez que mut lama
 Le translata puis en Engleis
 E jeo lai rimee en Franceis
 Si cum jeo poi plus proprement
 Ore pri a dieu omnipotent, &c.

The figment of Dan Burnell's Afs is taken from a Latin poem entitled *Speculum Stultorum*,¹ written by Nigellus Wirecker [or Willihelmus Vigellus], monk and precentor of Canterbury cathedral and a profound theologist, who flourished about the year 1200.² The narrative of the two pilgrims is borrowed from Valerius Maximus.³ It is also related by Cicero, a less known and a less favourite author.⁴ There is much humour in the description of the prodigious confusion which happened in the farm-yard after the fox had conveyed away the cock :

and after him thay ranne,⁵
 And eek with staves many another manne ;
 Ran Colle our dogge, and Talbot, and Garlond,⁶
 And Malkyn, with a distaf in hir hond ;
 Ran cow and calf, and eek the verray hogges

The dokes criden as men wold hem quelle ;⁷
 The gees for fere flownen over the trees ;
 Out of the hyves cam the swarm of bees.

Even Jack Straw's insurrection, a recent transaction, was not attended with so much noise and disturbance :

So hidous was the noyse, a *benedicite* !⁸
 Certes *he* Jakke Straw, and his meyné,
 Ne maden schoutes never half so schrille, &c.

The importance and affectation of sagacity with which Dame Partlett communicates her medical advice, and displays her knowledge in physic, is a ridicule on the state of medicine and its professors.

In another strain, the cock is thus beautifully described, and not without some striking and picturesque allusions to the manners of the times :

¹ ver. 1427.

² [The name of the author is variously given, and in some of the later impressions the title of the work is: *Liber qui intitulatur Brunellus in speculo Stultorum*, &c. See Brunet, last edit. v. 1215. The earliest edition appears to be that *fine ulla nota*, folio (Cologne, between 1471 and 1478).] It is a common MS. Burnell is a nick-name for Balaam's afs in the *Chester Whitsun Plays*. MSS. Harl. 2013.

³ ver. 1100.

⁴ See *Val. Max.* i. 7. And *Cic. de Divinat.* i. 27.

⁵ [Morris's *Chaucer*, iii. 246, ver. 561.]

⁶ names of dogs.

⁷ kill.

⁸ *Ibid.* This is a proof that the *Canterbury Tales* were not written till after the year 1381.

a cok, hight Chaunteclere,¹
 In al the lond of crowyng was noon his peere.
 His vois was merier than the mery orgon,²
 On masse dayes that in the chirche goon;
 Wel fikerer³ was his crowyng in his logge,⁴
 Than is a cok, or an abbay orologge.

His comb was redder than the fyne coral,
 And batayld,⁵ as it were a castel wal.
 His bile was blak, and as the geet it schon;
 Lik afur were his legges, and his ton;⁶
 His nayles whitter than the lily flour,
 And lik the burnischt gold was his colour.

In this poem the fox is compared to the three arch-traitors Judas Iscariot, Virgil's Sinon, and Ganilion who betrayed the Christian army under Charlemagne to the Saracens, and is mentioned by Archbishop Turpin.⁷ Here also are cited, as writers of high note or authority, Cato, Physiologus or [Florinus] the elder, Boethius on music, the author of the legend of the life of Saint Kenelm, Josephus, the historian of Sir Lancelot du Lak, Saint Austin, [Arch]bishop Bradwardine, Geoffrey Vinesauf (who wrote a monody in Latin verse on the death of King Richard I.), Ecclesiastes, Virgil and Macrobius.

Our author's *January and May*, or the *Merchant's Tale*, seems to be an old Lombard story. But many passages in it are evidently taken from the *Polycraticon* of John of Salisbury;⁸ and by the way, about forty verses belonging to this argument are translated from the same chapter of the *Polycraticon*, in the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*.⁹ In the mean time it is not improbable, that this tale might have originally been Oriental. A Persian tale has been published which it extremely

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, iii. 230, ver. 29.]

² organ.

³ [furer.—*Ritson*.]

⁴ pen; yard.

⁵ embattelled.

⁶ toes.

⁷ ver. 407. See also *Monk. T.* ver. 399.

⁸ "De molestiis et oneribus conjugiorum secundum Hieronymum et alios philosophos. Et de pernecie libidinis. Et de mulieris Ephesinæ et similibus fide." L. iii. c. 11, fol. 193, b. edit. 1513.

⁹ Mention is made in this Prologue of St. Jerom and Theophrast, on that subject, ver. 671, 674. The author of the *Polycraticon* quotes Theophrastus from Jerom, viz. "Fertur auctore Hieronimo aureolus Theophrasti libellus de non ducenda uxore," fol. 194, a. Chaucer likewise, on this occasion, cites *Valerie*, ver. 671. This is not the favorite historian of the middle ages, Valerius Maximus. It is a book written under the assumed name of Valerius, entitled *Valerius ad Rufinum de non ducenda uxore*. This piece is in the Bodleian library with a large gloss. MSS. Digb. 166, ii. 147. [It is a common MS. and is one of the productions ascribed to Walter Mapes. See Wright's edit. of Mapes, 1841. The author] perhaps adopted this name, because one Valerius had written a treatise on the same subject, inserted in St. Jerom's works. Some copies of this Prologue, instead of "*Valerie* and *Theophrast*," read *Paraphrast*. If that be the true reading, which I do not believe, Chaucer alludes to the gloss above mentioned. *Helowis*, cited just afterwards, is the celebrated Eloisa. Trotula is mentioned, ver. 677. Among the MSS. of Merton College in Oxford, is, "*Trotula Mulier Salernitana de passionibus mulierum*." There is also extant, "*Trotula, seu potius Erotis medici muliebrium liber*." Basil. 1586, 4to. See also Montfauc. *Catal. MSS.* p. 385. And Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* xiii. p. 439.

resembles;¹ and it has much of the allegory of an Eastern apologue.

The following description of the wedding-feast of January and May is conceived and expressed with a distinguished degree of poetical elegance :

Thus ben thay weddid with solempnité;²
 And atte fest sittith he and sche
 With othir worthy folk upon the deys.³
 Al ful of joy and blis is that paleys,
 And ful of instrumentz, and of vitale,
 The moſte deintevous of al Ytaile.
 Biforn hem ſtood ſuch instruments of ſoun,
 That Orpheus, ne of Thebes Amphion,
 Ne maden never ſuch a melodye.
 At every cours ther cam loud menſtralcy,
 That never tromped⁴ Joab for to heere,
 Ne he Theodomas yit half ſo cleere
 At Thebes, whan the cite was in doute.⁵
 Bachus the wyn hem ſchenchith⁶ al aboute,
 And Venus laughith upon every wight,
 (For January was bycome hir knight,
 And wolde bothe aſſayen his corrage
 In liberté and eek in mariage)
 And with hir fuyrbrond in hir hond aboute
 Daunceth biforn the bryde and al the route.

¹ [Tales translated from the Persian (by Alex. Dow), 1768.] ch. xv. p. 252.

The ludicrous adventure of the Pear Tree, in *January and May*, is taken from a collection of Fables in Latin elegiacs, written by one Adolphus in the year 1315. Leyfer. *Hiſt. Poet. Med. Ævi*, p. 2008. [They are printed entire in Wright's *Latin Stories*, &c. 1842, 174-91.] The ſame fable is in Caxton's *Æſop*. [Adolphus took many of his ſtories from Alfoſuſ.]

² [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 332, ver. 465.]

³ I have explained this word, but will here add ſome new illustrations of it. Undoubtedly the high table in a public refectory, as appears from theſe words in Matthew Paris, "Priore prandente ad magnam menſam quam Dais vulgo appellamus." *Vit. Abbat. S. Albani*, p. 92. And again the ſame writer ſays, that a cup, with a foot or ſtand, was not permitted in the hall of the monastery, "Niſi tantum in majori menſa quam Dais appellamus." *Additum*, p. 148. There is an old French word, Dais, which ſignifies a throne or canopy, uſually placed over the head of the principal perſon at a magnificent feaſt. Hence it was transferred to the table at which he ſat. In the ancient French *Roman de Garin* :

"Au plus haut dais ſiſt roy Anſeis."

Either at the firſt table, or, which is much the ſame thing, under the higheſt canopy.

[I apprehend that [dais] originally ſignified the wooden floor: [*d'ais*] Fr. *de affbus*, Lat.] which was laid at the upper end of the hall, as we ſtill ſee it in college halls, &c. That part of the room therefore which was floored with planks, was called the *dais* (the reſt being either the bare ground, or at beſt paved with ſtone); and being raiſed above the level of the other parts, it was often called the *high dais*. As the principal table was always placed upon a dais, it began very ſoon, by a natural abuſe of words, to be called itſelf a *dais*; and people were ſaid to ſit at the *dais*, inſtead of at the table upon the *dais*. Menage, whoſe authority ſeems to have led later antiquaries to interpret *dais* a canopy, has evidently confounded *dais* with *ders*, [which] as he obſerves, meant properly the hangings at the back of the company. But as the ſame hangings were often drawn over, ſo as to form a kind of canopy over their heads, the whole was called a *ders*.—*Tyrwhitt*.]

⁴ "ſuch as Joab never," &c.

⁵ danger.

⁶ fill, pour.

And certeynly I dar right wel *saye* this,
 Imeneus, that god of weddyng is,
 Seigh never his lif so mery a weddid man.
 Holde thy pees, thow poete Marcian,
 That writest us that ilke weddyng merye
 Of hir Philologie and *him* Mercurie,
 And of the songes that the Muses songe;
 To final is bothe thy penne and eek thy tonge
 For to descryve of this mariage.
 Whan tender youthe hath weddid stoupyng age.

Mayus, that sit with so benigne a cheere,
 Hir to bihold it semede fayerye;¹
 Queen Esther lokede never with such an ye
 On Assuere, so meke a look hath sche;
 I may not yow devyse al hir beauté;
 But thus moche of hir beauté telle I may,
 That sche was lyk the brighte morw of May,
 Fulfuld of alle beauté and plesaunce.

This January is ravyscht in a traunce,
 At every tyme he lokith in hir face,
 But in his hert he gan hir to manace.

Dryden and Pope have modernised the two last-mentioned poems. Dryden the tale of the *Nonnes Priest*, and Pope that of *January and May*: intending perhaps to give patterns of the best of Chaucer's Tales in the comic species. But I am of opinion that the *Miller's Tale* has more true humour than either. Not that I mean to palliate the levity of the story, which was most probably chosen by Chaucer in compliance with the prevailing manners of an unpolished age, and agreeably to ideas of festivity not always the most delicate and refined. Chaucer abounds in liberties of this kind, and this must be his apology. So does Boccaccio, and perhaps much more, but from a different cause. The licentiousness of Boccaccio's tales, which he composed *per cacciar la malincolia delle femine*, to amuse the ladies, is to be vindicated, at least accounted for, on other principles: it was not so much the consequence of popular incivility, as it was owing to a particular event of the writer's age. Just before Boccaccio wrote, the plague at Florence had totally changed the customs and manners of the people. Only a few of the women had survived this fatal malady; and these, having lost their husbands, parents, or friends, gradually grew regardless of those constraints and customary formalities which before of course influenced their behaviour. For want of female attendants, they were obliged often to take men only into their service: and this circumstance greatly contributed to destroy their habits of delicacy, and gave an opening to various freedoms and indecencies unsuitable to the sex, and frequently productive of very serious consequences. As to the monasteries, it is not surprising that Boccaccio should have made them the scenes of his most libertine stories. The plague had thrown open their gates. The monks and nuns wandered abroad, and partaking of the common

¹ A phantasy, enchantment.

liberties of life and the levities of the world, forgot the rigour of their institutions and the severity of their ecclesiastical characters. At the ceasing of the plague, when the religious were compelled to return to their cloisters, they could not forsake their attachment to these secular indulgences; they continued to practise the same free course of life, and would not submit to the disagreeable and unsocial injunctions of their respective orders. Contemporary historians give a shocking representation of the unbounded debaucheries of the Florentines on this occasion: and ecclesiastical writers mention this period as the grand epoch of the relaxation of monastic discipline. Boccaccio did not escape the censure of the Church for these compositions. His conversion was a point much laboured; and in expiation of his follies he was almost persuaded to renounce poetry and the heathen authors, and to turn Carthusian. But, to say the truth, Boccaccio's life was almost as loose as his writings; till he was in great measure reclaimed by the powerful remonstrances of his master Petrarch, who talked much more to the purpose than his confessor. This Boccaccio himself acknowledges in the fifth of his eclogues, entitled *Philotrophos*, which like those of Petrarch are enigmatical and obscure.

But to return to the *Miller's Tale*. The character of the Clerk of Oxford, who studied astrology, a science then in high repute, but, under the specious appearance of decorum and the mask of the serious philosopher, carried on intrigues, is painted with these lively circumstances: ¹

This clerk was cleped heende Nicholas;²
 Of derne³ love he cowde and of solas;
 And therwith he was sleigh and ful privé,
 And lik to a mayden meke for to se.
 A chambir had he in that hostillerye⁴
 Alone, withouten eny compaignye,
 Ful fetisly i-dight with herbes soote,
 And he himself as swete as is the roote
 Of lokorys, or eny cetewale.⁵
 His almagest,⁶ and bookes gret and smale,
 His astylabe,⁷ longyng to his art,
 His augrym stoones,⁸ leyen faire apart

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 99, ver. 13.]

² the gentle Nicholas.

³ secret.

⁴ Hospitium, one of the old hostels at Oxford, which were very numerous before the foundation of the colleges. This is one of the citizens' houses; a circumstance which gave rise to the story.

⁵ the herb Valerian.

⁶ A book of astronomy written by Ptolemy. It was in thirteen books. He wrote also four books of judicial astrology. He was an Egyptian astrologist, and flourished under Marcus Antoninus. He is mentioned in the *Sompnour's Tale*, v. 1025, and the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, v. 324.

⁷ astylabe; an astrolabe.

⁸ stones for computation. Augrim is Algorithm, the sum of the principal rules of common arithmetic. Chaucer was himself an adept in this sort of knowledge. The learned Selden is of opinion, that his Astrolabe was compiled from the Arabian astronomers and mathematicians. See his pref. to *Notes on Drayt. Polyb.* p. 4, where the word *Dulcarnon* (*Troil. Cr.* ii. vol. iv. 933, 935,) is explained to be an

On schelves couched at his beddes heed,
 His presse¹ i-covered with a faldyng reed.
 And al above ther lay a gay sawtrye,
 On which he made a-nightes melodye,
 So swetely, that al the chambur rang;
 And *Angelus ad virginem* he sang.

In the description of the young wife of our philosopher's host, there is great elegance with a mixture of burlesque allusions. Not to mention the curiosity of a female portrait, drawn with so much exactness at such a distance of time.

Fair was the yonge wyf, and therewithal²
 As eny wesil hir body gent and smal.
 A seynt sche werede, barred al of filk;³
 A barm-cloth eek as whit as morne mylk
 Upon hir lendes, ful of many a gore.
 Whit was hir smok, and browdid al byfore
 And eek byhynde on hir coler aboute,
 Of cole-blak filk, withinne and eek withoute.
 The tapes of hir white voluper
 Weren of the same sute of hire coler;
 Hir filet brood of filk y-set ful heyne.
 And certeynly sche hadd a licorous eyghe;
 Ful smal y-pulled weren hir browes two,
 And tho were bent, as blak as any slo.
 Sche was wel more blisful on to see
 Than is the newe perjonette tree;
 And softer than the wol is of a wethir.
 And by hir gurdil hyng a purs of lethir,
 Taffid⁴ with filk, and perled⁵ with latoun.⁶
 In al this world to seken up and doun

Arabic term for a root in calculation. His *Chanon Yeman's Tale* proves his intimate acquaintance with the Hermetic philosophy, then much in vogue. There is a statute of Henry V. against the transmutation of metals in Stat. an. 4, Hen. V. cap. iv. [1416-17]. Chaucer, in the *Astrolabe*, refers to two famous mathematicians and astronomers of his time, John Some and Nicholas Lynne, both Carmelite friars of Oxford, and perhaps his friends, whom he calls "reverent clerkes." *Astrolabe*, p. 440, col. i. Urr. They both wrote calendars which, like Chaucer's *Astrolabe*, were constructed for the meridian of Oxford. Chaucer mentions Alcabucius, an astronomer, that is, Abdilazi Alchabitius, whose [*Introduc-torium ad scientiam judicalem astronomie* was printed in 1473 and afterwards.] Compare Herbelot, *Bibl. Oriental.* p. 963, b. *Ketab. Alasthorlab.* p. 141, a. Nicholas Lynne above mentioned is said to have made several voyages to the most northerly parts of the world, charts of which he presented to Edward III. Perhaps to Iceland, and the coasts of Norway, for astronomical observations. These charts are lost. Hakluyt apud Anderson, *Hist. Com.* i. p. 191, *sub. ann.* 1360. (See Hakl. *Foy.* i. 121, *seq.* ed. 1598.)

¹ press.

² [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 100, ver. 47.]

³ "A girdle [striped] with filk." The *Doctor of Phisic* is "girt with a feint of filk with barris smale." Prol. v. 138. See [Halliwell's *Arch. Di.* in v.]

⁴ tasseled; fringed.

⁵ [I believe ornamented with latoun in the shape of pearls.—*Tyrwhitt*. An expression used by Francis Thynne in his letter to Speght will explain this term: "and Orfrayes being compounded of the French *or* and *frays*, (or fryse English,) is that which to this daye (being now made all of one stuffe or substance) is called frised or perled cloth of gold."—*Price*.]

⁶ latoun, or chekelaton, is cloth of gold.

There nys no man so wys, that couthe thenche
 So gay a popillot,¹ or fuch a wenche.
 For brighter was the *schynyng* of hir hewe,
 Than in the Tour the noble² i-forged newe.
 But of hir song, it was as lowde and yerne³
 As eny swalwe chiteryng on a berne.
 Therto sche cowde skippe, and make a game,
 As eny kyde or calf folwyng his dame.
 Hir mouth was sweete as bragat⁴ is or meth,
 Or hoord of apples, layd in hay or heth.
 Wynsyng sche was, as is a joly colt;
 Long as a maft, and upright as a bolt.⁵
 A broch⁶ sche bar upon hir loue coleer,
 As brod as is the bos of a bocleer.⁷
 Hir schos were laced on hir legges heyghe.

Nicholas, as we may suppose, was not proof against the charms of his blooming hostess. He has frequent opportunities of conversing with her; for her husband is the carpenter of Oseney Abbey near Oxford, and often absent in the woods belonging to the monastery.⁸ His rival is Absalom, a parish-clerk, the gayest of his calling, who being amorously inclined, very naturally avails himself of a circumstance belonging to his profession: on holidays it was his business to carry the censor about the church, and he takes this opportunity of casting unlawful glances on the handsomest dames of the parish. His gallantry, agility, affectation of dress and personal elegance, skill in shaving and surgery, smattering in the law, taste for music, and many other accomplishments, are thus inimitably represented by Chaucer, who must have much relished so ridiculous a character:

Now ther was of that chirche a parish clerk,⁹
 The which that was i-cleped Absolon.
 Crulle was his heer, and as the gold it schon,
 And strowted as a fan right large and brood;
 Ful freyt and evene lay his joly schood.¹⁰
 His rode¹¹ was reed, his eyghen gray as goos,
 With Powles wyndowes corven in his schoos.¹²

¹ "so pretty a puppet." [This may either be considered as a diminutive from *poupée* a puppet, or as a corruption of *papillot*, a young butterfly.—*Tyrwhitt*.]
² a piece of money.

³ [brisk, eager.—*Tyrwhitt*.]

⁴ bragget. A drink made of honey, spices, &c.

⁵ "straight as an arrow."

⁶ a jewel. [It seems to have signified originally the tongue of a buckle or clasp, and from thence the buckle or clasp itself. It probably came by degrees to signify any kind of jewel.—*Tyrwhitt*.]

⁷ buckler.

[See Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 113, ver. 479.]

"I trow that he be went
 For tymber, ther our abbot hath him sent:
 For he is wont for timber for to go,
 And dwellen at the Graunge a day or tuo."

⁹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, vol. ii. p. 102, ver. 126.]

¹⁰ hair.

¹¹ complexion.

¹² *Calcei fenestrati* occur in ancient Injunctions to the clergy. In Eton College statutes, given in 1446, the fellows are forbidden to wear *stularia rostrata*, as also *calige*, white, red, or green, cap. xix. In a chantry, or chapel founded at Win-

In his hoses reed he wente fetufully,
 I-clad he was ful final and properly,
 Al in a kirtel¹ of a fyn wachet,
 Schapen with goores in the newe get.
 And therupon he had a gay surpys,
 As whyt as is the blofme upon the rys.²
 A mery child he was, so God me save;
 Wel couthe he lete blood, and clippe and schave,
 And make a chartre of lond and acquitaunce.
 In twenty maners he coude skippe and daunce,
 After the scole of Oxenforde tho,
 And with his legges casten to and fro;
 And pleyen fonges on a final rubible;³
 Ther-to he sang som tyme a lowde quynnyble.⁴

His manner of making love must not be omitted. He serenades her with his gytitar :

He waketh al the night and al the day,⁵
 To kembe his lokkes brode and made him gay.
 He woweth hire by mene and by brocage,⁶
 And swor he wolde ben hir owne page.
 He syngeth crowyng⁷ as a nightyngale;
 And sent hire pyment, meth, and spiced ale,
 And wafres pyping hoot out of the gleede;⁸
 And for sche was of tounne, he profrede meede.⁹

chester in the year 1318, within the cemetery of the Nuns of the Blessed Virgin, by Roger Inkpenne, the members, that is, a warden, chaplain and clerk, are ordered to go "in meris caligis, et sotularibus non rostratis, nisi forsitā botis uti voluerint." And it is added, "Vestes deferant non fibulatas, sed desuper claufas, vel brevitate non notandas." *Registr. Priorat. S. Swithini Winton. MS. supr. citat. quatern. 6.* Compare Wilkins's *Concil.* iii. 670, ii. 4.

¹ jacket.

² [branch.]

³ A species of guitar. Lydgate, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Fairf. 16. In a poem called *Reason and Sensuallite*, compiled by *Jhon Lydgate* :

"Lutys, rubibis (l. ribibles), and gesterne,
 More for estatys than tavernes."

⁴ treble.

⁵ by offering money; or a settlement.

⁶ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 104, ver. 187.]

⁷ quavering.

⁸ the [fire].

⁹ See *Rime of Sir Thopas*, ver. 3357. Mr. Walpole has mentioned some curious particulars concerning the liquors which anciently prevailed in England. *Anecd. Paint.* i. p. 11. I will add, that cider was very early a common liquor among our ancestors. In the year 129[4-]5, an. 23 Edw. I. the king orders the sheriff of Southampton [Hampshire] to provide with all speed four hundred quarters of wheat, to be collected in parts of his bailiwick nearest the sea, and to convey the same, being well winnowed, in good ships from Portsmouth to Winchelsea. Also to put on board the said ships, at the same time, two hundred tons of cider. The cost to be paid immediately from the king's wardrobe. This precept is in old French. *Registr. Joh. Pontif. Episc. Winton.* fol. 172. It is remarkable that Wickliffe translates, Luc. i. 21, "He schal not dryncke wyn & cyser" [edit. 1848]. This translation was made about A.D. 1380. At a visitation of St. Swithin's priory at Winchester, by the said bishop, it appears that the monks claimed to have, among other articles of luxury, on many festivals, "Vinum, tam album quam rubeum, claretum medonem, burgarastrum," &c. This was so early as the year 1285. *Registr. Priorat. S. Swith. Winton. MS. supr. citat. quatern. 5.* It appears also, that the *Hordarius* and *Camerarius* claimed every year of the prior ten *dolia vini*, or twenty pounds in money, A.D. 1337. *Ibid.* quatern. 5. A benefactor grants to the said convent on the day of his anniversary, "unam pipam vini pret. xx.s." for

Som tyme, to schewe his lightnes and maistrye,
He pleyeth Herodz on a scaffold hye.

Again :

Whan that the firste cok hath crowe, anon¹
Up ryf this jolyf lover Absolon,
And him arrayeth gay, at poynt devya.
But first he cheweth greyn² and lycoris,
To smellen swete, or he hadde kempt his heere.
Under his tunge a trewe love he beere,
For therby wende he to be gracious.
He rometh to the carpenteres hous.³

In the mean time the scholar, intent on accomplishing his intrigue, locks himself up in his chamber for the space of two days. The carpenter, alarmed at this long seclusion, and supposing that his guest might be sick or dead, tries to gain admittance, but in vain. He peeps through a crevice of the door, and at length discovers the scholar, who is conscious that he was seen, in an affected trance of abstracted meditation. On this our carpenter, reflecting on the danger of being wife, and exulting in the security of his own ignorance, exclaims :

A man woot litel what him schal betyde.⁴
This man is falle with his astronomye

their refection, A.D. 1286. *Ibid.* quatern. 10. Before the year 1200, "Vina et medones" are mentioned as not uncommon in the abbey of Evesham in Worcester-shire. Dugdale, *Monast.* [edit. Stevens,] Append. p. 138. The use of mead, *medo*, seems to have been very ancient in England. See *Mon. Angl.* i. 26. Thorne, *Chron.* sub ann. 1114. Compare *Dissertat.* i. It is not my intention to enter into the controversy concerning the cultivation of vines, for making wine, in England. I shall only bring to light the following remarkable passage on that subject from an old English writer on gardening and farming : "We might have a reasonable good wine growyng in many places of this realme : as undoubtedly wee had immediately after the Conquest ; tyll partly by slothfulnesse, not liking any thing long that is painefull, partly by civill discord long continuynge, it was left, and so with tyme lost, as appeareth by a number of places in this realme that keepe still the name of Vineyardes : and uppon many cliffes and hilles, are yet to be seene the rootes and olde remaynes of Vines. There is besides Nottingham, an auncient house called Chilwell, in which house remaineth yet, as an auncient monument, in a Great Wyndowe of Glasse, the whole Order of planting, pruyning, [pruning,] stamping, and preffing of vines. Beside, there [at that place] is yet also growing an old vine, that yields a grape sufficient to make a right good wine, as was lately proved. There hath, moreover, good experience of late years been made, by two noble and honourable barons of this realme, the lorde Cobham and the lorde Wylliams of Tame, who had both growyng about their houses, as good wines as are in many parts of Fraunce," &c. [Heresbachius] *Fourre bookes of Husbandry*, [translated by B. Googe,] 1578. *To the Reader.*

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 114, ver. 501.]

² Greyns, or grains, of Paris or Paradise occurs in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, ver. 1369. A rent of herring pies is an old payment from the city of Norwich to the king, seasoned among other spices with half an ounce of grains of Paradise. *Blomf. Norf.* ii. 264.

³ It is to be remarked, that in this tale the carpenter swears, with great propriety, by the patroness saint of Oxford, saint Frideswide, [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 106, ver. 262] :

"This carpenter to blessen him bygan,
And seyde, Now help us, seynthe Frideswyde."

⁴ *Ibid.* ver. 264.

In som woodnesse, or in som agonye.
 I thought ay wel how that it schulde be.
 Men schulde nought knowe¹ of Goddes pryvyté.
 Ye! blessed be alwey a lewed man,²
 That nat but oonly his bileeve can.³
 So ferde another clerk with astronomye;
 He walked in the feeldes for to pry
 Upon the sterres, what ther schulde bifalle,
 Til he was in a marle pit i-falle.
 He laugh nat that. But yet, by seint Thomas!
 Me reweth sore for heende Nicholas;
 He schal be ratyd of his studyng.

But the scholar has ample gratification for this ridicule. The carpenter is at length admitted; and the scholar continuing the farce, gravely acquaints the former that he has been all this while making a most important discovery by means of astrological calculations. He is soon persuaded to believe the prediction: and in the sequel, which cannot be repeated here, this humorous contrivance crowns the scholar's schemes with success, and proves the cause of the carpenter's disgrace. In this piece the reader observes that the humour of the characters is made subservient to the plot.

I have before hinted, that Chaucer's obscenity is in great measure to be imputed to his age. We are apt to form romantic and exaggerated notions about the moral innocence of our ancestors. Ages of ignorance and simplicity are thought to be ages of purity. The direct contrary, I believe, is the case. Rude periods have that grossness of manners which is not less friendly to virtue than luxury itself. In the middle ages, not only the most flagrant violations of modesty were frequently practised and permitted, but the most infamous vices. Men are less ashamed as they are less polished. Great refinement multiplies criminal pleasures, but at the same time prevents the actual commission of many enormities: at least it preserves public decency, and suppresses public licentiousness.

The *Reve's Tale*, or the *Miller of Trowpington*, is much in the same style, but with less humour.⁴ This story was enlarged by Chaucer from Boccaccio.⁵ There is an old English poem on the same plan, entitled: *A ryght pleasaunt and merye Historie of the Mylner of Abyngdon*,

¹ "pry into the secrets of nature."

² unlearned.

³ Who knows only his Creed.

⁴ See also *The Shipman's Tale*, which was originally taken from some comic French trouvère. But Chaucer had it from Boccaccio. The story of Zenobia, in the *Monks Tale*, is from Boccaccio's *Cas. Vir. Illustr.* (see *Lydg. Boek*. viii. 7). That of Count Ugolins in the same tale, from Dante. That of Pedro of Spain, from Archbishop Turpin, *ibid.* Of Julius Cæsar, from Lucan, Suetonius, and Valerius Maximus, *ibid.* The idea of this tale was suggested by Boccaccio's book on the same subject.

⁵ *Decamer.* Giorn. ix. Nov. 6. But both Boccaccio and Chaucer probably borrowed from an old Conte or Fabliau by an anonymous French rhymist, *De Gombert, et de deux Cler.* See [Le Grand,] *Fabliaux et Contes*, Paris, 1756, tom. ii. p. 115-124. The *Shipman's Tale*, as I have hinted, originally came from some such French Conte, through the medium of Boccaccio.

with his wife and his fayre daughter, and of two poore schollers of Cambridge.¹ It begins with these lines :

Fayre lordings, if you list to heere
A mery jest your minds to cheere.

This piece is supposed by Wood [without much foundation, perhaps] to have been written by Andrew Borde.² It was at least evidently written after the time of Chaucer. It is the work of some tasteless imitator, who has sufficiently disguised his original, by retaining none of its spirit. I mention these circumstances, lest it should be thought that this frigid abridgment was the ground-work of Chaucer's poem on the same subject. In the class of humorous or satirical tales, the *Sompnour's Tale*, which exposes the tricks and extortions of the mendicant friars, has also distinguished merit. This piece has incidentally been mentioned above with the *Plowman's Tale* and *Pierce Plowman*.

Genuine humour, the concomitant of true taste, consists in discerning improprieties in books as well as characters. We therefore must remark under this class another tale of Chaucer, which till lately has been looked upon as a grave heroic narrative. I mean the *Rime of Sir Thopas*. Chaucer, at a period which almost realised the manners of romantic chivalry, discerned the leading absurdities of the old romances : and in this poem, which may be justly called a prelude to *Don Quixote*, has burlesqued them with exquisite ridicule. That this was the poet's aim, appears from many passages. But, to put the matter beyond a doubt, take the words of an ingenious critic. "We are to observe," says he, "that this was Chaucer's own Tale : and that, when in the progress of it, the good

¹ [Abingdon is situated on a mill-stream, seven miles from Cambridge. See *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, iii. 98, et. seqq. The scene of Chaucer's story is called *The Old Mill*. See Wright's *Anecdota Literaria*, 1844, where the fabliau, above referred to, will be found printed.]

Bibl. Bodl. Selden, C. 39, 4to. This book was given to that library, with many other petty black-letter histories, in prose and verse, of a similar cast, by Robert Burton, author of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, who was a great collector of such pieces. One of his books, now in the Bodleian, is the *History of Tom Thumb* [1630, 8vo.] whom a learned antiquary [Tho. Hearne], while he laments that ancient history has been much disguised by romantic narratives, pronounces to have been no less important a personage than King [Edgar's] dwarf.

² See Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* v. *Borde*, and [*Reliq. Hearn.* 1857, 822.] I am of opinion that Solere Hall, in Cambridge, mentioned in this poem, was Aula Solarii,—the hall with the upper story, at that time a sufficient circumstance to distinguish and denominate one of the academical hospitia. Although Chaucer calls it, "a grete college," ver. 881. Thus in Oxford we had Chimney Hall, Aula cum Camino, an almost parallel proof of the simplicity of their ancient houses of learning. Twyne also mentions Solere Hall, at Oxford. Also Aula Salarii, which I doubt not is properly Solarii. Compare Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* ii. 11, col. i. 13, col. i. 12, col. ii. Caius will have it to be Clare Hall.—*Hist. Acad.* p. 57. Those who read Scholars Hall (of Edw. III.) may consult Wacht. v. Soller. In the mean time, for the reasons assigned, one of these two halls or colleges at Cambridge might at first have been commonly called Soler Hall. A hall near Brazenose College, Oxford, was called Glazen Hall, having glass windows, anciently not common. See Twyne, *Miscel. Quædam*, &c. ad calc. *Apol. Antiq. Acad. Oxon.* [1608].

sense of the host is made to break in upon him, and interrupt him, Chaucer approves his disgust, and changing his note, tells the simple instructive tale of *Meliboeus*—a moral tale vertuous, as he terms it; to show what sort of fictions were most expressive of real life, and most proper to be put into the hands of the people. It is further to be noted, that the *Boke of The Giant Olyphant and Chylde Thopas*, was not a fiction of his own, but a story of antique fame, and very celebrated in the days of chivalry; so that nothing could better suit the poet's design of discrediting the old romances, than the choice of this venerable legend for the vehicle of his ridicule upon them.¹ But it is to be remembered, that Chaucer's design was intended to ridicule the frivolous descriptions and other tedious impertinences, so common in the volumes of chivalry with which his age was overwhelmed, not to degrade in general or expose a mode of fabling, whose sublime extravagances constitute the marvellous graces of his own *Cambuscan*; a composition which at the same time abundantly demonstrates, that the manners of romance are better calculated to answer the purposes of pure poetry, to captivate the imagination, and to produce surprise, than the fictions of classical antiquity.

SECTION XVII.

BUT Chaucer's vein of humour, although conspicuous in the *Canterbury Tales*, is chiefly displayed in the characters with which they are introduced. In these his knowledge of the world availed him in a peculiar degree, and enabled him to give such an accurate picture of ancient manners, as no contemporary nation has transmitted to posterity. It is here that we view the pursuits and employments, the customs and diversions of our ancestors, copied from the life, and represented with equal truth and spirit, by a judge of mankind whose penetration qualified him to discern their foibles or discriminating peculiarities, and by an artist, who understood that proper selection of circumstances and those predominant characteristics, which form a finished portrait.² We are surprised to find, in so gross and ignorant an age, such talents for satire and for observation

¹ [Warton seems to have been writing at random, when he described *Sir Thopas* as "a story of antique fame." It is, on the contrary, a broad burlesque of Chaucer's own invention, as the whole context appears clearly to show. Tyrwhitt gravely observes, as Price notes: "I can only say, that I have not been so fortunate as to meet with any traces of such a story of an earlier date than the *Canterbury Tales*,"—nor has any one else!]

² [Compare with Chaucer's sketches of 1380-90 with that of A.D. 1592, by Greene, in his *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, copied and enlarged from Thynne's *Pride and Lowliness*, written before 1570. See *Temporary Preface to Six-Text Chaucer*, pp. 101-2.—F.]

on life; qualities which usually exert themselves at more civilised periods, when the improved state of society, by subtilising our speculations, and establishing uniform modes of behaviour, disposes mankind to study themselves, and renders deviations of conduct and singularities of character more immediately and necessarily the objects of censure and ridicule. These curious and valuable remains are specimens of Chaucer's native genius, unassisted and unalloyed. The figures are all British, and bear [comparatively faint marks] of Classical, Italian, or French imitation. The characters of Theophrastus are not so lively, particular, and appropriated. A few traits from this celebrated part of our author, yet too little tasted and understood, may be sufficient to prove and illustrate what is here advanced.

The character of the Priores is chiefly distinguished by an excess of delicacy and decorum, and an affectation of courtly accomplishments. [French of Stratford-at-Bow appears, in our poet's time, to have been a sort of bye-word]:

Ther was also a Nonne, a Prioreffe,¹
That of hire smylyng was ful symple and coy;
Hire gretteff ooth nas but by seynt Loy;²

And Frensch sche spak ful faire and fetyfly,
Aftur the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,
For Frensch of Parys was to hire unknowe.
At mete³ wel i-taught was sche withalle;
Sche leet no morfel from hire lippes falle,

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 5, ver. 118.]

² *Saint Loy*, i.e. [Sanctus Eligius. T. This saint is mentioned by Lyndsay in his *Monarchie*.] The same oath occurs in the *Frere's Tale*, v. 300.

³ dinner. [The Priores's exact behaviour at table is copied from *Rom. Rois*, 14178—14199.

“Et bien se garde,” &c.

To speak French is mentioned above among her accomplishments. There is a letter in old French from Queen Philippa and her daughter Isabel to the Prior of Saint Swithin's at Winchester, to admit one Agnes Patfhill into an eleemosynary sisterhood belonging to his convent. The Prior is requested to grant her, “Une Lyvere en votre Maison dieu de Wyncestre et estre un des soers,” for her life. Written at *Windefor*, Apr. 25. The year must have been about 1350. *Registr. Priorat. MS. supr. citat. quatern. xix. fol. 4.* I do not so much cite this instance to prove that the Prior must be supposed to understand French, as to shew that it was now the court language; and even on a matter of business there was at least a great propriety that the queen and princess should write in this language, although to an ecclesiastic of dignity. In the same Register, there is a letter in old French from the Queen Dowager Isabel to the Prior and Convent of Winchester; to shew, that it was at her request, that King Edward III. her son had granted a church in Winchester diocese, to the monastery of Leeds in Yorkshire, for their better support, “a trouver fis chagnoignes chantans tous les jours en la chapele du Chastel de Ledes, pour laime madame Alianore reyne d'Angleterre,” &c. A.D. 1341, quatern. vi.

The Priores's *greatest* oath is by Saint Eloy. I will here throw together some of the most remarkable oaths in the Canterbury Tales. The Host swears by *my father's soule*. Urr. p. 7, 783. Sir Thopas, by *ale and breade*, p. 146, 3377. Arcite, by *my pan*, i.e. *head*. p. 10, 1167. Theseus, by *mightie Mars the red*, p. 14, 1749. Again, *as he was a trow knight*, p. 9, 961. The Carpenter's wife, by *Saint Thomas of Kent*, p. 26, 183. The Smith, by *Christes foote*, p. 29, 674. The

Ne wette hire fyngres in hire sauce deepe.
 Wel cowde sche carie a morfel, and wel keepe,
 That no drope *ne* fil uppon hire breste.
 In curtesie was sett al hire leste.¹
 Hire overlippe wypude sche so clene,
 That in hire cuppe *ther* was no ferthing sene
 Of grees, whan sche dronken hadde hire draught.
 Ful semely aftur hire mete sche raught.²

And peyned hire to counterfete cheere
 Of court, and ben estatlich of manere.

She has even the false pity and sentimentality of many modern ladies :

Sche was so charitable and so pitous,³
 Sche wolde weepe if that sche sawe a mous
 Caught in a trappe, if it were deed or bledde.
 Of smale houndes hadde sche, that sche fedde
 With rosted fleisch, and mylk, and wastel breed.⁴
 But fore wepte sche if oon of hem were deed,
 Or if men smot it with a yerde⁵ smerte :
 And al was conscience and tendre herte.

The *Wife of Bath* is more amiable for her plain and useful qualifications. She is a respectable dame, and her chief pride consists in being a conspicuous and significant character at church on a Sunday.

Of cloth-makyng⁶ she hadde such an haunt,⁷
 Sche passed hem of Ypris and of Gaunt.
 In al the parishe wyf ne was ther noon
 That to the offryng byform hire schulde goon,
 And if ther dide, certeyn so wroth was sche,
 That sche was thanne out of alle charité.
 Hire keverchefs⁸ weren ful fyne of grounde ;
 I durste swere they weyghede ten pounce.

Cambridge Scholar, by *my father's kinn*, p. 31, 930. Again, by *my croune*, ib. 933. Again, for *godes benes*, or *benison*, p. 32, 965. Again, by *seint Cuthberde*. ib. 1019. Sir Johan of Boundis, by *seint Martyne*, p. 37, 107. Gamelyn, by *goddis boke*, p. 38, 181. Gamelyn's brother, by *saint Richere*, ibid. 273. Again, by *Cristis ore*, ib. 279. A Franklen, by *saint Jame that in Galis is*, i.e. Saint James of Galicia, p. 40, 549, 1514. A Porter, by *Goddis berde*, ib. 581. Gamelyn, by *my hals*, or neck, p. 42, 773. The Master Outlaw, by the *gode rode*, p. 45, 1265. The Host, by the *precious corpus Madrian*, p. 160, 4. Again, by *saint Paulis bell*, p. 168, 893. The Man of Law, *Depardeux*, p. 49, 39. The Marchaunt, by *saint Thomas of Inde*, p. 66, 745. The Sompnour, by *goddis armis two*, p. 82, 833. The Host, by *cockis bones*, p. 106, 2235. Again, by *nyulis* and by *blode*, i.e. of Christ, p. 130, 1802. Again, by *saint Damian*, p. 131, 1824. Again, by *saint Runion*, ib. 1834. Again, by *Corpus domini*, ib. 1838. The Riotter, by *Goddis digne bones*, p. 135, 2211. The Host, to the Monk, by *your father kin*, p. 160, 43. The Monk, by his *porthofe*, or breviary, p. 139, 2639. Again, by *God and saint Martin*, ib. 2656. The Host, by *armis blode and bones*, p. 24, 17. [See *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1870, ii. 248-50.]

¹ pleasure, desire.

² [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 5, ver. 143.]

³ bread of a finer sort.

⁴ It is to be observed, that she lived in the neighbourhood of Bath ; a country famous for clothing [at that] day.

⁵ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 15, ver. 447.]

⁶ [reached].

⁷ stick.

⁸ head-dress.

That on a Sondag were upon hire heed.
 Hir hosen were of fyn scarlett reed,
 Ful freyte y-teyed, and schoos ful moyfte and newe
 Bold was hir face, and fair, and reed of hewe.
 Sche was a worthy womman al hire lyfe,
 Houfbonde atte chirche dore¹ hadde sche fyfe.

The *Franklin* is a country gentleman, whose estate consisted in free land, and was not subject to feudal services or payments. He is ambitious of shewing his riches by the plenty of his table : but his hospitality, a virtue much more practicable among our ancestors than at present, often degenerates into luxurious excess. His impatience, if his sauces were not sufficiently poignant, and every article of his dinner in due form and readiness, is touched with the hand of Pope or Boileau. He had been a president at the sessions, knight of the shire, a sheriff, and a coroner :²

An houschaldere, and that a gret, was he ;³
 Seynt Julian he was in his countré.⁴
 His breed, his ale, was alway after oon ;
 A better envyned⁵ man was nowher noon.
 Withoute bake mete was never his hous,
 Of fleisch and fish, and that so plentyvous,
 It snewed⁶ in his hous of mete and drynke,
 Of alle deyntees that men cowde thynke.
 Aftur the sondry sesouns of the yeer,
 He chaunged hem at mete⁷ and at soper.
 Ful many a fat partrich had he in mewe,
 And many a brem and many a luce⁸ in stewe.
 Woo was his cook, but if his sauce were
 Poynant and scharp, and redy al his gere.
 His table dormant⁹ in his halle alway
 Stood redy covered al the longe day.

The character of the *Doctor of Physic* preserves to us the state of medical knowledge and the course of medical erudition then in fashion. He treats his patients according to rules of astronomy : a science which the Arabians engrafted on medicine.

For he was groundud in astronomye.¹⁰
 He kepte his pacient wondrously wel
 In houres by his magik naturel.

¹ At the southern entrance of Norwich cathedral, a representation of the Espousals, or sacrament of marriage, is carved in stone ; for here the hands of the couple were joined by the priest, and great part of the service performed. Here also the bride was endowed with what was called *Dos ad officium ecclesie*. This ceremony is exhibited in a curious old picture engraved by Mr. Walpole, *Anecd. Paint.* i. 31, [representing a *Spopalizio*, but supposed by him to represent the marriage of Henry VII. Respecting these alleged historical paintings, see some valuable remarks by Mr. John Gough Nichols in *Notes and Queries*, 3d S. x. 61, 131.] Compare Marten. *Rit. Eccl. Anecd.* ii. p. 630. And Hearne's *Antiquit. Glastonb.* Append. p. 310.

² An office anciently executed by gentlemen of the greatest respect and property.

³ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 11, ver. 339.]

⁴ See [*Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1870, i. 303.]

⁵ [Stored with wine.—*Tyrwhitt*.]

⁶ pike.

¹⁰ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 14, ver. 414.]

⁶ snowed.

⁹ never removed.

⁷ dinner.

Petrarch leaves a legacy to his physician John de Dondi of Padua, who was likewise a great astronomer, in the year 1370.¹ It was a long time before the medical profession was purged from these superstitions. Hugo de Evesham, born in Worcestershire, one of the most famous physicians in Europe, about the year 1280, educated in both the universities of England, and at others in France and Italy, was eminently skilled in mathematics and astronomy.² Pierre d'Apono, a celebrated professor of medicine and astronomy at Padua, wrote commentaries on the problems of Aristotle, in the year 1310. Roger Bacon says, "astronomiæ pars melior medicina."³ In the statutes of New-College at Oxford, given in 1387, medicine and astronomy are mentioned as one and the same science. Charles V. of France, who was governed entirely by astrologers, and who commanded all the Latin treatises which could be found relating to the stars to be translated into French, established a college in the university of Paris for the study of medicine and astrology.⁴ There is a scarce and very curious book, entitled: "*Novæ medicinæ methodus curandi morbos ex mathematica scientia deprompta, nunc denuo revisa, &c.* Joanne Hasfurto Virdungo, medico et astrologo doctissimo, auctore. 1518."⁵ Hence magic made a part of medicine. In the *Marchaunts Second Tale*, or *History of Beryn*, falsely ascribed to Chaucer, a surgical operation of changing eyes is partly performed by the assistance of the occult sciences:

The whole science of all surgery,⁶
Was unyde, or the chaunge was made of both eye,
With many sotill enchantours, and eke nygrymauncers,
That sent wer for the nonis, maistris, and scolers.

Leland mentions one William Glatifaunt, an astrologer and physician, a fellow of Merton College in Oxford, who wrote a medical tract, which, says he, "nescio quid Magiæ spirabat."⁷ I could add many other proofs.⁸

The books which our physician studied are then enumerated:

Wel knew he the olde Esculapius,⁹
And Deiscorides, and eke Rufus;
Old Ypocras, Haly, and Galien;
Serapyon, Rasis, and Avycen;
Averrois, Damascen, and Constantyn;
Bernard, and Gatifden, and Gilbertyn.

Rufus, a physician of Ephesus, wrote in Greek, about the time of Trajan. Some fragments of his works still remain.¹⁰ Haly was a famous Arabian astronomer, and a commentator on Galen, in the eleventh century, which produced so many famous Arabian physi-

¹ See *Acad. Inscript.* xx. 443.

² Pits, p. 370. Bale, iv. 50, xiii. 86.

³ Bacon, *Op. Maj.* edit. Jebb, p. 158. See also pp. 240, 247.

⁴ Montfaucon, *Bibl. MSS.* tom. ii. p. 791, b.

⁵ In quarto.

⁶ v. 2989, Urr. Ch.

⁷ Lel. apud Tann. *Bibl.* p. 262, and Lel. *Script. Brit.* p. 400.

⁸ See Ames's *Hist. Print.* p. 147.

⁹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 14, ver. 429.]

¹⁰ Conring. *Script. Com. Sæc.* i. cap. 4, pp. 66, 67. The Arabians have translations of him. Herbel. *Bibl. Orient.* p. 972, b; 977, b.

cians.¹ John Serapion, of the same age and country, wrote on the practice of physic.² Avicen, the most eminent physician of the Arabian school, flourished in the same century.³ Rhafis, an Asiatic physician, practised at Cordova in Spain, where he died in the tenth century.⁴ Averroes, as the Asiatic schools decayed by the indolence of the Caliphs, was one of those philosophers who adorned the Moorish schools erected in Africa and Spain. He was a professor in the university of Morocco. He wrote a commentary on all Aristotle's works, and died about the year 1160. He was styled the most peripatetic of all the Arabian writers. He was born at Cordova of an ancient Arabic family.⁵ John Damascene, secretary to one of the Caliphs, wrote in various sciences, before the Arabians had entered Europe, and had seen the Grecian philosophers.⁶ Constantinus Afer, a monk of Cassino in Italy, was one of the Saracen physicians who brought medicine into Europe, and formed the Salernitan school, chiefly by translating various Arabian and Grecian medical books into Latin.⁷ He was born at Carthage, and learned grammar, logic, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and natural philosophy, of the Chaldees, Arabians, Persians, Saracens, Egyptians, and Indians, in the schools of Bagdat. Being thus completely accomplished in these sciences, after thirty-nine years' study, he returned into Africa, where an attempt was formed against his life. Constantine, having fortunately discovered this design, privately took ship and came to Salerno in Italy, where he lurked some time in disguise. But he was recognized by the Caliph's brother then at Salerno, who recommended him as a scholar universally skilled in the learning of all nations, to the notice of Robert, Duke of Normandy. Robert entertained him with the highest marks of respect; and Constantine, by the advice of his patron, retired to the monastery of Cassino where, being kindly received by the abbot Desiderius, he translated in that learned society the books above mentioned, most of which he first imported into Europe. These versions are said to

¹ *Id. ibid.* Sæc. xi. cap. 5, p. 114. Haly, called Abbas, was likewise an eminent physician of this period. He was called *Simia Galeni*. *Id. ibid.*

² *Id. ibid.* pp. 113, 114.

³ *Id. ibid.* See Pard. T. v. 2407. Urr. p. 136.

⁴ Conring. *ut sup.* Sæc. x. cap. 4, p. 110. He wrote a large and famous work, called *Continens*. Rhafis and Almafôr (f. Albumafar, a great Arabian astrologer) occur in the library of Peterborough Abbey, Matric. *Libr. Monast. Burgi S. Petri*. Gunton, *Peterb.* p. 187. See Hearne, *Ben. Abb. Pref.* lix.

⁵ Conring. *ut sup.* Sæc. xii. cap. 2, p. 118.

⁶ Vofa. *Hist. Gr.* L. ii. c. 24.

⁷ Petr. Diacon. *de Vir. illustr. Monast. Cassin.* cap. xxiii. See the *Dissertations*. He is again mentioned by our author in the *Marchaunt's Tale*, ver. 565.

“And many a letuary had he ful fyn,
Such as the cursed monk daun Constantin
Hath writen in his book *de Coitu*.”

The title of this book is “*De Coitu, quibus profit aut obfit, quibus medicaminibus et alimentis acuatur impediatur-ve.*” *Opera*, 1536.

be still extant. He flourished about the year 1086.¹ Bernard, or Bernardus Gordonius, appears to have been Chaucer's contemporary. He was a professor of medicine at Montpelier, and wrote many treatises in that faculty.² John Gatifden was a fellow of Merton College, where Chaucer was educated, about the year 1320.³ Pits says that he was professor of physic in Oxford.⁴ He was the most celebrated physician of his age in England; and his principal work is entitled *Rosa Medica*, divided into five books, and printed at Paris in 1492.⁵ Gilbertine, I suppose, is Gilbertus Anglicus, who flourished in the thirteenth century, and wrote a popular compendium of the medical art.⁶ About the same time, not many years before Chaucer wrote, the works of the most famous Arabian authors, and among the rest those of Avicen, Averroes, Serapion,

¹ See Leo Ostiensis, or P. Diac. Auflar. ad Leon. *Chron. Mon. Cassin.* lib. iii. c. 35, p. 445. *Rerum Italic. Script.* edit. Muratori, iv. In his book *de Incantationibus*, one of his inquiries is, "An invenirem in libris Græcorum hoc qualiter in Indorum libris est invenire," &c. *Op. tom. i. ut supr.*

² Petr. Lambec. *Prodrom.* sæc. xiv. p. 274, edit. *ut supr.*

³ It has been before observed, that at the introduction of philosophy into Europe by the Saracens, the clergy only studied and practised the medical art. This fashion prevailed a long while afterwards. The Prior and Convent of S. Swithin's at Winchester granted to Thomas of Shaftesbury, clerk, a corrody, consisting of two dishes daily from the prior's kitchen, bread, drink, robes, and a competent chamber in the monastery, for the term of his life. In consideration of all which concessions the said Thomas paid them fifty marks; and moreover is obliged, "deservire nobis in Arte medicine. Dat. in dom. Capitul. Feb. 15. A. D. 1319." Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton. MS. *supra citat.* The most learned and accurate Fabricius has a separate article on Theologi Medici. *Bibl. Gr.* xii. 739, seq. See also Giannon. *Istor. Napol.* l. x. ch. xi. § 491. In the romance of *Sir Guy*, a monk heals the knight's wounds. Signat. G. iiiii.:

"There was a monke beheld him well
That could of leach crafte some dell."

In Geoffrey of Monmouth, who wrote in 1128, Eopa, intending to poison Ambrosius, introduces himself as a physician. But in order to sustain this character with due propriety, he first shaves his head, and assumes the habit of a monk. Lib. viii. c. 14. John Arundel, afterwards bishop of Chichester, was chaplain and first physician to Henry VI. in 1458. Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* i. 777. Faricius, abbot of Abingdon, about 1110, was eminent for his skill in medicine, and a great cure performed by him is recorded in the register of the abbey. Hearne's *Bened. Abb.* Præf. xlvii. King John, while sick at Newark, made use of William de Wodestoke, abbot of the neighbouring monastery of Croxton, as his physician. Bever, *Chron.* MSS. Harl. *apud* Hearne, Præf. *ut supr.* p. xlix. Many other instances may be added. The physicians of the university of Paris were not allowed to marry till the year 1452. *Menagian.* p. 333. In the same university anciently, at the admission to the degree of doctor in physic, they took an oath that they were not married. MSS. Br. Twyne, 8, p. 249. See Freind's *Hist. of Physick*, ii. 257.

⁴ p. 414.

⁵ Tanner, *Bibl.* p. 312. Leland styles this work "opus luculentum juxta ac eruditum." *Script. Brit.* p. 355.

⁶ Conring. *ut supr.* Sæc. xiii. cap. 4, p. 127; and Leland, *Script. Brit.* p. 291, who says that Gilbert's *Practica et Compendium Medicine* was most carefully studied by many "ad quæstum properantes." He adds that it was common about this time for English students abroad to assume the surname *Anglicus*, as a plausible recommendation. [See Wright's *Biog. Brit. Liter.* 1846, A-N. Period, 461-3.]

and Rhafis, above mentioned, were translated into Latin.¹ These were our physician's library. But having mentioned his books, Chaucer could not forbear to add a stroke of satire so naturally introduced :

His studie was but litel on the Bible.²

The following anecdotes and observations may serve to throw general light on the learning of the authors who compose this curious library. The Aristotelic or Arabian philosophy continued to be communicated from Spain and Africa to the rest of Europe chiefly by means of the Jews : particularly to France and Italy, which were overrun with Jews about the tenth and eleventh centuries. About these periods, not only the courts of the Mahometan princes, but even that of the pope himself, were filled with Jews. Here they principally gained an establishment by the profession of physic ; an art then but imperfectly known and practised in most parts of Europe. Being well versed in the Arabic tongue, from their commerce with Africa and Egypt, they had studied the Arabic translations of Galen and Hippocrates ; which had become still more familiar to the great numbers of their brethren who resided in Spain. From this source also the Jews learned philosophy ; and Hebrew versions, made about this period from the Arabic, of Aristotle and the Greek physicians and mathematicians, are still extant in some libraries.³ Here was a beneficial effect of the dispersion and vagabond condition of the Jews : I mean the diffusion of knowledge. One of the most eminent of these learned Jews was Moses Maimonides, a physician, philosopher, astrologer, and theologist, educated at Cordova in Spain under Averroes. He died about the year 1208. Averroes, being accused of heretical opinions, was sentenced to live with the Jews in the street of the Jews at Cordova. Some of these learned Jews began to flourish in the Arabian schools in Spain, as early as the beginning of the ninth century. Many of the treatises of Averroes were translated by the Spanish Jews into Hebrew : and the Latin pieces of Averroes now extant were translated into Latin from these Hebrew versions. I have already mentioned the school or university of Cordova. Leo Africanus speaks of "Platea bibliothecariorum Cordovæ." This, from what follows, appears to be a street of booksellers. It was in the time of Averroes, and about the year 1220. One of our Jew philosophers, having fallen in love, turned poet, and his verses were publicly sold in this street.⁴ My author says that, renouncing the dignity of the Jewish doctor, he took to writing verses.⁵

¹ Conring. *ut suprà*. Sæc. xiii. cap. 4, p. 126. About the same time the works of Galen and Hippocrates were first translated from Greek into Latin, but in a most barbarous style. *Id. ibid.* p. 127.

² [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 14, ver. 438.]

³ Eusèb. Renaudot. apud Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* xii. 254.

⁴ Leo African. *De Med. et Philosoph.* Hebr. c. xxviii. xxix.

⁵ *Id. ibid.* "Amore capitur, et dignitate doctorum posthabita cœpit edere carmina." See also Simon. in Suppl. ad Leon. Mutinens. *De Riñb. Hebr.* p. 104.

The Sumner or Summoner, whose office it was to summon uncanonical offenders into the archdeacon's court, where they were very rigorously punished, is humorously drawn as counteracting his profession by his example: he is libidinous and voluptuous, and his rosy countenance belies his occupation. This is an indirect satire on the ecclesiastical proceedings of those times. His affectation of Latin terms, which he had picked up from the decrees and pleadings of the court, must have formed a character highly ridiculous:

And whan that he wel dronken hadde the wyn,¹
 Than wolde he speke no word but Latyn.
 A fewe termes hadde he, tuo or thre,
 That he hadde lerned out of som decree;
 No wondur is, he herde it al the day;
 And eek ye knowe wel, how that a jay
 Can clepe Watte,² as wel as can the pope.
 But who-so wolde in othur thing him grope,³
 Thanne hadde he spent al his philosophie,
 Ay, *Questio quid juris*, wolde he crye.

He is with great propriety made the friend and companion of the Pardoner, or dispenser of indulgences, who is just arrived from the pope, "brimful of pardons come from Rome al hote;" and who carries in his wallet, among other holy curiosities, the Virgin Mary's veil, and part of the sail of Saint Peter's ship.⁴

The Monk is represented as more attentive to horses and hounds than to the rigorous and obsolete ordinances of Saint Benedict. Such are his ideas of secular pomp and pleasure, that he is even qualified to be an abbot:⁵

An out-rydere, that lovede venerye;⁶
 A manly man, to ben an abbot able.
 Ful many a deynté hors hadde he in stable:

 This ilke⁷ monk leet forby hem pace,
 And helde aftur the newe world the space.
 He yaf nat of that text a pulled hen,⁸
 That feith, that hunters been noon holy men.

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 20, ver. 637.]

² So edit. 1561. See Johnson's *Dictionary*, in Magpie.

³ examine. ⁴ ver. 694, *seq.*

⁵ There is great humour in the circumstances which qualify our monk to be an abbot. Some time in the thirteenth century, the prior and convent of Saint Swithin's at Winchester appear to have recommended one of their brethren to the convent of Hyde as a proper person to be preferred to the abbacy of that convent, then vacant. These are his merits. "Est enim confrater ille noster in glorianda sacra pagina bene callens, in scriptura [transcribing] peritus, in capitalibus literis appingendis bonus artifex, in regula S. Benedicti instructissimus, psallendi doctissimus," &c. *MS. Registr.* ut supr. p. 277. These were the ostensible qualities of the master of a capital monastery. But Chaucer, in the verses before us, seems to have told the real truth, and to have given the real character as it actually existed in life. I believe that our industrious *confrere*, with all his knowledge of glossing, writing, illuminating, chanting, and Benedict's rules, would in fact have been less likely to succeed to a vacant abbey, than one of the genial complexion and popular accomplishments here inimitably described.

⁶ hunting. [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 6, ver. 166.]

⁷ same.

⁸ "He did not care a straw for the text," &c.

He is ambitious of appearing a conspicuous and stately figure on horseback. A circumstance represented with great elegance :

And whan he rood, men might his bridel heere¹
Gyngle in a whittlyng wynd so cleere,
And eek as lowde as doth the chapel belle.

The gallantry of his riding-dress and his genial aspect are painted in lively colours :

I saugh his sleves purfild² atte hond³
With grys,⁴ and that the fynest of a lond.
And for to festne his hood undur his chyn
He hadde of gold y-wrought a curious pyn :
A love-knotte in the gretter ende ther was.
His heed was ballid, and schon as eny glas,
And eek his face as he hadde be anyynt.
He was a lord ful fat and in good poynt ;
His eyen steep, and rollyng in his heed,
That stemed as a forneys of a leed ;
His bootes souple, his hors in gret estat.
Now certainly he was a fair prelat ;
He was not pale as a for-pyned goost.
A fat swan loved he best of eny roost.
His palfray was as broun as eny berye.

The Frere, or friar, is equally fond of diversion and good living ; but the poverty of his establishment obliges him to travel about the country, and to practise various artifices to provide money for his convent, under the sacred character of a confessor.

A frere ther was, a wantoun and a merye,⁵
A lymytour,⁶ a ful solempne man.
In alle the ordres foure⁷ is noon that can
So moche of daliaunce and fair langage.

Ful sweetly herde he confessioun,
And plesaunt was his absolucioun ;

His typet was ay farsud ful of knyfes
And pynnes, for to yive faire wyfes.
And certaynly he hadde a mery noote.
Wel couthe he syng and pleye on a rote.⁸

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 6, ver. 169.]

² fringed.

³ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 7, ver. 193.]

⁴ fur.

⁵ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 7, ver. 208.]

⁶ A friar that had a particular grant for begging or hearing confessions within certain limits.

⁷ of Mendicants.

⁸ A rote is a musical instrument. Lydgate, MSS. Fairfax, Bibl. Bodl. 16.

"For ther was Rotys of Almayne,
And eke of Arragon and Spayne."

Again, in the same manuscript,

"Harpys, fitheles, and eke rotys,
Wel according to ther notys."

Where *fitheles* is *fiddles*, as in the *Prolog. Cl. Oxenf.* v. 298. So in the *Roman d'Alexandre*, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. *ut sup.* fol. i. b, col. 2.

"Rote, harpe, viole, et gigne, et siphonie."

I cannot help mentioning in this place, a pleasant mistake of Bishop Morgan, in

Of yeddynges¹ he bar utturly the prys.²

Ther was no man nowher so vertuous.
He was the beste begger in al his hous,³

Somwhat he lipsede, for wantounesse,
To make his Englisch swete upon his tunge;
And in his harpyng, whan that he hadde funge,
His eyghen twynkeled in his heed aright,
As don the sterres in the frosty night.

With these unhallowed and untrue sons of the church is contrasted the parson or parish-priest: in describing whose sanctity, simplicity, sincerity, patience, industry, courage, and conscientious impartiality, Chaucer shews his good sense and good heart. Dryden imitated this character of the Good Parson, and is said to have applied it to Bishop Ken. [*The Person's Tale*, as Dr. Morris has pointed out, was partly borrowed by Chaucer, with large variations, from the French treatise, *La Somme de Vices et de Vertus*, by Frere Lorens, of which there are versions in English, both prose and metrical.]⁴

The character of the Squire teaches us the education and requisite accomplishments of young gentlemen in the gallant reign of Edward III. But it is to be remembered, that our squire is the son of a knight, who has performed feats of chivalry in every part of the world; which the poet thus enumerates with great dignity and simplicity:

At Alifandre he was whan it was wonne,⁵
Ful ofte tyme he hadde the bord bygonne⁶
Aboven alle naciouns in Pruce.
In Lettowe⁷ hadde reyced and in Ruce
No cristen man so ofte of his degré.
In Gernade atte siege hadde he be

his translation of the New Testament into Welsh, printed 1567. He translates the Vials of wrath, in the Revelation, by *Crythan*, i. e. *Crouds* or *Fiddles*, Rev. v. 8. The Greek is *φιδας*. Now it is probable that the bishop translated only from the English, where he found vials, which he took for viols.

¹ [The *Prompt. Parv.* makes yedding to be the same as geste which it explains thus: geest or romaunce, gestio. So that of yeddinges may perhaps mean of story-telling.—*Tyrwhitt*.]

² [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 8, ver. 237.]

³ convent.

⁴ [*Ayenbite of Inwyrt*, ed. 1866, Introd.]

⁵ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 3, ver. 51.]

⁶ See this phrase explained above, p. 354, note 3. I will here add a similar expression from Gower, *Conf. Amant.* lib. viii. [iii. 299, edit. 1857.]

“Bad his maresshall of his halle
To setten him in such degre,
That he upon him myghte se.
The king was sone sette and served,
And he which had his prisé deserved,
After the kings owne worde,
Was made begin a middel borde.”

That is, “he was seated in the middle of the table, a place of distinction and dignity.” [See the Forewords to *The Babees Book*, E. E. T. Soc. 1868.—F.]
⁷ Lithuania.

Of Algefir,¹ and riden in Belmarie.²
 At Lieys³ was he, and at Satalie,⁴
 Whan they were wonne; and in the Greete see
 At many a noble arive hadde he be.
 At mortal batailles hadde he ben fiftene,
 And foughten for oure feith at Tramassene⁵
 In lyfthes thries, and ay slayn his foo.
 This ilke worthi knight hadde ben also
 Somtyme with the lord of Palatye,⁶
 Ayeyn⁷ another hethene in Turkye:
 And everemore he hadde a sovereyn prys.
 And though that he was worthy he was wys.

The poet in some of these lines implies, that after the Christians were driven out of Palestine, the English knights of his days joined the knights of Livonia and Prussia, and attacked the pagans of Lithuania and its adjacent territories. Lithuania was not converted to Christianity till towards the close of the fourteenth century. Prussian targets are mentioned, as we have before seen, in the *Knight's Tale*. Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of King Edward III. and Henry Earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV. travelled into Prussia: and in conjunction with the grand masters and knights of Prussia and Livonia, fought the infidels of Lithuania. The Earl of Derby was greatly instrumental in taking Vilna, the capital of that

¹ [Algeiras; a Spanish town on the opposite side of the bay of Gibraltar.—*Price*.]

² Speght supposes it to be that country in Barbary which is called Benamarin. It is mentioned again in the *Knight's Tale*, v. 1772.

“Ne in Belmary ther is no fel lyoun,
 That hunted is,” &c.

By which at least we may conjecture it to be some country in Africa. [Froissart reckons it among the kingdoms of Africa: Thunes, Bovgie, Maroch, Belle-marine, Tremessen. The battle of Benamarin is said by a late author of *Viage de Espanna*, p. 73, n. 1, to have been so called: “por haber quedallo en ella Albohacen, Rey de Marruccos del linage de Aben Marin.” Perhaps therefore the dominions of that family in Africa might be called abusively Benamarin, and by a further corruption Belmarie.—*Tyrwhitt*.]

³ Some suppose it to be Lavissa, a city on the continent, near Rhodes. Others, Lybissa, a city of Bithynia.

⁴ A city in Anatolia, called Atalia. Many of these places are mentioned in the history of the Crusades. The gulf and castle of Satalia are mentioned by Benedictus Abbas, in the Crusade under the year 1191, “Et cum rex Franciæ recessisset ab Antiocheo, statim intravit gulfum Sathallæ.—Sathallæ Castellum est optimum, unde gulfus ille nomen accepit; et super gulfum illum sunt duo Castella et Villæ, et utrumque dicitur Satalia. Sed unum illorum est desertum, et dicitur Vetus Satalia quod piratæ destruxerunt, et alterum Nova Satalia dicitur, quod Manuel imperator Constantinopolis firmavit.” *Vit. et Gest. Henr. et Ric. ii.* p. 680. Afterwards he mentions *Mare Græcum*, p. 683. That is, the Mediterranean from Sicily to Cyprus. I am inclined, in the second verse following, to read “Greke sea.” [“Probably the part of the Mediterranean, which washes the shores of Palestine in opposition to the small inland Sea or Lake of Gennesaret and the Dead Sea.”—*Bell*.] Leyis is the town of Lays in Armenia.

⁵ “In the holy war at Thrasimene, a city in Barbary.”

⁶ Palathia, a city in Anatolia. See Froissart, iii. 40.

⁷ against.

country, in 1390.¹ Here is a seeming compliment to some of these expeditions. This invincible and accomplished champion afterwards tells the heroic tale of *Palamon and Arcite*. His son the *Squire*, a youth of twenty years, is thus delineated :

And he hadde ben somtyme in chivachie,²
 In Flaundres, in Artoys, and in Picardie,
 And born him wel, as in so litel space,
 In hope to stonden in his lady grace.
 Embrowdid was he, as it were a mede
 Al ful of freshe floures, white and reede.
 Syngynge he was, or flowtynge, al the day ;
 He was as freshe as is the moneth of May.
 Schort was his goune, with sleeves long and wyde.
 Wel cowde he sitte on hors, and faire ryde.
 He cowde songes wel make and endite,
 Justne and eek daunce, and wel purtray and write.

To this young man the poet, with great observance of decorum, gives the tale of *Cambuscan*, the next in knightly dignity to that of *Palamon and Arcite*. He is attended by a yeoman, whose figure revives the ideas of the forest laws :

And he was clad in coote and hood of grene.³
 A shef of pocok arwes bright and kene⁴
 Under his belte he bar ful thriftily.
 Wel cowde he dresse his takel yomanly ;
 His arwes drowpud nought with fetheres lowe.
 And in his hond he bar a mighty bowe.
 • • • • •
 Upon his arme he bar a gay bracer,⁵

¹ See Hakluyt's *Voyages*, i. 122, *seq.* edit. 1598. See also Hakluyt's account of the conquest of Prussia by the Dutch Knights Hospitallers of Jerusalem, *ibid.* [The original documents relating to this expedition, and also to these knights' expedition to the Holy Land, are now in the Record Office in London, and ought certainly to be printed by some learned Society.—F.]

² Chivalry, riding, exercises of horsemanship, *Compl. Mar. Ven.* v. 144.

"Ciclinius ryding in his chevaché
 Fro Venus."

[Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 4, ver. 85.]

³ *Ibid.* ver. 103.

⁴ Comp. Gul. Waynflete, episc. Winton. an. 1471, (*supr. citat.*) Among the stores of the bishop's castle of Farnham. "*Arcus cum chordis.* Et red. comp. de xxiv. arcubus cum xxiv. chordis de remanentia.—*Sagittæ magnæ.* Et de cxliv. sagittis magnis barbatis cum pennis pavonum." In a *Computus* of Bishop Gerways, episc. Winton. an. 1266, (*supr. citat.*) among the stores of the bishop's castle of Taunton, one of the heads or styles is, *Caudæ pavonum*, which I suppose were used for feathering arrows. In the articles of Arma, which are part of the episcopal stores of the said castle, I find enumerated one thousand four hundred and twenty-one great arrows for cross-bows, remaining over and above three hundred and seventy-one delivered to the bishop's vassals *tempore guerre*. Under the same title occur cross-bows made of horn. Arrows with feathers of the peacock occur in Lydgate's *Siege of Troy*, B. iii. cap. 22, sign. O iii. edit. 1555.

"Many good archers
 Of Boeme, which with their arrows kene,
 And with fethirs of pecocke freshe and shene," &c.

⁵ armour for the arms.

And by his side a swerd and a bokeler,
 A Cristofre¹ on his breft of silver schene.
 An horn he bar, the bawdrik was of grene.

The character of the Reeve (or Steward), an officer of much greater trust and authority during the feudal constitution than at present, is happily pictured.² His attention to the care and custody of the manors, the produce of which was then kept in hand for furnishing his lord's table, perpetually employs his time, preys upon his thoughts, and makes him lean and choleric. He is the terror of bailiffs and hinds : and is remarkable for his circumspection, vigilance, and subtlety. He is never in arrears, and no auditor is able to over-reach or detect him in his accounts : yet he makes more commodious purchases for himself than for his master, without forfeiting the goodwill or bounty of the latter. Amidst these strokes of satire, Chaucer's genius for descriptive painting breaks forth in this simple and beautiful description of the Reeve's rural habitation :

His wonyng³ was ful fair upon an heth,⁴
 With grene trees i-schadewed was his place.

In the Clerk of Oxford⁵ our author glances at the inattention paid to literature, and the unprofitableness of philosophy. He is emaciated with study, clad in a thread-bare cloak, and rides a steed lean as a rake :

For he hadde nought gotten him yit a benefice,⁶
 Ne was not worthy to haven an office.
 For him was lever⁷ have at his beddes heed
 Twenty bookes, clothed in blak and reed,
 Of Aristotil, and of his philosophie,
 Then robus riche, or fithul,⁸ or sawtrie.
 But although he were a philosophre,
 Yet hadde he but litul gold in cofre.⁹

His unwearied attention to logic had tintured his conversation with much pedantic formality, and taught him to speak on all subjects in a precise and sententious style.¹⁰ Yet his conversation was

¹ A saint who presided over the weather. The patron of field sports.

² [See the Ballad of John de Reeve in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, ii. 550.]

³ dwelling.

⁴ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 19, ver. 606.]

⁵ [For the early Oxford Life and Studies, see Mr. Anstey's *Munimenta Academica*, Rolls Series, 1868.]

⁶ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 10, ver. 291.]

⁷ rather.

⁸ fiddle.

⁹ Or it may be explained, "Yet he could not find the philosopher's stone."

¹⁰ [This opinion is founded on the following passage :

"Not oo word spak he more than was neede ;
 Al that he spak it was of heye prudence,
 And schort, and quyk, and ful of gret sentence."

Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 10, 304.

Mr. Tyrwhitt has given a happier and unquestionably a correcter interpretation of these lines : "'In forme and reverence,' with propriety and modesty. In the next line, 'ful of high sentence' means only, I apprehend, full of high or excellent sense. Mr. Warton will excuse me for suggesting these explanations of this passage in lieu of those which he has given. The credit of good letters is concerned that

instructive : and he was no less willing to submit than to communicate his opinion to others :

Sownynge in moral manere was his speche,¹
And gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche.

The perpetual importance of the Serjeant of Law, who by habit or by affectation has the faculty of appearing busy when he has nothing to do, is sketched with the spirit and conciseness of Horace:

Nowher so besy a man as he ther nas,²
And yit he semede besier than he was.³

There is some humour in making our lawyer introduce the language of his pleadings into common conversation. He addresses the host :

Host, quod he, *De par Dieux I assente.*⁴

The affectation of talking French was indeed general, but it is here appropriate and in character.

Among the rest, the character of the Host, or master of the Tabard inn where the pilgrims are assembled, is conspicuous. He has much good sense, and discovers great talent for managing and

Chaucer should not be supposed to have made a pedantic formality and a precise sententious style on all subjects the characteristics of a scholar."—*Tyrwhitt.*]

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 10, ver. 307.]

² [*Ibid.* ii. 11, ver. 321.]

³ [*Ibid.* ii. 171, ver. 39.] He is said to have "often yben at the parvise," ver. 312. It is not my design to enter into the disputes concerning the meaning or etymology of parvis : from which parvisia, the name for the public schools in Oxford, is derived. But I will observe, that parvis is mentioned as a court or portico before the church of Notre Dame at Paris, in John de Meun's part of the *Roman de la Rose*, ver. 12529 :

"A Paris n'eust hommes ne femme
Au parvis devant Nostre Dame."

The passage is thus translated by Chaucer, or the writer of the *Rom. R.* v. 7109 :

"Ther nas no wight in alle Parys
Biforne oure lady at parvys."

The word is supposed to be contracted from Paradise. This perhaps signified an ambulatory. Many of our old religious houses had a place called Paradise. In the year 1300, children were taught to read and sing in the Parvis of St. Martin's church at Norwich. *Blomf. Norf.* ii. 748. Our Serjeant is afterwards said to have received many fees and robes, v. 319. The serjeants and all the officers of the superior courts of law, anciently received winter and summer robes, from the king's wardrobe. He is likewise said to cite cases and decisions, "that from the time of king William were full," v. 326. For this line see the very learned and ingenious Mr. Barrington's *Observations on the antient Statutes*. [This subject is better discussed (says Mr. Douce) in Staveley's *History of Churches*, p. 157. He thinks the term is from *parvis pueris*, i.e. the children who were taught in a certain part of the church so appropriated; as appears from the quotation above cited in the note from Blomefield. Herbert the press-historian adds, that Minster-church in the Isle of Thanet and St. Dunstan's in the East, London, have portions of them assigned for schools; and no doubt but there are several others which have the same.—I can add from my own knowledge, that the chapel at Hughington in the county of Lincoln was appropriated to the purposes of a school, and that King Street chapel, Westminster, has a portion of its structure set apart for such purpose: for I received the greater share of my education in both those places.—*Park.*]

⁴ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 171, ver. 39.]

regulating a large company; and to him we are indebted for the happy proposal of obliging every pilgrim to tell a story during their journey to Canterbury. His interpositions between the tales are very useful and enlivening; and he is something like the chorus on the Grecian stage. He is of great service in encouraging each person to begin his part, in conducting the scheme with spirit, in making proper observations on the merit or tendency of the several stories, in settling disputes which must naturally arise in the course of such an entertainment, and in connecting all the narratives into one continued system. His love of good cheer, experience in marshalling guests, address, authoritative deportment, and facetious disposition, are thus expressively displayed by Chaucer:

Greet cheere made oure oft us everichon,¹
 And to the souper sette he us anon;
 And served us with vitaille atte beste.
 Strong was the wyn, and wel to drynke us leste.²
 A femely man oure ooste was withalle
 For to han been a marchal in an halle;
 A large man was he with eyghen stepe,
 A fairere burgeys is ther noon in Chepe.³
 Bold of his speche, and wys, and wel i-taught,
 And of manhede lakkede he right naught.
 Eke therto he was right a mery man.

Chaucer's scheme of the *Canterbury Tales* was evidently left unfinished. It was intended by our author, that every pilgrim should likewise tell a Tale on the return from Canterbury.⁴ A poet, who lived soon after the *Canterbury Tales* made their appearance, seems to have designed a supplement to this deficiency, and with this view to have written a tale called the *Merchant's Second Tale*, or the *History of Beryn*.⁵ It was first printed by Urry, who supposed it to be Chaucer's.⁶ In the Prologue, which is of considerable length, there is some humour and contrivance: the author, happily enough, continues to characterize the pilgrims, by imagining what each

¹ [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 24, ver. 747.]

² we liked.

³ Cheapside.

⁴ Or rather, two on their way thither, and two on their return. Only Chaucer himself tells two tales. The poet says that there were twenty-nine pilgrims in company: but in the Characters he describes more. Among the Tales which remain, there are none of the Prioress's Chaplains, the Haberdasher, Carpenter, Webster, Dyer, Tapiser, and Host. The Canon's Yeoman has a Tale, but no Character. The *Plowman's Tale* is certainly supposititious. See *supr.* and *Obs. Spens.* ii. 217. It is omitted in the copy of the *Canterbury Tales*, MSS. Harl. 1758. These Tales were supposed to be spoken, not written. But we have in the *Ploughman's*, "For my writing me allow." And in other places, "For my writing if I have blame."—"Of my writing have me excus'd," &c. See a note at the beginning of the *Cant. Tales*, MSS. Laud, K. 50, Bibl. Bodl. written by John Barcham. But the discussion of these points properly belongs to an editor of Chaucer. [See Mr. Tyrwhitt's *Introductory Discourse to the Canterbury Tales*.—*Price.*]

⁵ [Lydgate also wrote his *Sege of Thebes* as a supplementary Canterbury Tale.—*F.*]

⁶ Urry. *Chauc.* p. 595.

did, and how each behaved, when they all arrived at Canterbury. After dinner was ordered at their inn, they all proceed to the cathedral. At entering the church one of the monks sprinkles them with holy water. The Knight with the better fort of the company goes in great order to the shrine of Thomas a Becket. The Miller and his companions run staring about the church: they pretend to blazon the arms painted in the glass windows, and enter into a dispute in heraldry: but the host of the Tabard reproves them for their improper behaviour and impertinent discourse, and directs them to the martyr's shrine. When all had finished their devotions, they return to the inn. In the way thither they purchase toys for which that city was famous, called *Canterbury brooches*, and here much facetiousness passes betwixt the Friar and the Sumner, in which the latter vows revenge on the former, for telling a tale so palpably levelled at his profession, and protests he will retaliate on their return by a more severe story. When dinner is ended, the host of the Tabard thanks all the company in form for their several tales. The party then separate till supper-time by agreement. The Knight goes to survey the walls and bulwarks of the city, and explains to his son the Squire the nature and strength of them. Mention is here made of great guns. The Wife of Bath is too weary to walk far; she proposes to the Priores to divert themselves in the garden, which abounds with herbs proper for making salves. Others wander about the streets. The Pardoner has a low adventure, which ends much to his disgrace. The next morning they proceed on their return to Southwark: and our genial master of the Tabard, just as they leave Canterbury, by way of putting the company into good humour, begins a panegyric on the morning and the month of April, some lines of which I shall quote, as a specimen of our author's abilities in poetical description: ¹

Lo! how the sēon of the yere, and Averell² shouris,
Doith³ the bushtis burgyn⁴ out blossomes and flouris.
Lo! the prymerofys of the yere, how fresh they bene to sene,
And many othir flouris among the grassis grene.
Lo! how they springe and sprede, and of divers hue,
Beholdith and seith, both white, red, and blue.
That lusty bin and comfortabyll for mannis fight,
For I say for myself it makith my hert to light.

On casting lots, it falls to the Merchant to tell the first tale, which then follows. I cannot [of course] allow that this Prologue and Tale were written by Chaucer. Yet I believe them to be nearly coeval, [within, perhaps, fifty years of the poet's death.]

[APPENDIX TO SECTION IX.]

In connection with the *Canterbury Tales*,⁵ it will be well to say something of the MSS. of them, the classes of those MSS., the groups and order of the Tales, the stages of the journey, Chaucer's use of

¹ There is a good description of a magical palace, v. 1973—2076.

² April.

³ make.

⁴ shoot.

⁵ [The following paragraphs on Chaucer are by Mr. Furnivall.]

the final *e*, and the genuineness of some of the poems attributed to him.

Of MSS. of the Tales we know at least forty-eight; and of these forty-two have been lately examined in order, 1. to choose the best six unprinted for the Chaucer Society to print, 2. to find out in what fragments and groups the Tales were left by Chaucer at his death, and 3. what great differences the MSS. show between themselves. Lord Ashburnham, who has three MSS. of the Tales, has declined to allow the examination of his MSS. for the purposes above stated, but the remaining forty-two MSS. show that they may be ranged under two types, if we classify by *readings*, namely that of the Harleian MS. 7334 (printed by Mr. Thomas Wright and Dr. Richard Morris) and that of the Ellesmere MS. (one of the type that Tyrwhitt printed). But if we classify by *structure*,—by the order of the fragments of the Tales, and the changes made in the text by the changes of that order,—which plan best exhibits the differences of the MSS., we must range our MSS. under three main types.

Text A. Gamelyn in (generally); Man of Law's end-link changed to serve as a Prologue to the Squire's Tale, which is misplaced, to follow the Man of Law, as the Merchant's Tale is, to follow the Squire. Consequently, the stanzas of the Clerk's end-link or envoy are misplaced, so as to break the join between it and the Merchant's Tale made by the lines

And let hem care and wepe, and wyng and wayle.¹

Wepyng and wailynge, care and other sorwe.²

No Hoft-stanza between the Clerk's and Merchant's Tales; Squire's end-link (or Franklin's Prologue) used as the Merchant's Prologue. Generally, spurious Prologues to Shipman and Franklin. Second Nun and Canon's Yeoman kept up high in the order of tales. Modern instances in the Monk's Tale in their right places, after Zenobia.³

¹ End of Clerk, l. 9088, Wright.

² Line 1 of Merchant, l. 9089, Wright.

³ The following are MSS. of the A type, though some vary from it in certain points:

Lansdowne, 851.

Lichfield Cathedral.

Harleian, 7333.

Harleian, 1758.

Sloane, 1685.

Royal, 17 D xv.

Royal, 18 C ii.

Camb. Univ. li 3. 26.

Sloane, 1686.

Petworth.

Camb. Univ. Mm. 2. 5.

Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3. 15.

Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3. 3.

Barlow, 20.

Laud, 739.

New Coll. Oxf.

Corpus Chr. Coll. Oxf. 198.

Hatton, 1.

Rawl. MS. Poet. 149.

Rawl. Misc. 1133.

(All the early printed editions.)

Other MSS. varying much in the order of Tales, or being incomplete, are

Harl., 1239.

Sion Coll.

Brit. Mus. Addit. 25, 718.

Hengwrt.

Rawl. MS. Poet. 141.

Laud, 600.

Arch. Seld., B 14, (the only MS. that rightly joins the Man of Law's and Shipman's Tales.)

Holkham.

Christ Church, Oxf. 152.

Text B. Harleian, 7334. Gamelyn in; Man of Law's end-link left, but with nothing to join into it. Clerk and Merchant kept together (no Host-stanza between). Second Nun and Canon's Yeoman kept up. Modern instances in Monk's Tale in their right places (that is, the 2 Peters, Barnabo, and Hugilin, come after Zenobia, and before Nero).

*Text C, or Edited Texts.*¹ Gamelyn cut out. Man of Law's end-link cut out. Host-stanza inserted between Clerk and Merchant. Second Nun and Canon's Yeoman placed late. Modern instances in Monk's Tale put at the end, thus breaking the join made by

But for that *fortune* wil alway affayle, 16249.

And cover hir brighte face with a *clowde*, 16252.²

He spak, how *fortune* was clipped with a *clowde*, 16268.³

It is somewhat curious that not one of the MSS. yet examined exhibits the Tales in the order in which Chaucer himself must have arranged or meant to arrange them, as shown by the state he left them in at his death. That order is the following, which falls in well with a three-and-a-half days' journey of the pilgrims to Canterbury, allowing about sixteen miles a day,—enough for the women to ride along the bad miry roads of those early times :

Groups.	Frag-ments.	Tales and Links.	Allusions to Places, Times, Prior Tales, &c. (Wright's 2-col. ed.)	Distances and Stages.
A.	I.	1 GENERAL PRO- LOGUE	In Southwerk at the Tabbard as I lay. (l. 20).	
		2 KNIGHT		
		3 Link		
		4 MILLER		
		5 Link		
		6 REVE		
		7 Link		
		8 COOK		
			[? End of the First Day's Journey.]	[? Dartford 15 miles.]
B.	II.	1 Prologue	It was ten of the clokke, he gan conclude (l. 4434).	
		2 MAN OF LAW		
		3 Link		
	III.	4 SHIPMAN	Lo, Rowcheftre flant been-faste by (l. 15412).	
		5 Link		
		6 PRIOR		
		7 Link		
		8 SIR THOPAS		
	III.	9 Link		
		10 MELIBE		
		11 Link		
		12 MONK		
		13 Link		
		14 NUN'S PRIEST		
		15 Link		
			[? End of the Second Day's Journey.]	[? Rochester 30 miles.]

¹ MSS. of the C type, *Edited Texts*, are :

Ellesmere.

Camb. Univ. Gg. 4. 27.

Camb. Univ. Dd. 4. 24.

Harl. 7335.

Addit. Brit. Mus. 5140, (or Askew, 2.)

Duke of Devonshire.

Helmingham.

Bodley, 686.

Haiftwell MS. (or Askew, 1.)

² End of Monkes Tale, ed. Wright, from Harl. 7334.

³ 6th line of Prologue of Nonne Preetes Tale.

Groups.	Frag- ments.	Tales and Links.	Allusions to Places, Times, Prior Tales, &c. (Wright's 2-col. ed.)	Distances and Stages.
C.	IV.†	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 DOCTOR 2 Link and Prologue 3 PARDONER 	<p>{ Quod this Sompnour, "And I byschrewe me But if I telle tales tuo or thre Of frekes, er I come to Sydingborne. l. 6427-9).</p>	
D.	V.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Prologue 2 WIFE OF BATH 3 Link 4 FRIAR 5 Link 6 SOMPNOUR 	<p>My tale is doo, we ben almoȝt at toune. (l. 7876). [? Halt in the Third Day's Journey for Dinner.]</p>	[? Sittingbourne 40 miles.]
† This group may go on any morning. It is put here to make the Tales of the Third Day not less than those of the Second.				
E.	VI.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Prologue 2 CLERK 3 Link 4 Link 5 MERCHANT 6 Link 	<p>For which heer, for the wyves love of Bathe (l. 9046).</p> <p>{ The wif of Bathe, if ye han underſtonde, Of mariage, which ye han now in honde Declared hath ful wel in liuel ſpace (l. 9559-61) To tellen al; wherfor my tale is do (l. 10314). [? End of the Third Day's Journey.]</p>	[? Ofſpringe 46 miles.]
F.	VII.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Link (l. 10315) 2 SQUIRE 3 Link 4 FRANKLIN 	<p>I wol not tarien you, for it is pryme (l. 10387).</p>	
G.	VIII.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 SECOND NUN 2 Link & Prologue 3 CANON'S YEOMAN 	<p>{ Er we fully had riden fyve myle, (l. 12483) At Boughtoun under Blec us gan aſtake A man, that clothed was in clothes blake . . It ſemed he hadde priked myles thre (l. 12489) His yeman eek was ful of curteſye, And ſeid, "ſires, now in the morwe tyde (l. 12516) Out of your oſtely I ſaugh you ryde al this ground on which we ben ridynge Til that we comen to Caunterbury toun (l. 12552). [Pause. Go up Bleau Hill, and through the Forest.]</p>	
H.	IX.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Prologue 2 MANCIPLE 	<p>{ Wot ye not wher ther front a liſel toun, Which that cleped is Bob-up-and-down, Under the Ble, in Caunterbury way? (l. 16935) . . . Is ther no man, for prayer ne for hyre (l. 16938) That wol awake our ſelawe al byhynde? A theef mighte [him] ful lightly robbe and bynde . . Awake thou cook, ſit up, God gif the forwe! What eyleth the, to ſlepe by the morwe? Haſt thou had ſeen al night, or artow dronke? Or haſtow with ſom quen al night i-fwonke, So that thou maiſt not holden up thyne heed? (l. 16951).</p>	
I.	X.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Link & Prologue 2 PARSON 	<p>{ By that the Maunciple [?] had his tale endid (l. 17295) The ſonne fro the ſouth line is deſcendid So lowe, that it nas nought to my fight Degrees nyne and twentye as in hight [Four] on the clokke it was, as I geſſe . . . As we were entryng at a townes end (l. 17306) Now lakkeſth us no moo tales than oon (l. 17310) I wol yow telle a mery tale in proſe, (l. 17340) To knyȝt up al this feſt, and make an ende; But haſteth yow, the ſonne wol adoun (l. 17366). [End of the Fourth Day's Journey. Reach Canterbury.]</p>	[56 miles]

For a justification of the conclusions here given, I must refer to my Temporary Preface to the Six-Text edition of *Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, Part I. 1868; and to Part I. of the Six-Text itself for specimens of the changed Man of Law's and Squire's end-links, the spurious Prologues, &c., as well as tables showing the order of the tales in thirty-six MSS. and five old printed editions.

The language of Chaucer—especially his use of the final *e*—and by it the settlement of what works attributed to him are genuine and what not, is a question of the highest importance. The use of *e* final

by Chaucer, in the excellent, though slightly provincial MS. of *Canterbury Tales*, Harl. MS. 7334, as printed by Mr. Thomas Wright, and by Gower in his *Confessio Amantis*, as represented by Dr. Pauli's edition, has been investigated with the greatest care by Prof. F. J. Child, of Harvard University, Massachusetts. His results have been incorporated by Mr. Alexander J. Ellis in his important work on *Early English Pronunciation, with special reference to Chaucer and Shakespeare*, published jointly by the Philological, Early English Text, and Chaucer Societies. Dr. Richard Morris in his admirable *Selections from Chaucer*, has also stated the main results of Prof. Child's and his own investigations into the use of the final *e* by Chaucer; and as both the two last-named works are so easily to be had, and should be in the possession of every student, a reference to them is all that is needed here.

Mr. H. Bradshaw, Librarian of the University of Cambridge, the most Chaucer-learned student in England, stated some years back, that having put in one class the works undoubtedly Chaucer's,—those named as his by himself, or attributed to him by his contemporaries, or good MSS.,—and having put into a second class the other works attributed to Chaucer on authorities other than those above specified, he found on testing them by the *ye-y* rhyme test, that all the works of the first class stood the test and proved genuine, while all the works of the second class failed under the test, and proved (in his opinion) spurious. Having thus (as he says) both external and internal evidence against this second class, Mr. Bradshaw rejects as Chaucer's works, the following poems contained in Dr. R. Morris's Aldine edition of the poet's Poetical Works, and *à fortiori*, all the spurious matter introduced into *Chaucer's Works* by former editors :

Court of Love, iv. 1.
Boke of Cupide, or Cuckow and
 Nightingale, iv. 51.
Flower and Leaf, iv. 87.
Chaucer's Dream, v. 86.
Proverbs of Chaucer, vi. 303.
World so wyde, *ib.*
Roundel, vi. 304.

Romaunt of the Rose, vi. 1.
Compleynt of a Lovers Lyfe, or
 Black Knyght, vi. 235.
Goodly Ballade of Chaucer, vi. 275.
Praise of Women, vi. 278.
Leaute vault Richesse, vi. 302.
Virelai, vi. 305.
Chaucer's Prophecy, vi. 307.

Mr. Bradshaw's results have since been confirmed by a wholly independent investigator, Prof. Bernhard Ten Brink of Marburg, in Cassel, whose *Chaucer Studien*,¹ Part I. 1870, is at present the only book worthy of notice on the subject. But Prof. Ten Brink does not agree with Mr. Bradshaw in rejecting the *Romaunt of the Rose* as Chaucer's, on the ground of its *ye-y* rhymes, &c. as he thinks that in this, the poet's earliest work, he may have worked on less strict rules of rhyme than he did in his later works. I strengthened this supposition by shewing that at least three of Chaucer's immediate predecessors, Minot, William of Shoreham, and Robert of Brunne,

¹ Chaucer: *Studien zur Geschichte seiner Entwicklung, und zur Chronologie seiner Schriften*, A. Russell, Münster.

rhymed *ye* with *y*; and Mr. Joseph Payne has now shown¹ reasons for supposing that neither in Norman-French nor Early English was the final *e* generally a separate syllable; and that Chaucer is no exception to the rule. Mr. Payne's conclusion is, that on the ground of the *ye-y* rhyme, no work attributed to Chaucer can be declared spurious. *Adhuc sub iudice lis est.*

Herr Ten Brink divides Chaucer's life into three periods, I. Up to the time of his Italian travels, 1372, when he was under French influence,² and produced the *Romaunt* in 1366, the *Boke of the Duchesse* in 1369; II. After his Italian travels to 1384, his works being [the *Complaynt upon Pite*], the *Life of St. Cecile*, 1373, the *Parlement of Foules*, [the *Compleynt of Mars*], and *Palamon and Arcite*, *Boece*, *Troilus*, [the *Former Age*,³ *Lines to Adam Scrivener*], with the *House of Fame*, in 1384; III. Thence to the poet's death in 1400, comprising the *Legende of Good Women*, the *Astrolabe*, *Anelida* and *Arcite*, *Canterbury Tales*, *Complaynt of Venus*, with a few minor poems. Herr Ten Brink's *Studien* have been translated for, and will be published by, the Chaucer Society.

Early in Chaucer's third period I should put his *Gentilnesse* (the first *Fadir*, &c.), *A B C*, and *Moder of God*. His touching ballad of *Truth* (Flee fro the preese) I suppose to have been written about the time of his losses in 1388; and perhaps the *A B C* and *Moder of God* may go with it. The short poems of Chaucer's old age are, the *Complaynt of Venus*, from the French of Sir Otes de Graunfon, a knight of Savoy, who became liegeman to Richard II., *Lenvoy to Bukton*, *Balade to King Richard*, *Lenvoy to Scogan* (written after Michaelmas in a year of "deluge of pestilence," which Mr. Bradshaw thinks was 1393), *Compleint ageins Fortune*, and his *Compleynt to his Purse*, addressed to Henry IV. in Sept. 1399, for which Henry probably granted him forty marks yearly on Oct. 3, 1399. See further in the Trial-Forewords to my parallel-text edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems, Part I. Chaucer Soc. 1871.]

¹ [In the last section of his valuable paper on the Norman element in the written and spoken English of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, *Phil. Soc. Trans.* 1868-9, pp. 428-448, but written in 1870.]

² [See M. Sandras's *Etudes sur Chaucer*, Paris, 1859.]

³ [A beautiful verse translation of the fifth metre of the second book of Boethius, first found by Mr. Bradshaw in two MSS. in the Cambridge Univ. Libr., and printed in Dr. Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 300, and at the end of his Chaucer's *Boethius*, p. 180 (E. E. T. Soc. 1868).]



